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A HISTORY OF ZOROASTRIANISM

A HISTORY OF ZOROASTRIANISM

VOLUME THREE

ZOROASTRIANISM UNDER MACEDONIAN AND ROMAN RULE

BY

MARY BOYCE AND FRANTZ GRENET

WITH A CONTRIBUTION BY
ROGER BECK

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Dedicated

to the memory of

LOUIS ROBERT

1904 – 1985

a great classicist who maintained a constant interest in Iranian matters, and to whose brilliant researches the present volume owes much

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FOREWORD

The downfall of the Achaemenian empire led to most Zoroastrians coming under Macedonian rule, and, when that empire was eventually split up, to the community being divided among separate kingdoms. For Iran itself Seleucid dominion lasted in its western regions until the triumph of the Arsacids, dated here to the victory by Phraates II over Antiochus VII in 129 B.C. To the west, descendants of Iranian colonists maintained their ancestral faith first under Hellenes and then under Romans; and the attempt is made in this volume to trace the history of Zoroastrianism there until it almost entirely disappeared from view in the fourth century A.C. To the east, Zoroastrians of the Indo-Iranian borderlands came under Mauryan domination, and in the Greco-Bactrian kingdoms they contributed to a mixed culture. Only here and there —in parts of Asia Minor until Roman imperial times, and in Media Atropatene uninterruptedly—did relatively small groups of Zoroastrians continue to be ruled by co-religionists.

The period of Zoroastrian history considered here is thus a long one, from the fourth century B.C. to the fourth century A.C.; and the areas concerned are large, the sources scattered and in the main meagre. The few literary texts are, however, being increasingly supplemented by archaeological finds from both within Iran and beyond its modern borders. Soviet excavations are being particularly productive; and in order to make full use of recent discoveries in Soviet Central Asia I invited Frantz Grenet to join me in writing this volume. He is the author of Ch.III: "On the western edge of the Iranian plateau: Susa and Elymais" (because the "high places" of Elam are of especial comparative interest for him), and of Ch.VII: "In eastern Iran: the Greek kingdoms"; but his contribution to the volume goes far beyond this. We have discussed from the beginning its scope and content, and he has read all of it in draft, making learned and judicious comments. The most important of these are acknowledged in footnotes with the attribution "F. G.". With regard to the conclusions reached here, we have found ourselves in the main in harmonious agreement; but on occasion (as is indicated in the notes) we have differed, and each retains the final responsibility for the contents of his or her own chapters.

Pursuing the history of Zoroastrianism in the Greco-Roman

world leads inevitably to the problem of the Zoroastrian pseudepigrapha; and on the advice of my friend John Hinnells I approached the distinguished Mithraist, Roger Beck, with an invitation to contribute an Excursus on this difficult subject. This he very kindly agreed to do, having, he said, some hope that a thorough investigation of the texts concerned might shed some new light on the Mithraic Mysteries, if not on Zoroastrianism itself. As his admirably lucid study shows, neither hope was realised; but he has cleared up much confusion in this complex field, and his analysis both frees the history of Zoroastrianism from some long-held misconceptions, and increases understanding of how the Greeks thought of Zoroaster and of the magi.

The wide geographical range of the volume, and the occurrence in it of a number of not generally well-known place-names, made the provision of maps desirable; and these have been prepared by Guy Lecuyot, in consulation with Frantz Grenet. There is also one plan, of an important temple excavated by Soviet archaeologists, whose own publication of it is not yet readily accessible to most scholars. With regard to the spellings of western proper and place names, Latin forms have generally been given preference over Greek. As for Zoroastrian names and terms, the only possible method of standardization seemed to be the use of Avestan forms throughout—e.g. Ahura Mazda, Mithra, *baresman*—since the Middle Iranian languages, when known, differ in their forms from east to west, and undergo marked changes over this long period. Length marks over vowels are in general given only in the index, except in citations from texts (where alone the standard conventions for transcribing Avestan or Middle Iranian are fully used). Similarly, as in Vol. II, those letters of the Avestan alphabet which in strict transliteration are rendered by special sorts (e.g. *ə*, *ŋ*) are represented in the text by the phonetically approximate letters of the Roman alphabet (e.g. *e*, *n*), hence Anra Mainyu, Frašo-kereti.

By the nature of its contents this volume has demanded the collaboration of Iranists and classicists, and we are deeply indebted to Paul Bernard and Pierre Chuvin for the generosity with which they have found time to read certain chapters in draft and to make most valuable comments and criticisms. Their learning and incomparable knowledge of the Hellenistic field, especially for Central Asia and Anatolia, have hugely benefited the work.

For other chapters we owe warm thanks to other friends and colleagues: for western Iran to Peter Calmeyer and Dietrich Huff (who was most generous in sending the writer copies of then unpublished works of his own); for eastern Iran, among the

numerous Soviet scholars who have aided Frantz Grenet, to Boris Litvinskij, Igor Pichikyan and Boris Marshak. Grateful acknowledgements to other scholars are made in footnotes throughout the volume. The writer herself is, as for the two previous volumes, indebted to her friend and colleague David Bivar for much aid in numismatic and archaeological matters. She is also especially grateful to Doris Johnson, former editorial secretary of the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, for continual help in the actual procuring of books and articles. Finally, we are much beholden to Jacques and Marcelle Duchesne-Guillemin for their kindness in sparing time to read first proofs of the whole volume. This was a task lightened for all concerned by the very high standard of printing.

The volume, like the History as a whole, has grown beyond expectation, because of the amount of data to be considered and the need, for their proper understanding, to set these in their local and historical contexts. We are accordingly indebted to the late Professor B. Spuler, as the general editor of this section of the Handbuch, and to Brill's, for allowing it to extend to what seemed the necessary length. They have also agreed that the next volume, to be entitled "Zoroastrianism under the Arsacids and early Sasanians", should form a companion one to this, in that it is planned to cover almost the same period of time, but with the focus on Iran itself (with Armenia and Babylonia). It is hoped that its preparation will prove easier for Iranists, and so require fewer years.

Mary Boyce

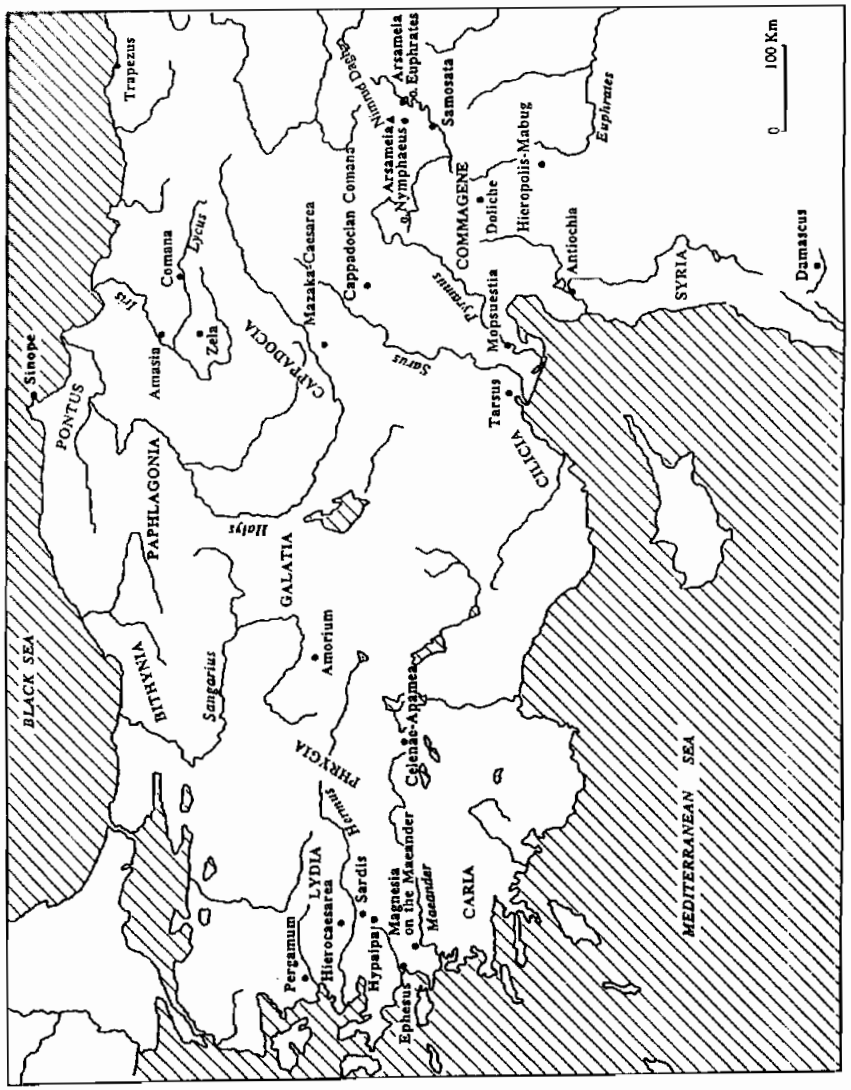
ABBREVIATIONS

[Note: cross-references are to the names of authors, editors or translators given in the bibliography, under which details of the work concerned appear. Since there are different systems for transcribing Pahlavi, the titles of Pahlavi texts may differ slightly there from the forms given below.]

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AASH	Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
Abh.	Abhandlungen
Abstr. Ir.	Abstracta Iranica
Acta Ir.	Acta Iranica
Acta Or.	Acta Orientalia
AHM	The Avestan Hymn to Mithra, see I. Gershevitch
Air. Wb.	Altiranisches Wörterbuch, see C. Bartholomae
AJ	Ayādgār ī Jāmāspīg, see G. Messina
AJA	American Journal of Anthropology
AMI	Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran
Annales, E.S.C.	Annales - Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase, Berlin-New York
ANS	American Numismatic Society
APOT	The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, see R. H. Charles
AS	Anatolian Studies
Av.	Avestan
AVN	Ardā Virāz Nāmag, see P. Gignoux
AW	Antike Welt
BAI	Bulletin of the Asia Institute
BaM	Baghdader Mitteilungen
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BCM	J. Bidez and F. Cumont, Les mages hellénisés, see J. Bidez
BEFEO	Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême Orient
BMC	British Museum Coin Catalogue
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
Bull. ép.	Bulletin épigraphique
CAH	The Cambridge Ancient History
CH India	The Cambridge History of India
CH Ir.	The Cambridge History of Iran
CHJ	The Cambridge History of Judaism
CIMRM	Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae, see M. J. Vermaseren
CRAI	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
DAFA	Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan
DAFI	Délégation archéologique française en Iran
DAW	Denkschrift Wiener Akademie
Dd.	Dādestān ī dēnīg, see E. W. West

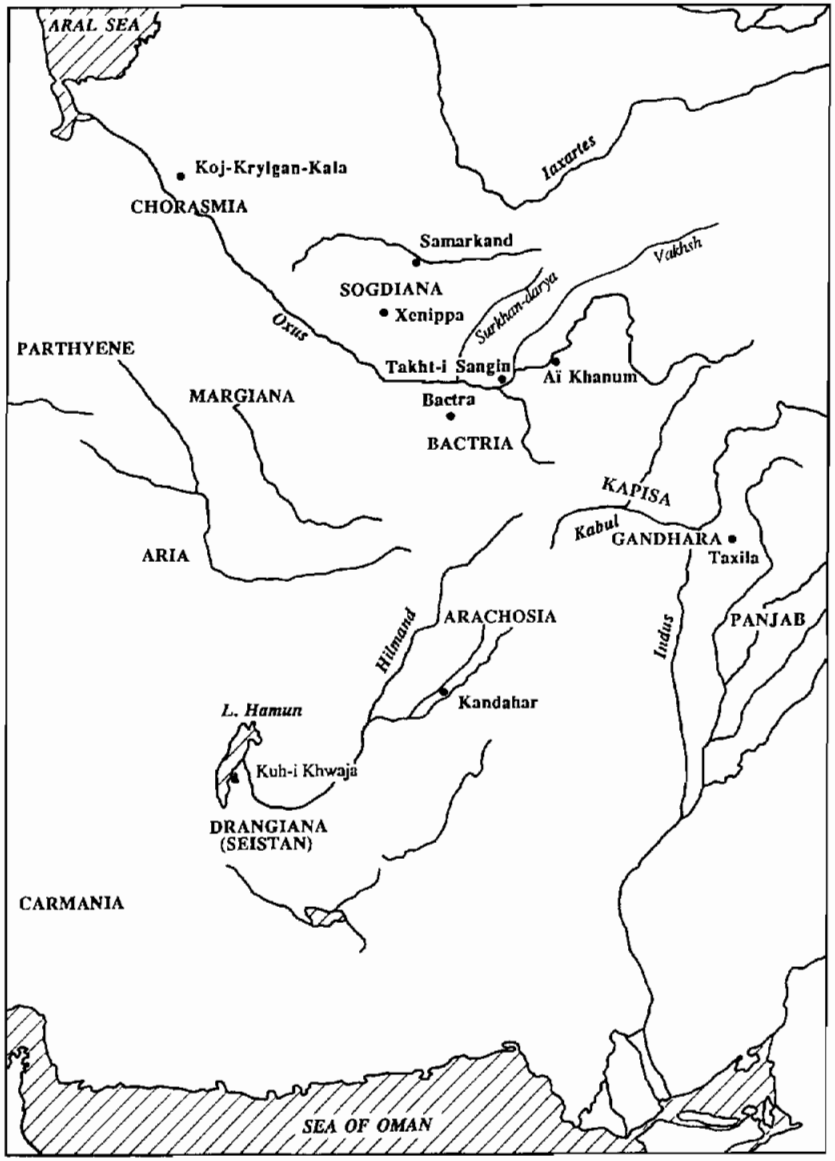
Dk.	Dēnkard
DkM	Dēnkard, ed. D. M. Madan, Bombay 1911
EI	Encyclopaedia of Islam
EIr.	Encyclopaedia Iranica
EMM	Études sur les mystères de Mithras, see S. Wikander
Enc. Brit.	Encyclopaedia Britannica
Enc. Jud.	Encyclopaedia Judaica
Ep. Manuščihr	Epistles of Manuščihr, see E. W. West
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain
ERE	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. J. Hastings
Ét. mithriaques	Études mithriaques, see J. Duchesne-Guillemin
EW	East and West
Festschrift	Standardized title for repeatedly cited presentation volumes, see in bibliography under the name of the scholar honoured
FGrH	Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, ed. F. Jacoby, Berlin-Leiden, 1922–1958
GBd.	Greater Bundahišn, see B. T. Anklesaria
HbO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HR	History of Religions
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
HZ I, II	The first two volumes of this history, published in 1975 (reprinted with corrections, 1989) "The early period", and 1982, "Under the Achaemenians"
HZ IV	The planned next volume of this history, "Under the Arsacids and early Sasanians"
IIJ	Indo-Iranian Journal
Ind. Bd.	Indian Bundahišn, see E. W. West
IOS	Israel Oriental Studies
Ir. Ant.	Iranica Antiqua
IsMEO	Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente
Ist. Mitt.	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
JA	Journal asiatique
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JCOI	Journal of the K. R. Cama Institute (Bombay)
JdI	Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts
JdS	Journal des Savants
Jewish Enc.	The Jewish Encyclopaedia
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JRGS	Journal of the Royal Geographical Society
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
KZ	Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen, begründet von A. Kuhn (now renamed Historische Sprachforschung)
MAMA	Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua
Mém.	Mémoires
MP	Middle Persian
MSS	Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft
MSt.	Mithraic Studies, see J. R. Hinnells
MX	Mēnōg ī Xrad, see E. W. West
NC	Numismatic Chronicle

NHL	The Nag Hammadi Library in English, see J. M. Robinson
OGIS	Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae
OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung
ONU	Obščestvennye Nauki v Uzbekistane (Tashkent)
OP	Old Persian
OTP	The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Vol. I, see J. H. Charlesworth
OTP II	Idem., second volume
Pahl.	Pahlavi
PRDd.	Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī dēnīg, see B. N. Dhabhar, A. V. Williams
PW	Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, ed. by A. F. von Pauly, G. Wissowa and others
RA	Revue archéologique
REG	Revue des études grecques
Rev. épigr.	Revue épigraphique
Rev. suisse de num.	Revue suisse de numismatique
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions
RN	Revue numismatique
SA	Sovetskaja Arxeologija
SAS	South Asian Studies
Sb.	Sitzungsberichte
SBE	Sacred Books of the East, ed. Max Müller
Skt	Sanskrit
Sources	Textual sources for the study of Zoroastrianism, see M. Boyce
St.Ir.	Studia Iranica
TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
TMMM	Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra, see F. Cumont
Tr. XAÈÈ	Trudy Xorezmskoj Arxeologo-Ètnografičeskoj Èkspedicii
Vd	Vendidad
VDI	Vestnik Drevnej Istorii
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
Y	Yasna
Yt	Yašt
Zādspram	Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram, see B. T. Anklesaria
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
ZVYt	Zand ī Vahman Yašt, see B. T. Anklesaria
ZXA	Zand ī Xwurdag Abestāg, see B. N. Dhabhar

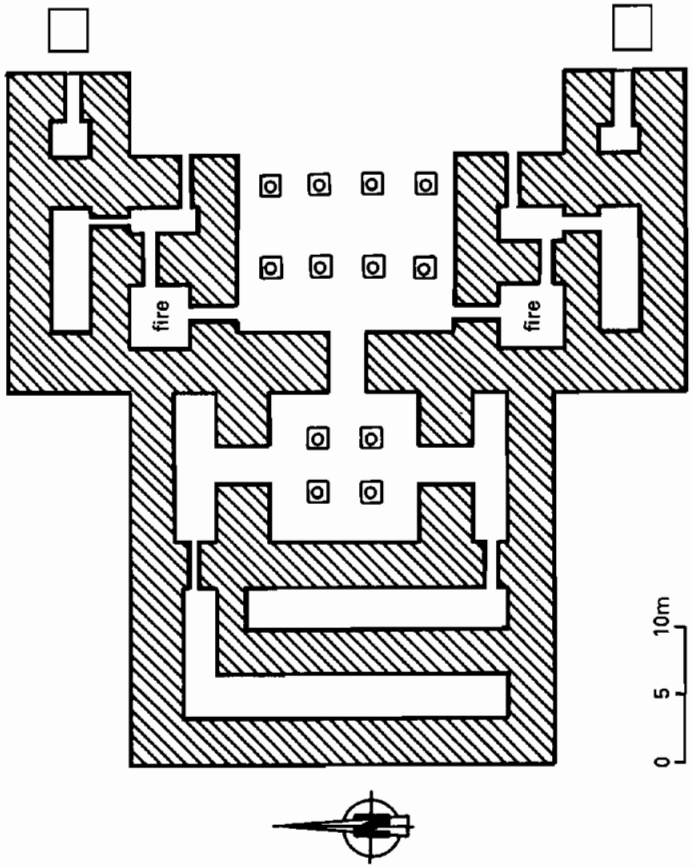


Map I. Western lands of the former Achaemenian empire.

Map II. Western Iran with bordering lands.



Map III. Eastern Iran with bordering lands.



Plan of the Takht-i Sangin temple (adapted from International Association for the Study of the Cultures of Central Asia, Information Bulletin 12, p. 48 fig. 1).

PART ONE

INTRODUCTORY

CHAPTER ONE

UNDER ALEXANDER AND THE SUCCESSORS

During the conquest

The previous volume ended in 330 B.C. with Alexander at Ecbatana, disbanding his confederate troops and preparing to march east, a conqueror in his own right, in pursuit of Darius. In accounts of his earlier campaigns there had been only occasional references to matters concerning the religion of his Iranian foes: a description of the Persian army marching out to the battle of Issus, with sacred fire carried by magi in the van, followed by the empty chariot devoted to Ahuramazda and the riderless horse of Mithra; an account of Darius' exhortations to his soldiers before Gaugamela, with invocations of Mithra, the Sun and fire; a reference to magi preceding the Chaldean priests in the great procession which came out to surrender Babylon to the Macedonian; and mention of a family group of magi who for some two hundred years had maintained religious rites at the tomb of Cyrus.[1] Except for the last, given by Arrian on the authority of Aristobulus, these allusions are all supplied by Quintus Curtius; and meagre though they are, they are in accord either with known Zoroastrian beliefs and practices,[2] or with deducible historical reality (i.e. a strong Zoroastrian presence in fourth-century Babylon), and appear accordingly to derive from accurate sources.[3]

Such allusions are hardly more abundant in the surviving accounts of Alexander's eastern campaigns, in which the first event memorable for the whole of Iran was the death of Darius: deposed as he fled by Bessus, satrap of Bactria, and then, a prisoner, wounded and left to die rather than be allowed to fall alive into the

[1] See HZ II 286–8, 289, 70–1 for references.
[2] See ibid.
[3] On the trustworthiness of Curtius see M. Renard et J. Servais, "A propos du mariage d'Alexandre et de Roxane", L'antiquité classique, 24, 1955, 29–50; P. A. Brunt, "Persian accounts of Alexander's campaigns", Classical Quarterly, n.s. 12, 1962, 141–55; A. B. Bosworth, A historical commentary on Arrian's "History of Alexander", I, Oxford 1980, and idem, "A missing year in the history of Alexander the Great", JHS 101, 1981, 17–39; N. G. L. Hammond, Three historians of Alexander the Great, Cambridge University Press, 1983.

hands of Alexander . At this a number of "the most highly placed Persian officers of Darius", came to Alexander's camp and gave themselves up, to be followed soon after by Artabazus, formerly satrap of Dascylium, an old man with much influence who had remained with Darius till near his end.[4] Alexander, able now to play the politically useful part of Darius' avenger, received these nobles generously; and some transferred to him, as the new king by right of conquest, the fidelity which they had formerly owed the dead Achaemenian. Among these was Artabazus himself, whom Alexander appointed to a succession of high offices; Phrataphernes, formerly satrap of Parthia, who in due course received back his satrapy;[5] and Atropates, formerly satrap of Media,[6] who was to play a not insignificant part in Zoroastrian history. When he joined Alexander his satrapy had already been given to one Oxodates, an Iranian "who had been arrested by Darius and imprisoned at Susa; this caused Alexander to rely upon him";[7] but while the Macedonian was in eastern Iran he "heard that Oxodates had ill-will against himself", and so despatched Atropates to take over his old satrapy again in his place.[8]

Iran was thus not only largely subjugated, but her traditional leaders were divided among themselves, with some great nobles already serving Alexander, others still bent on resisting him under the leadership of Bessus, who, himself of Achaemenian blood, had taken the title of king in succession to Darius. The subsequent campaigns in eastern Iran were hard fought and conducted with calculated savagery on the Macedonian side. Amid the grim accounts given by Alexander's chroniclers of wholesale massacres and enslavements, crucifixions, burning and pillaging,[9] Curtius again provides a few scraps of religious interest, though one or two may be no more than fictional embellishments of his narrative. Thus in telling of the plot hatched against Alexander by fellow Macedonians at the capital of Drangiana (Seistan), Curtius says that one conspirator led another, for privacy, into a holy place,

[4] Arrian III.23.4.6.
[5] It had been briefly held by another Iranian appointed by Alexander (ib., III.22.1), who disappears without trace. On Phrataphernes cf. Arrian III.8.4, 23.4, 28.2; IV.7.1, 18.1; VII.6.4.
[6] Ib., III.8.4.
[7] Ib., III.20.3; Curtius VII.ii.11. Although Curtius calls Oxodates a Persian, the name appears to be characteristically Bactrian, see F. Grenet, BCH CVII, 1983, 378 and below, p.
[8] Arrian IV.18.3.
[9] See, e.g., ib., IV.2.4 ff., 6.5; Curtius VI.iv.28–32; VII.vi.10, 16; ix.22; xi.28–9.

where he "took oath by the gods in whose temple they were".[10] If such a temple really existed, it is possible, in this Achaemenian provincial capital, that it was a Zoroastrian one, though this is by no means certain.[11] Thereafter, when Alexander had marched north again against Bessus, the latter, according to Curtius, "greatly terrified by Alexander's speed, . . . duly performed a sacrifice to the gods of the country, as is the custom with those nations",[12] and then held a feast which was also a council of war. At this feast was one Gobares, "a Mede by nationality", better known, reports Curtius, for his claim to the knowledge of the magi than for any real skill in their art, "but in other respects modest and upright". He proferred temperate advice, couched very much in the terms of Zoroastrian wisdom (*handarz*) literature; but this merely infuriated Bessus, and Gobares, barely escaping with his life, fled to Alexander's camp, an act which won his story a place in the conqueror's annals.[13] Subsequently, when Bessus was betrayed to Alexander by his own comrades-in-arms, Curtius has him saying that "the gods had come as avengers of his crime", that is, against Darius, adding that "they had not been unfavourable to Darius, whom they thus avenged, but propitious to Alexander, since even his enemies always aided his victory".[14] This wry remark has a touch of authenticity. Alexander, Curtius records,[15] had Bessus cruelly mutilated and then handed over to Oxathres, Darius' own brother, with orders that he should be crucified and pierced with arrows, and that carrion-eating birds should be kept away from his corpse. The purpose of this last order (if Curtius' account is accurate) may simply have been to preserve the body longer as witness to the harsh punishment of a regicide; but perhaps, it has been suggested,[16] it had an even grimmer aim, namely to deprive Bessus of that swift end to bodily corruption which is prized by Zoroastrians, an added cruelty which would have increased the horror of his death for other would-be resisters among the Iranians. According to Arrian, however, after having him mutilated, Alexander sent Bessus to Ecbatana, to be "put to death in the full gathering of Medes and Persians".[17]

[10] Curtius VI.vii.5.
[11] See further below, p. xxx.
[12] Curtius VII.iv.i.
[13] Ib., VII.iv.8–19 (the mss. having "Cobares"); cf. Diodorus XVII.83.
[14] Curtius VII.v.25.
[15] Ib., VII.v.36–43.
[16] P. Bernard, "Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum en 1976–1977", CRAI 91, 1978, 440–1.
[17] Arrian IV.7.4.

A curious statement about general practices in connection with death among eastern Iranians survives on the dubious authority of Onesicritus, a Macedonian who campaigned with Alexander and diverted his contemporaries thereafter with colourful and it seems largely fictive accounts of the adventures he experienced and the sights he saw.[18] Strabo, who cites him from time to time for digressions from his own sober narrative, quotes certain observations by him on two eastern Iranian peoples. "Now in early times" (Strabo writes) "the Sogdians and Bactrians did not differ much from the [Iranian] nomads in their modes of life and customs, although the Bactrians were a little more civilized; however, of these, as of the others, Onesicritus does not report their best traits, saying, for instance, that those who had become helpless because of old age or sickness are thrown out alive as prey to dogs kept expressly for this purpose, which in their native tongue are called "undertakers" (*entaphiastai*), and that while the land outside the walls of the metropolis of the Bactrians looks clean, yet most of the land inside the walls is full of human bones; but that Alexander broke up the custom."[19] This remarkable statement has come under criticism from classicist and orientalist alike;[20] and one of the latter has written trenchantly concerning it, pointing out that the city of Bactra (modern Balkh), far from being a backward or primitive place, had by the time of the Macedonian conquest been for over two hundred years the administrative centre of a rich and important province of the Achaemenian Empire.[21] As such it was linked by the admirable Persian network of highways with other great cities of the empire. Its satrap was usually, if not always, a Persian of royal blood, like Bessus, and would have had his own court with its Persian nobles and attendants. There would have been cantonments for troops in the town, and its own citizens are likely to have numbered among themselves wealthy merchants and members of the local aristocracy. Regular visits of inspection would have been paid moreover by the Great King's own officials. Further, Bactria had long been a Zoroastrian land, probably for centuries before the faith reached western Iran, and it was indeed one of the regions to lay legendary claim to being the birthplace of the prophet and the scene of his ministry.[22] Its importance in the

[18] For some of Onesicritus' tall stories see W. B. Henning, Zoroaster, politician or witch doctor?, 22.
[19] Strabo XI.11.3.
[20] Notably Tarn, Alexander, II 35; id., GBI, 115–16; Henning, o.c., pp. 21–3.
[21] Henning, loc. cit.
[22] See Jackson, Zoroaster, 199–201, and below, p. 155 with n. 12.

religious community in Achaemenian days had been acknowledged by Artaxerxes II when he established one of his "Anahit" shrines in Bactra itself;[23] and generations after Alexander's conquest the Kushans, invading from the steppes, learnt in Bactria to venerate Zoroastrian divinities. There is no question therefore but that the Bactra which the Macedonians took was a Zoroastrian city; and it is unthinkable that in any Zoroastrian community there should have been a practice of allowing the old or sick to be eaten alive by dogs. Given the humanitarian principles of the faith, and the care which these inculcate for one's fellow men (and especially, of course, one's fellow believers) this point does not need labouring; but if argument is to be looked for, there is the precise doctrinal consideration that in Zoroastrianism death is seen as an affliction brought by Anra Mainyu, the Evil Spirit; and to hasten it would be to aid him and so to burden one's soul with sin.[24]

Onesicritus' story had presumably, however, some "weak basis in reality".[25] Almost a millennium later the Chinese traveller Wei Chieh recorded that in the seventh century A.C. at Samarkand in neighbouring Sogdia dogs were bred for the purpose of devouring the dead (which animals might conceivably have been called by some name equivalent to Onesicritus' "undertakers" or "entombers"). These dogs, Wei Chieh said, were kept in an isolated place, far from habitations, which had its own enclosures and professional attendants; and the bones were eventually buried.[26] Further, Cicero stated[27] that in Hyrcania dogs were kept to devour the dead. He gave his authority as Chrysippus, who is thought to have depended on Eudemus of Rhodes. His factual observation thus goes back to the same period as Onesicritus' grisly fantasy.

[23] Cf. HZ II 217.
[24] F. G. remains nevertheless inclined to accept Onesicritus' story, especially because this is apparently corroborated by Porphyrius (see below). Against Henning's arguments of the civilized state of Achaemenian Bactria, he urges that the integration of Bactria into the Achaemenian empire seems hardly to have affected the local culture materially (see Ch. 7, below), and so may have had little effect on it in other ways.—For a time there seemed further corroboration of Onesicritus' story in the discovery that at Aï Khanum the unusually large theatre had at some stage been filled with human bones; but it now seems likely that this was the result not of slow accumulation but a single massacre (see below, p. 190 n. 159). F. G. also cites the statement by Agathias (II.25.4–5) that in the Sasanian army soldiers who fell gravely ill were left behind with bread, water and a stick to defend themselves, to live or die as fate decreed; but this is of a different character from Onesicritus' wild tale, harsh though this practice too may seem.
[25] Henning, o.c., p. 22 (citing Tarn's conclusions, GBI, 115–16).
[26] See E. Chavannes, Documents sur les T'ou Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux, Paris 1941, 133 n. 5.
[27] Tusc. Disput. I.45.108 (see further Boyce, Elr. V s.v. "corpse").

In evolving this fantasy the Macedonian appears to have linked Sogdians and Bactrians (who produced notable horsemen) with nomads of the steppes; and the other element in the genesis of his story may therefore have been reports of harsh customs among these nomads of abandoning the old and sick (when at war or otherwise hard pressed)—customs which he confused with some half-understood explanation of the Zoroastrian funerary rite and then garbled into a gratifyingly horrid traveller's tale. The startling and macabre quality of this tale seems, with Strabo's help, to have gained it wide currency; and it probably underlies both a claim put forward by Plutarch for Alexander, that he "persuaded the Sogdians to support their parents, not kill them"[28], and a statement made by Porphyrius in the third century A.C.: "And the Bactrians expose their old people alive to the voracity of dogs. For having tried to oppose himself to it, Stasanor the hipparchus was nearly driven out."[29] The latter sentence, with its circumstantial detail, undoubtedly appears to corroborate Onesicritus' tale; but it seems more likely that Stasanor had in fact simply tried to put an end to the Zoroastrian rite of exposure, this being in itself wholly repugnant to Hellenes, who saw in it disrespect for the dead and a cutting off of the departed spirit from any haven in the hereafter. That he should have aroused deep local resentment by trying to end a long-established and doctrinally well-based funerary custom was to be expected; and the existence of Onesicritus' well-known story could easily have led to the goal of his efforts being later misinterpreted by other Hellenes.

Another custom peculiar to the Zoroastrians was that of *khvaetvadatha*, or close next-of-kin marriage;[30] and Curtius preserves a factual report of an instance of this, observing that Sisimithres, governor of the district of Nautaca in Sogdia, had two sons by his own mother who was also his wedded wife, "for among those people it is lawful for parents to cohabit with their children".[31] Plutarch also alludes to the custom at this time, claiming (evidently with little foundation) that Alexander suppressed it, teaching the Persians to "revere their mothers and not to take them in wedlock".[32]

[28] Of Alexander's fortune, 1.5 (328 C).
[29] Of Abstinence, IV.21.
[30] For instances in the Achaemenian period see HZ II, index s.v.
[31] VIII.ii.19 (cf. 28). Nautaka has been identified as a site near Shahr-i sabz in S. Uzbekistan (ancient Sogdia), see E. V. Rtveladze, "Ksenippa, Paretaka" in B. A. Litvinskij (ed.), Kavkaz i Srednjaja Azija drevnosti i srednevekov'e, Moscow 1981, 95–101 (reviewed by Bernard, Abstr.Ir. V, 1982, no. 175).
[32] L.c. in n. 28.

During the aftermath of Alexander's conquests

This is the meagre sum of information with any religious connection to be found in the extant chronicles of Alexander's eastern Iranian campaigns. Later, on his return from India, after he had conquered the furthermost Achaemenian satrapies, come accounts of ruthless misconduct by some of those whom he had left behind in authority in Iran; and amid reports of extortion, rape and killings there is mention of plundering of temples and rifling of ancient tombs.[33] Among the latter was the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae, ransacked of all but the coffin itself and a stand.[34] According to Arrian Alexander, who punished with the utmost severity all officials accused of misconduct, as well as their henchmen, had the magi attendant at the tomb tortured to reveal what they knew of this crime; but their innocence and ignorance were so plain that in the end he released them.[35] To these humble chantry priests one group of Hellenes was doubtless like another, violent and terrifying strangers; and the likelihood is moreover that, totally defenceless, they had fled for their lives at the robbers' approach, to hide in the neighbouring groves.

It was at this stage that Alexander appointed one of his own close companions, Peucestas, to be satrap of Persis. Peucestas, alone of the Macedonians, had already taken to an oriental way of life and so "was not unsuited to the Persians. And of this he gave proof . . . by adopting . . . the Median dress and learning the Persian language, and in all other respects assimilating himself to the Persian ways . . . and the Persians were gratified that he preferred their ways to those of his own country".[36] He, presumably, had many dealings with Persian magi; but the only mention of magi at this stage of Alexander's own activities is at Opis, where the king sought to placate his Macedonians and to reconcile them with the Iranians who were by then serving in his army. It is again Arrian's

[33] Curtius X.i.3–4; Arrian VI.27.4, 6; 30, 2; VII.4.2. E. Badian, CHIr. II 476 ff., discounts these reports, seeing the so-called punishments meted out by Alexander for alleged offences as being part of a baseless reign of terror indulged in by him to compensate for his failure in the Gedrosian desert; but some of the evidence for oppression and misconduct in Iran during his Indian campaigns is detailed and appears convincing.
[34] Arrian VI.29.9; differently, and evidently rather less accurately, Curtius X.i.30 ff.
[35] Arrian, l.c.
[36] Ib., VI.30.2; cf. VII.6.3; Diodorus XIX.14.4; discussed by A. B. Bosworth, "Alexander and the Iranians", JHS C, 1980, 12. There is no good evidence on which to base speculation that Peucestas adopted the Iranian religion (so F. Altheim, Weltgeschichte Asiens in griechischen Zeitalter, I, Halle 1947, 270).

account which here appears the most detailed and accurate, since this, like the incident at the tomb of Cyrus, was an event in which Alexander himself was directly concerned. Arrian records that the king "sacrificed to the gods to whom he was wont to sacrifice and gave a general feast, sitting himself there, and all the Macedonians sitting round him; and then next to them Persians, and next any of the other tribes who had precedence in reputation or any other quality, and he himself and his comrades drank from the same bowl and poured the same libations, while the Greek seers and the magi began the ceremony. And Alexander prayed for all sorts of blessings, and especially for concord and community in empire for Macedonians and Persians. They say that those who shared the feast were nine thousand, and that they all poured the same libations and sang the one song of victory"[37]. This prayer had for background a mutiny among the Macedonians, caused by their resentment towards the Persians in Alexander's service; and it cannot be taken as expressing any settled policy on his part to fuse Hellenes and Iranians into one imperial people.[38] "Magoi" (the generic Greek term for all Zoroastrian priests, whether from eastern or western Iran) are evidently mentioned here because the occasion had a partly religious character, with Alexander seeking the blessings of both Greek and Iranian divinities upon it; and the reference to them seems casual, as if their presence were as much taken for granted as that of the Greek seers. This is to be expected, since they would naturally be present wherever there were Iranian fighting men or civilians who needed their ministrations;[39] and by this time Alexander had not only admitted Persian nobles to his own close circle, but, from 327, had recruited Iranian troops into his army on a large scale, "intending to have them at once as hostages and as soldiers".[40] Thus his camp, which by then had become "a mobile state and the administrative centre of the empire"[41], must have known the presence of many Zoroastrian priests, ministering

[37] Arrian VII.11.8; cf. Curtius X.4.3. For the translation of the opening words and a discussion of their implication see Bosworth, art. cit., p. 2; and on the large numbers Tarn, Alexander, II 440 n. 5.
[38] Bosworth, l.c.
[39] Cf. HZ II 213 ff., 230–1.
[40] Curtius VIII.5.1.
[41] J. F. C. Fuller, The generalship of Alexander the Great, London 1958, 124 (cited by P. Green, Alexander of Macedon, London 1974, 381). It has also been called a "moving island in an enemy territory", P. Briant, Alexandre le Grand, Presses Universitaires de France, 1974, 2nd ed., 1977, 46, who points out (ib., p. 82) that Alexander had to live off the country, wherever he was, with resulting harsh exactions.

not only to Persians but also to Bactrians, Sogdians and Arachosians, Zarangians, Areians and Parthyaeans.[42]

There is no actual mention of magi at the great wedding ceremony which Alexander held earlier at Susa, when he and his Macedonian nobles married Iranian ladies of rank, eighty unions being solemnized at once;[43] but the weddings are said to have been performed "in the Persian fashion", so that it is reasonable to assume the presence of magi, passed over as unremarkable. Alexander himself had previously, in Sogdia, married Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, a Bactrian nobleman;[44] and now, in traditional conqueror's style, he took to wife also the eldest daughter of the dead Darius, and the youngest daughter of Darius' predecessor, Artaxerxes III. Of the remaining marriages, two are of interest for Zoroastrian history, namely that of Seleucus to Apama, daughter of Spitamenes, satrap of Sogdia, who had fought and died valiantly, resisting Alexander; and that of Perdiccas, Alexander's close and trusted friend, to a daughter of Atropates of Media.[45] In general these arranged unions between Macedonians and high-born Iranian ladies appear as a declaration by Alexander that he intended his Companions "to rule with him as the new lords of the conquered empire".[46] (It is significant that no brides were brought from Macedon or Greece to be married to Iranian noblemen.)

Alexander had previously encouraged marriages between his soldiers and Asiatic women, in order, it was said, to lessen his troops' desire to return to Macedonia, and to create an army of mixed race whose only home was the camp.[47] In general, records of his dealings with Iranians show him seeking the co-operation of two sets of persons: efficient and reliable administrators, familiar with local conditions, and skilled fighting men.[48] Those named by chroniclers in the first group were almost all former satraps or city-governors, often reappointed to their old posts;[49] but among them was one "scribe", Amedines, who had been secretary to

[42] Cf. Arrian VII.6.3.
[43] Arrian VII.4.4–8; cf. Curtius X.iii.11–12; Diodorus XVII.107.6; Athenaeus XII.538; Plutarch, Eumenes, I.3.
[44] On the political motivation for this marriage see Bosworth, art. cit., pp. 10–11.
[45] Arrian VII.4.5.–6.
[46] Bosworth, art. cit., p. 12.
[47] Justin XII.4.2–10.
[48] See H. Berve, "Die Verschmelzungspolitik Alexanders des Grossen", Klio 31, 1938, 135–68; E. Badian, "The administration of the empire", Greece and Rome 12, 1965, 166–82; Frye, History, 139–44.
[49] Alexander seems to have taken care to attach their sons to his own court, where they could be hostages for their fathers' loyalty (Bosworth, art. cit., p. 13).

Darius, and whom Alexander made governor over a people in eastern Iran.[50] The order of scribes, like that of priests, included men of a wide range of abilities and social standing; and the chief scribes could, like this man, be powerful civil servants. All scribes were probably initiated into the lowest grade of the priesthood, and would thus have shared with practising priests a basic training.[51] Being necessarily engaged in worldly matters, they may well therefore have been useful intermediaries at times between fully professed priests and Iran's new infidel rulers.

It remains remarkable that, although Alexander was the pupil of Aristotle, who greatly respected Zoroaster and the ancient order of the magi,[52] no mention is made in the surviving annals of any encounter between him and a magus, nor is any benefaction or generosity attested on his part towards the Iranian priesthood or their places of worship. Yet he was in general noted for being "most careful of religion",[53] and is recorded to have offered his personal devotions to the divinities of other lands he fought in—nameless tutelary beings in the mountains above Issus, Melkart in ruined Tyre and river gods of the Indus plain. Even more notably, in Egypt and Babylonia he took part in traditional rites of worship and made liberal benefactions to the temples and priests. In both these lands he could, however, present himself as a liberator, come to free them from Persia's yoke, whereas he arrived in Iran itself as a self-proclaimed avenger and proceeded to pillage, burn and slay. For Zoroastrians, such a man could be assigned one role only in the cosmic drama, namely that of a creature of the Evil Spirit, with whom in the religious tradition Alexander shares an epithet common to the pair of them, namely *guzastag* "accursed". Their relationship is declared dramatically in what appears to be a fugitive

[50] Curtius VII.iii.4.

[51] Cf. HZ II 178–9. It has been objected that the priests' hostility towards writing makes this assumption unlikely; but this hostility seems reserved for the use of writing for recording (and in the process possibly distorting) holy words. Generations still before the Avesta was at last set down, the Sasanian priest Kirder makes it plain that the Zoroastrian church used writing extensively for legal purposes (M. Back, Die sassanidischen Staatsinschriften, 417 ff.).—The magi were philoprogenitive, with many sons. They formed, moreover, the learned class in Iranian society, and scribes too were learned men. It seems likely, therefore, that Persian priests apprenticed younger sons to Babylonian scribes to learn the alien craft of writing in the *lingua franca*, Aramaic; and that those so taught, taught others, until gradually throughout Iran men of Iranian priestly stock took over this work (as in medieval Christendom the "clerks" or clerics monopolized the craft of writing); and that thus the order of scribes evolved, which seems to have remained close to that of priests.

[52] Cf. HZ II 260, 280–1.

[53] Arrian VII.28.1.

oracle of the Persian Sibyl[54], in which Anra Mainyu's name is "translated", as regularly, by that of Hades.[55] This oracle was uttered most probably in western Anatolia[56], with the prophecy, as so often in this genre, being partly *ex eventu*. It runs:

> "Also at a certain time there will come to the prosperous
> land of Asia
> a faithless man clad with a purple cloak on his shoulders,
> savage, stranger to justice, fiery. For a thunderbolt
> beforehand
> raised him up, a man. But all Asia
> will bear an evil yoke, and the earth, deluged, will imbibe
> much gore.
> But even so Hades will attend him in everything though he
> knows it not.
> Those whose race he wished to destroy
> by them will his own race be destroyed."[57]

The prophecy of (it seems) destruction of Macedonians by Persians was not to be fulfilled; but Zoroastrian priests held firmly to the conviction that Alexander belonged wholly to the Evil Spirit.[58]

Iran's nobles would, as Zoroastrians, have shared her priests' dualistic world-view; but the practicalities of the new situation led some of them, as we have seen, to come to terms with the conqueror, and thus to retain their former position of wealth and authority; and admiration for his military prowess, and for him personally, may well have made their changed loyalty go deeper than mere self-interest. They may, moreover, have felt that the royal fortune or *khwarenah* (*tyche* to the Greeks) had passed to this foreign infidel[59] (as long before it had passed briefly to Franrasyan, the *kavis*' foe[60]), and that they were thus justified in giving him their allegiance. Other Iranians of lesser rank who served in his armies

[54] On whom see below, p. 371 ff.

[55] Cf. Hesychius, Lexicon: "Areimanios, that is, Hades among the Persians".

[56] So S. K. Eddy, The king is dead, 12–14.

[57] Sibylline Oracles III.388–95, tr. J. J. Collins, OTP, 370–1. Collins describes these verses merely as "an isolated piece of anti-hellenistic propaganda" (o.c., p. 359); but such propaganda, when couched in such terms, is unlikely to have had other than a Persian source. Later a Jewish Sibyllist incorporated this oracle among dire prophecies about a Seleucid king whom he saw as oppressor of his own people, following it with words derived from Daniel 7; but, *pace* A. Kurfess, Sibyllinische Weissagungen, 295–6, and D. Flusser, Israel Oriental Studies II, 1972, 172 n.1., this does not imply an "influence by Daniel" on the oracle itself. See further below, pp. 373–4.

[58] On the later literary fiction that made of Alexander a half-Persian hero, see below, p. 60 n. 40.

[59] Cf. Plutarch, Alexander, XXX.8; and below, pp. 57, 287.

[60] Yt. 19.93.

were fighting men who needed to earn a living, whoever commanded them. The priests in contrast had no professional cause to admire Alexander's matchless military skills, and so nothing to offset their grief and horror at the devastation which these brought about. Nor had they any place to seek in the Macedonian's service; for although Alexander was always eager to hear prognostications and the interpreting of omens, he was hardly likely to have trusted divinations by Iranian priests, who in general would have wished to foretell for him nothing but doom, in the spirit of the Sibylline verses. An ingenious theory has nevertheless been advanced that Alexander may have made one serious effort to come to terms with the Persian magi; his unexplained delay of four months at Persepolis, early in 330, was perhaps, it is suggested, because he was trying to persuade the priests there to let him take a leading part in the No Ruz celebrations in late March, and so in effect to play already the part of Persia's king among the palaces built by Darius' ancestors; and their stubborn refusal in the end so enraged him that he burnt down these palaces themselves.[61] This theory is necessarily speculative, since the sources agree in giving the motive for his incendiarism as essentially revenge for the destruction wrought by Xerxes in Greece. Nevertheless, it is far from implausible as indicating a possible contributory factor. Stubborn resistance by the magi in such a matter might well be left unrecorded by Alexander's chroniclers, while it seems wholly in keeping with Alexander's liking for the dramatic gesture, and his desire for recognition by each country's gods, that he should have sought the king's part in this, the greatest festival of the Zoroastrian year. It also seems all too likely that, if this were denied him, anger at the rebuff would have fuelled any half-formed resolve he might have had to blazon his victory by a spectacular act of vengeance.

Reluctance by Zoroastrian priests to co-operate with Alexander would help to account for scant mention of them by his chroniclers. It appears also to have led not infrequently to their deaths. Down the ages Zoroastrian tradition, from both eastern and western Iran, maintained that Alexander slew priests.[62] Clearly many must have

[61] P. Green, o.c. in n. 41, 318–19. It is now doubted that Persepolis had an especial significance for the celebration of No Ruz (cf. HZ II 107 ff.); but the festival must have been celebrated there annually (as everywhere else in the Zoroastrian community) and doubtless with much pomp. On the testimony of the sources concerning the conflagration see E. N. Borza, "Fire from heaven: Alexander at Persepolis", Classical Philology LXVII, 1972, 233–45; E. Badian in CHIr. II 444–6.

[62] See HZ II 290 n. 15 and to the references given there add GBd. XXXIII.14, and below, p. 16.

perished with other non-combatants during the campaigns of conquest;[63] but the repeated charge seems specific, as if magi were singled out for death, and it is very possible that this was because they felt it their duty to resist, and to influence their people to resist, the Macedonian, to them a *petyarag*, a calamity sent by Anra Mainyu to destroy what was good. In India Brahmans are said to have incited local rajahs to defy Alexander, risking and sometimes losing their own lives thereby;[64] and it seems likely that Zoroastrian priests played a similar part in Iran, encouraging for instance the uprisings that went on taking place there even after the whole country had been subdued. These uprisings occurred in both east and west. Those recorded after Alexander returned from India were led by Ozines and Zariaspes in Arachosia,[65] and by Baryaxes in Media. The latter claimed the imperial throne, and it is a measure of how Iranian loyalties were divided that it was the Median satrap, Atropates, who seized and brought him captive to Alexander. (The Zoroastrian faith requires an oath of fidelity to be kept even if sworn to a wicked man, which includes an infidel.[66]) The Macedonian put Baryaxes to death, together with all "his associates in his revolution and rebellion",[67] who very probably included magi. Once some of their order claimed Alexander's attention as offering or inciting resistance, the conqueror was evidently perfectly capable of ordering not only their execution, but the execution also of large numbers of their brethren, to discourage any further such action; and whole priestly groups or colleges may thus have met death. The puzzle remains, however, of why his chroniclers should have recorded the killing of Brahmans but not of magi, leaving us to learn of the latter only from Zoroastrian sources; but conceivably the fame of the magi among learned Hellenes made it desirable to pass over in silence both their obduracy and their slaughter, as redounding little to Alexander's credit.

The loss to the faith through the deaths of priests was all the greater because they were its living books, all holy texts being still orally preserved.[68] The most sacred, notably the *Gathas* of Zoroaster himself, survived intact, being known to every working priest through daily recitation at the *yasna*; but others, preserved perhaps

[63] Cf. HZ II 288, 290.

[64] Arrian VI.16.5; Diodorus XVII.102; Plutarch, Alexander, 59.4, 64.

[65] Curtius IX.x.19.

[66] Yt. 10.2; Curtius X.iii.7.

[67] Arrian VI.29.3.

[68] See in detail Bailey, Zor. Problems, 149 ff.; K. Hoffmann, "Altiranisch", HbO I.iv.1 (1958), 1–19.

locally by particular priestly families or colleges, appear to have perished at this time—for in an oral tradition the gap of a single generation means oblivion. The harm that was then done is indicated in a badly preserved Pahlavi text emanating (as its content shows) from Drangiana (Seistan) in south-eastern Iran. This tells obscurely (because of textual corruptions) how, when "accursed Alexander" came to Iran "he seized and slew those who went in the garments of magi" (*awēšān kē pad brah ī mogmardān raft grift ud ōzad*). A few men and boys, it claims, escaped and fled to Seistan, bearing with them the knowledge of particular Avestan works or "nasks". "A nask . . . would be learnt completely by heart, sometimes by women, sometimes by a child. And in that way indeed the faith was restored in Seistan, re-established and brought afresh into order. Except in Seistan, in other places there was no recollection" (*nask-ē, būd zanān, būd aburnāyag-ē . . . warm kird ēstād. pad-iz ān rāh dēn andar sagestān abāz gašt ud ārāst ud wirāst, nōg nōg. bē pad sagestān ēnyā abārīg gyāg nē warm*).[69] Clearly there is much exaggeration in this tale, inspired by local pride; but also, it would seem, a thread of true tradition concerning the disasters and losses inflicted by the Macedonian conquest.

When, much later (probably in the fifth-sixth centuries A.C.), the Avesta was at last written down, in a beautiful and practical script evolved for that sole purpose, the legend developed that a written Avesta had existed from the earliest days of the faith, set down in liquid gold on parchment, or engraved on tablets of gold; and that Alexander had destroyed it. This anachronistic tale, told with varying details, is as it stands incredible;[70] but it appears to

[69] J. M. Jamasp-Asana, The Pahlavi texts contained in the codex MK, Bombay 1913, repr. 1969, 26.10–17. The above translation is essentially that of W. B. Henning (unpublished). Slightly differently Bailey, o.c., p. 161. (For a bibliography of the whole text see G. Gnoli, De Zoroastre à Mani, 45 n. 58, and add B. Utas in J. Harmatta (ed.), From Hecataeus to Al-Ḫuwārizmī, Budapest 1986, 259–67.)

[70] The subject is fully treated by Nyberg, Rel., 423 ff. The legend appears in the following Pahl. works: DkM 405.11 ff. (the Avesta written down at the command of Vištāspa and copies distributed; one burnt by Alexander, the other carried off and translated into Greek); DkM 411.17 ff. (written down in the time of Vištāspa; 2 copies made at the command of "Darius son of Darius", but scattered by Alexander's destruction and pillage by his soldiers); DkM 437.18 ff. (learned by heart from Zoroaster by Jāmāsp and written down on ox-skins with gold; many copies made); AVN I.7 (written on ox-skins with gold; carried off and burnt by Alexander); Šahrestānīhā ī Erān 1–2 (engraved on gold tablets in Av. script by Zoroaster, at Vištāspa's command; Alexander burnt some and threw others in a lake); GBd. XXXIII.14 (Alexander burnt the Avesta and sent the Zand to Greece). For these and other related texts see Bailey, o.c., p. 151 ff., with his conclusion (p. 162): "It is clear that no single account of the transmission of the texts had been uniformly adopted by the ninth century A.D." A Manichaean reference in the 3rd century A.C.

reflect reality in so far as Alexander's conquest did apparently cause great harm to Avestan learning.

Although Alexander's own dealings with the magi appear to have been harsh and limited, nevertheless either he or the learned men who accompanied him acquired some knowledge of Iranian observances; and when in 323, preparing Hephaistion's funeral in Babylon, he sought to give his friend the highest honours "he proclaimed to all the peoples of Asia that they should sedulously quench what the Persians call the sacred fire (*tò . . . hieròn pur*), until such time as the funeral should be ended. This was the custom of the Persians when their kings died".[71] The "sacred fire" here is evidently not a specific temple fire, but fire as the sacred element, represented by individual hearth fires throughout the land. Until very recently the age-old custom was still observed in traditionalist Zoroastrian villages in Iran of extinguishing a hearth fire at the death of the master of the house; and that of extinguishing hearth fires generally when a chief or king died probably goes back likewise to a remote past, far older than the Achaemenian era.[72] Because under the Achaemenians this general observance seems to have been carried out only for the Great King, the Iranians regarded Alexander's order as ominous; and a few weeks later he himself was indeed dead.[73] As the news of this spread through Babylon, where sickness had claimed him, the citizens, Curtius relates,[74] climbed to their roofs to keep watch, but did not dare to light lamps. This, it has been suggested,[75] may have been because after generations of living under Persian rule they expected the order regularly issued on such occasions to extinguish all forms of fire in their houses.

After Alexander

While Alexander lived, most Zoroastrians, scattered through the lands of the former Achaemenian Empire, remained under one

to books written after Zoroaster's death by his disciples, who remembered his words (Kephalaia, I, Manichäische Handschriften der staatliche Museen Berlin, Stuttgart, 1940, 7.27–33) is now held to be to Zoroastrian pseudepigrapha. Cf. below, p. 510 n. 42.

[71] Diodorus XVII.114.4.

[72] On the especial importance of the king's own hearth fire in Vedic and other Indo-European fire cults see A. B. Keith, The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, Harvard University Press, 1925, 625–6.

[73] Diodorus, loc. cit., 5.

[74] X.5.16.

[75] See F. Schachermeyer, Alexander in Babylon und die Reichsordnung nach seinem Tode, Österreichische Akademie d. Wissenschaft, Sb. 268, Bd. III, Vienna 1968, 47.

ruler; and this state of affairs continued briefly after his death, when a council of his Macedonian generals, meeting in Babylon, appointed one of their number, Perdiccas, to be regent for his two successors—his unborn child by Roxana and his half-witted half-brother, Philip Arrhidaeus. Alexander's army was not disbanded, but remained in being under Perdiccas' authority; and in its ranks were still many Iranian troops, some officered by sons and kinsmen of great nobles who had served Alexander. They included some 30,000 Iranian youths, all of like age, whom he had had trained from boyhood for his service in the Macedonian way of fighting.[76]

Manoeuvring for power, based on possession of lands, began at once, with some reallocation of satrapies. Ptolemy obtained Egypt, Eumenes (Alexander's Greek secretary) Cappadocia, while Media, strategically the most important of the Iranian satrapies, was divided. Greater Media, with the ancient cities of Ecbatana and Raga, and control of the Khorasan Highway, went to the Macedonian Pithon; but, perhaps because he was Perdiccas' father-in-law, Atropates kept Lesser Media, that is, the north-west corner of the Iranian plateau. There he was able to maintain himself in the troubled times that followed, and to found a dynasty;[77] and the region, called after him Atropatene by the Greeks, is still known by the Arabicised form of its Iranian name of *Āθropātakāna, as Āzarbaijān. Another Iranian, Oxyartes, Roxana's father, was appointed governor of Paropamisadai in the far north-east;[78] and Phrataphernes continued as satrap of Parthia-Hyrcania.[79] These were the only Iranians to retain high authority. Alexander's short-lived empire then began to break up as individual Macedonian satraps asserted their power. Perdiccas died in 321 trying to re-establish his authority over Ptolemy, who thereafter ruled Egypt independently. Under the next regent, Antipater, Seleucus obtained Babylon, and Antigonus, satrap of Phrygia, became also commander-in-chief of all Macedonian forces in Asia. Phrataphernes lost Parthia to a Macedonian,[80] who was himself soon ousted by Pithon of Media, who virtually annexed Parthia. The other satraps in Iran formed a confederacy against him, finding common cause in upholding the interest of Alexander's heirs; and they were joined by

[76] Arrian VII.6.1–2; cf. Curtius VIII.v.1; Diodorus XVII.108; Plutarch, Alexander, 71.1.
[77] Diodorus XVIII.3; Strabo XI.13.1.
[78] Diodorus, loc. cit.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Diodorus XVIII.39.6.

Eumenes, who had replaced Antigonus as commander-in-chief in Asia, and who, as upholder of the royal cause, had with him Iranian contingents from Alexander's army. (Among his officers were a son of Artabazus,[81] and another nobleman who claimed descent from one of the six Persians who had set Darius the Great on the throne.[82]) Oxyartes sent troops from the north-east,[83] and Peucestas brought a large force from Persis.[84] Antigonus, now seeking the kingship in his own right, marched east to join forces with Pithon; and, once arrived, he recruited Median and Parthian lancers to serve under him.[85] The year-long war, 317–316, was thus fought on Iranian soil with Iranian troops on both sides; and this and other campaigns in the years that followed probably contributed to strengthening Iranian regionalism, with loyalty to a particular locality and its traditions becoming increasingly strong. In the accounts of it, it is said more than once that the commanders, seeking winter quarters for their forces, managed to find districts that were still unplundered.[86] By the winter's end these areas too must have been stripped and left impoverished.

The confederate army had problems over leadership, and so it was agreed "that all the satraps and generals who had been selected by the mass of the army should gather in the royal tent each day and take counsel together about what was for the common advantage. For a tent had been set up for Alexander although he was dead, and in the tent a throne, before which they were accustomed to make offerings."[87] On the throne were placed the diadem, sceptre and crown of a Persian Great King, together with Alexander's armour.[88] If any Iranian officers were ever present at this ritual, they were doubtless able to direct their own prayers towards honouring the dead king's *fravaši*.[89] An act of shared worship by Hellenes and Iranians took place when the confederate army found itself in Persis, receiving lavish entertainment from Peucestas. "There was an abundance of cattle of every kind, which Peucestas gathered together from the inhabitants and distributed without stint to the soldiers, seeking their goodwill. . . . When they had arrived in Persepolis . . . Peucestas . . . performed a magnifi-

[81] Plutarch, Eumenes, VII.1.
[82] Diodorus XIX.40.2.
[83] Ib., XIX.14.6.
[84] Ib., XIX.14.5.
[85] Ib., XIX.20.2; Plutarch, Eumenes, XVIII.2.
[86] E.g. Diodorus XIX.34.7.
[87] Ib., XIX.15.3; cf. Plutarch, Eumenes, XIII.3–4.
[88] Ib., XVIII.60.5–61.3.
[89] On the cult of the *fravaši* cf. HZ I 117 ff.

cent sacrifice to the gods and to Alexander and Philip; and, after gathering from almost the whole of Persis a multitude of sacrificial animals and of whatever else was needed for festivities and religious gatherings, he gave a feast to the army. With the company of those participating he filled four circles, one within the other. . . . The circuit of the outer ring was of ten stades and was filled with mercenaries and the mass of the allies; the circuit of the second was of eight stades, and in it were the Macedonian Silver Shields and those of the Companions who had fought under Alexander; the circuit of the next was of four stades and its area was filled with reclining men—the commanders of lower rank, the friends and generals who were unassigned, and the cavalry; and lastly in the inner circle, with a perimeter of two stades, each of the generals and hipparchs and also each of the Persians who was most highly honoured occupied his own couch. In the middle of these there were altars for the gods and for Alexander and Philip. The couches were formed of heaps of leaves covered by hangings and rugs of every kind, since Persis furnished in plenty everything needed for luxury and enjoyment; and the circles were sufficiently separated from each other so that the banqueters should not be crowded and that all the provisions should be near at hand."[90] In the light of the general situation, and of Peucestas' known persianizing, it is probable that magi had a part in performing the multitudinous sacrifices needed on this occasion, dedicating them presumably in prescribed Zoroastrian fashion, even if Hellenes performed the official acts of worship at the central altars. The arrangement of the concentric circles seems meant to combine convenience of distributing the consecrated food with a sense of unity and communion.[91]

Despite these pious sacrifices, Antigonus gained the upper hand and put Eumenes and others to death.[92] He was now virtually ruler of Iran, and sought to establish his power by setting as many of his own adherents as possible in positions of authority there. Before he left Media, laden with spoils from Ecbatana's palaces, he put Pithon to death. He did not feel himself strong enough, we are told, to challenge Oxyartes in his distant satrapy, or to dismiss the Macedonian satraps of Carmania or Bactria, "since they had conducted themselves well towards the inhabitants and had many

[90] Diodorus XIX.21.3–22.1.
[91] Bosworth, art. cit. in n. 36, p. 8, thinks that their arrangement was modelled on the ceremonial ordering of Alexander's court at Susa; F. G. sees a symbolic meaning in both, comparing the Marzuban Name, ed. M. Rowšan, Tehran 1355/1976, 513 1.8 ff.
[92] Diodorus XIX.48.1.

supporters";[93] but he made what other changes he could, and even managed to lure the well-liked Peucestas away from Persis, replacing him by a Macedonian of his own choosing.[94] The Persians were angry, and one of their nobles protested, saying that they would obey none but Peucestas. This is the only recorded act of Persian self-assertion at this time, and the protest was made on behalf not of a Persian but a Macedonian. It was given short shrift: Antigonus had the noble put to death, and left the new Macedonian satrap with enough soldiers to enforce his unwelcome authority.

Antigonus then marched west, adding to the spoils from Ecbatana vast wealth from the treasury at Susa, and entering Babylon with a great baggage train. Seleucus received him with royal honours; but then, becoming suspicious that Pithon's fate awaited him, fled to Ptolemy in Egypt, leaving Antigonus master of Babylon also. The latter then pressed on to occupy most of South (Coele) Syria, and those areas of Asia Minor which had previously escaped his rule.

In 315 Antigonus was at war with Cassander of Macedon and Lysimachus of Thrace, and in 312 his son Demetrius, who was holding Syria and Palestine, was attacked and defeated by Ptolemy. During this later campaign Ptolemy allowed Seleucus a tiny force with which to regain his Babylonian satrapy; and it was to 312/11 that the Seleucids dated the founding of their dynasty. The apparent ease with which Seleucus took Babylon suggests that he was welcomed there; and when the Median satrap Nicanor (who had been appointed by Antigonus) attacked him, the Iranian troops in his army deserted to Seleucus, who won the day.[95]

In 311 Antigonus concluded a treaty with his three rivals which left each master of his own domain, while Antigonus himself was recognised as ruler of "all Asia". This treaty was ostensibly only a further regulation of Alexander's empire, with Cassander the guardian of his surviving heir, his son by Roxana. (His half-brother Arrhidaeus had been murdered in 317.) Seleucus was not party to the treaty, being, it seems, fully occupied in extending his authority in Iran. There Antigonus challenged him, and two years of fighting followed, ending in a great battle in 309/8, which Seleucus won.[96] Antigonus appears thereafter to have abandoned his claims to Iran, and for the next seven years Seleucus was left to his conquests

[93] Ib., XIX.48.5.
[94] Ib., XIX.48.2.
[95] See Will, Hist. pol., I 61–2.
[96] See ib., I 66.

there, reaching in the end the most easterly lands of Alexander's, that is of the old Achaemenian, empire. There he encountered the forces of the first Mauryan emperor, Chandragupta; but new developments called him westward again, and he treated with the Indian king, ceding to him the Indus valley, Gandhara, and the eastern regions of Arachosia and Gedrosia[97] in return for war elephants and other concessions.

No details are recorded of Seleucus' nine years of fighting, 311–302, which lasted longer than all Alexander's own campaigns on Iranian and Indian soil; and virtually nothing is known of Iran's tribulations at that time, or of what alliances were made, what resistance offered.

The only scrap of information which has survived is that Seleucus in his turn subdued the Bactrians by force.[98] The extant sources deal almost entirely with events in the west, where in 310 Alexander's surviving heir had been murdered, together with his Iranian mother. Four years later Antigonus proclaimed himself king, and in 305/4 Ptolemy also took this title, to be followed by Cassander, Lysimachus and Seleucus. The two latter, it is thought, had the same limited purpose in this as Ptolemy, namely to declare their independence within their own particular domains.[99] This then was the formal birth of the separate Macedonian kingdoms. These, though geographically far extended, were to retain a common character, in that "Ptolemy and Seleucid were to the end Macedonian kings who happened to reign in Egypt and in Asia".[100]

The sundering of Alexander's empire meant a sundering also of the Zoroastrian community. Most Zoroastrians lived in Seleucus' kingdom, but some were under Ptolemy's rule in Egypt and Coele Syria, many more were in Antigonus' domains, and yet others in the Mauryan empire. A minority, in Atropatene, Armenia, Commagene and Pontus, were still ruled by co-religionists; but most were subject to infidel kings, and almost all had either suffered directly the havoc of war, or had known its menace and its harsh material demands.

[97] On the extent of the lands ceded by Seleucus see further below, p. 129.
[98] Justin, XV.4.11, see Bevan, House, I 277–8.
[99] See Will, o.c., p. 75.
[100] Bevan, o.c., pp. 57–8.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SELEUCIDS: A BACKGROUND SKETCH

The establishment of the Seleucid Empire, 312–261 B.C.

As a Macedonian adventurer, Seleucus had essentially only one title to his new kingdom, that of right by conquest, in succession to the conquering Alexander; though in Iran he had some shadow of a claim in preference to other alien pretenders through his marriage to Apama. Yet even there his only subjects with a real interest in upholding his authority were the Macedonians and Greeks who had helped him to establish it, and whose own prosperity and hopes of survival were bound up with his fortunes. They were relatively few in numbers, while the lands he ruled by 302 stretched from the Euphrates to the Jaxartes, with great ethnic and geographic diversity. To hold these wide regions he pursued Alexander's policy of founding cities (or refounding as cities ancient towns or villages), to be peopled mainly by Hellenes and to serve as strongholds and points of dominance—along the main highways, at frontiers, and in places of economic importance. These new cities, "nests of an immigrant population devoted to their founder"[1], were centres of Greek habits and culture, each a *polis*, i.e. "a self-governing community of free, land-owning citizens equal before the law", who spoke and wrote Greek, maintained Greek institutions, and diverted themselves in Greek ways. The most notable of Seleucus' foundations during these years was Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, established to rival ancient Babylon, and destined to become the eastern capital of the empire.[2] It was probably also he who refounded Susa as Seleucia-on-the-Eulaios;[3] and another refounding of his, on the Iranian plateau, was of the holy city of the Median magi, Raga, which stood at a strategic point on the great Khorasan Highway leading from Babylon to north-eastern Iran.[4] Seleucus acknowledged its importance by naming this new *polis*

[1] Ramsay, Cities, I 10.
[2] Bevan, House, I 253–5; Will, Hist. pol., I.60–1, 76.
[3] G. Le Rider, Suse, 280.
[4] Strabo XI.13.6; Bevan, o.c., I 264. On Raga as a Zoroastrian holy city see HZ II 8–9, and further below, pp. 70, 81–2.

Europus, after his own birthplace. Europus may have been built beside ancient Raga, rather than incorporating it; but its close proximity, with all the alien comings and goings, must inevitably have been felt as pollution by the Zoroastrian priests.

In due course Antigonus' unquenchable ambition brought a new coalition into being against him, to join which Seleucus hastened back from the Indian borderlands.[5] In 301 he, Lysimachus and Cassander defeated and slew Antigonus at Ipsus in Phrygia, and divided his possessions between them. Seleucus obtained Cilicia and North Syria, where he founded the city of Antioch-on-the-Orontes to be his new capital. He laid claim also to South Syria, but this was held by Ptolemy of Egypt and remained disputed territory, to be fought over by their descendants in a series of destructive wars. Not long afterwards Seleucus joined with himself as co-regent his son Antiochus, half-Iranian by blood, who thereafter ruled the eastern part of the empire.[6] Antiochus had to fight against incursions by Iranian nomads in the north-east; and he was successful in this and in consolidating Seleucid rule over all Iran, where he continued the founding of cities.[7] It is seldom possible to determine which were established there by him, which by his father; but between them Greater Media received a number of new foundations, because of its wealth and strategic importance; and Hellenistic cities are recorded for Persis, Parthia, Hyrcania, Aria, and most densely of all for Sogdia-Bactria.[8]

The characteristic names of Seleucus' foundations were Seleucia, Antiochia (for his father), Laodicia (for his mother) and Apamea (for his Bactrian wife); and this nomenclature continued to be used by his descendants. It is not always possible, however, to match the ruins of Seleucid cities with known names. Excavations at Aï Khanum on the Oxus, in ancient Bactria, show that the Hellenistic city there was founded either by Alexander or by Seleucus, and have established that, distant though it was, this city was thoroughly Greek in some of its aspects, with theatre, gymnasium,

[5] Cf. above, pp. 21–2.
[6] Will, o.c., I 264, 271.
[7] J. Wolski, "Les Iraniens et le royaume gréco-bactrien", Klio 38, 1960, 113–14; Will, o.c., I 268–70.
[8] For details see below under the different regions. It has been argued that among the surprisingly large numbers of Greeks in Bactria there should perhaps be reckoned the descendants of small groups transported there from time to time by Achaemenian kings, who in one known instance, that of the Branchidae (Strabo XI.11.4, Curtius VII.5.28–35) continued to live apart, keeping their own language and traditions. See A. K. Narain, The Indo-Greeks, Oxford 1962, 2–6 (criticised by J. M. Cook, The Persian Empire, 193, for probably exaggerating the numbers of such Greek deportees).

heroon and a few elegantly phrased inscriptions.[9] That such Hellenistic foundations of north-east Iran shared a truly Greek culture with cities in the rest of the Empire is strikingly illustrated by an inscription from another nameless city, apparently in Hyrcania, dated to the reign of Antiochus I.[10] This records the manumission of a slave, dedicated to "holy Sarapis"—possibly, that is, to Mithra Khšathrapati in Greek guise.[11] The declaration of this manumission is addressed to two Seleucid officials, the first-named, Andragoras, being presumably the local satrap. Exactly similar inscribed declarations, with the manumitted slave being devoted to Nanaia or, in one case, to Apollo and Artemis Daittai, have been excavated at Seleucia-on-the-Eulaios (Susa),[12] it being Greek law which was thus being followed in these two cities set at the opposite ends of Seleucid "Asia".

Eventually new rivalries led Seleucus to take the field against his former ally Lysimachus, whom he defeated in 281 at Corupedion, near Sardis. He was thereby able to add to his vast domains almost all Lysimachus' possessions in Asia Minor; and Sardis, which had been the chief Achaemenian city in the west, became the third great city of his empire. These accessions brought yet more Zoroastrians under the rule of Seleucus, who now held (except for Egypt, South Syria, and the Indian satrapies) almost all the former Achaemenian territories.

The next year Seleucus made a bid to gain possession also of his homeland, Macedonia, and was murdered at the outset. Antiochus hastened westward, and by hard fighting succeeded in retaining the lands acquired by his father in Asia Minor. He also attacked two territories, Cappadocia and Pontus, which were being ruled by dynasts who claimed Achaemenian descent and had many Zoroastrians among their subjects. Antiochus in the end abandoned his efforts at conquest here, and entered into friendly relations with both rulers. Another region which fought successfully for independence was Bithynia, in the north-west corner of Asia Minor, which had never been fully incorporated in the Achaemenian empire. In 277 its ruler, hard-pressed by family rivalries and Seleucid power, brought over from Thrace, as mercenaries, the Galatians, ferocious fighters who stayed on to terrorize western Asia Minor, town and

[9] See further below, pp. 157–8.
[10] Robert, "Inscription hellénistique d'Iran", Hellenica XI–XII, 1960, 85–91.
[11] See below, p. 476 f.
[12] Le Rider, Suse, 292–3; for a bibliography of the inscriptions see Robert, art. cit., p. 86 n. 2.

countryside alike. Little is known of Antiochus' own struggles against them, but in 275 he achieved victory of a sort; and subsequently the kings of Bithynia and Pontus managed to settle them more or less in a region carved out from Phrygia and Cappadocia, known thereafter as Galatia.[13] A year later, the first of the Syrian Wars between Seleucid and Ptolemid began, and lasted until 271 with no clear result. One of the two chief sources concerning it, a Babylonian cuneiform tablet,[14] records that in 273 the satrap of Bactria contributed twenty war-elephants to Antiochus' forces, which is seen as an early instance of how the Seleucids weakened north-eastern Iran, ever exposed to nomad pressures, in the interest of their western domains. During this war the south coast of Asia Minor was harassed by Ptolemid ships; and its ports were to be fought over for decades by the two powers.

In 268 Antiochus was in Babylon, where he put to death his eldest son and co-regent, Seleucus, for conspiring against him—the first of many dynastic troubles for his house. In 263 he was fighting again in Asia Minor, suffering defeat that year near Sardis by Eumenes, ruler of the little coastal principality of Pergamum, and till then his vassal. Two years later Antiochus died, having never, as far as is known, returned to Iran during his twenty years of independent rule. Some assign to these years of Seleucid preoccupation with the west the rise of the Fratarakas in Persis as a virtually independent vassal dynasty.[15]

Down to the battle of Magnesia, 261–190 B.C.

From Seleucus' victory at Corupedion down to that of the Romans at Magnesia the Seleucid Empire had thus three main divisions: in the west Asia Minor up to the great barrier of the Taurus; in the centre North Syria, which was the dynasty's heartland, with Cilicia and Mesopotamia; and in the east Babylonia and Iran. "The natural clefts of the Empire, the fissures which were so apt at any weakening of the central authority to gape, followed geographical barriers. . . . The long struggle for each one has a more or less separate history."[16] The student of Zoroastrianism

[13] See further below, p. 258 with n. 10.
[14] BM 92689, see S. Smith, Babylonian Historical Texts, London 1924, 150 ff.; Will, Hist. pol., I 147.
[15] See further below, p. 110 ff. On the possibility that Antiochus' sons, Seleucus and Antiochus, had ruled successively in the east as his co-regents, see Will, o.c., I 274; D. Bing, EIr.II 2, 126.
[16] Bevan, House, I 76.

needs to know something of the political history of all three regions, since that religion had adherents in each. Throughout, information is most abundant for Asia Minor, and scantiest for Iran.

Antiochus II (261–246), who succeeded his father, is, like him, not known to have set foot in the eastern region during his reign, though his name occurs as that of a distant ruler (together with those of other Middle Eastern kings) in two of the rock-edicts of Aśoka, the third Mauryan emperor (grandson of Chandragupta, with whom Seleucus I had treated), who had ascended the throne about 268.[17] In the west Antiochus II continued his father's policies, strengthening ties with Cappadocia by giving his daughter Stratonice in marriage to its ruler.[18] Hostilities with Pergamum ceased, but continued with Egypt, afflicting still the south coast of Asia Minor. In the unrest the great city of Miletus, seized by a local tyrant and retaken by Antiochus, hailed the latter with diplomatic gratitude as Theos "God", which remained his by-name.[19] Antiochus I had already been accorded divine honours at Ilion in his lifetime,[20] but there is no evidence for a general imperial cult of the living ruler (as distinct from such local civic ones) before the reign of Antiochus III.[21]

The Second Syrian War occupied much of Antiochus II's reign; and consequent neglect of the east presumably contributed to the growing independence of Bactria and Parthia under their Macedonian satraps, Diodotus and Andragoras.[22] The war ended in 253 with Ptolemy II the loser. Antiochus recovered Ionia and various ports of Asia Minor, and on agreeing to repudiate his wife Laodice received Ptolemy's daughter, Berenice, in marriage with a large dowry. When he died in 246 Laodice, then living in Ephesus, proclaimed her elder son king, as Seleucus II. Berenice and her small son, in Antioch, were killed. Her brother, Ptolemy III, espousing their cause, landed in Syria before this was known, and from there marched east through Mesopotamia to Babylon. Domestic troubles then forced him to return to Egypt, but his army seems to have pressed on for some distance into Iran, without

[17] See further below, p. 147.
[18] Will, o.c., I 292.
[19] Bevan, o.c., I 174–5, 176; Will, o.c., I 241.
[20] Bevan, o.c., I 177.
[21] Will, o.c., II 112–13. On civic cults of Macedonian kings see S. R. F. Price, Rituals and Power, 25–31.
[22] Probably the Andragoras of the Hyrcanian inscription of Antiochus I's time, see art. cit. in n. 10 for Robert's comments. For a general bibliography on these events see Will, o.c., I 287–8, 305–8.

achieving any lasting conquest.[23] This is accounted the Third Syrian War. Meantime in Further Iran power had been seized in Parthia, probably in 247, by Arsaces, a chief of the semi-nomadic Iranian tribe of the Parni and founder of the dynasty that was to rule the Parthian Empire. For some eighty years, however, his successors remained rulers of Parthia and some adjacent regions only, often fighting with their neighbours, notably the powerful Greco-Bactrian kingdom, which became independent at about the same time as Parthia. The Arsacids appear to have embraced Zoroastrianism from the outset of their rule, whether politicly or from conviction.[24]

Seleucus II had established himself meanwhile on the throne of Syria, and in 241 concluded a peace with Ptolemy III. In Asia Minor, to strengthen his position, he gave his sister Laodice in marriage to the king of Pontus; but in 240 his brother, Antiochus Hierax (the "Hawk"), who had been governing as his viceroy in Sardis, made a bid for the crown. Mithradates II of Pontus and Ariarathes III of Cappadocia, each related by marriage to the two brothers, both supported Hierax, who drew heavily on Galatian mercenaries. Seleucus suffered a crushing defeat at Ancyra in Phrygia, and was forced to abandon Asia Minor to his brother. Hierax seems then to have led his forces against Attalus of Pergamum, only to be defeated in his turn, perhaps in 238.[25] For the next decade Galatian bands again terrorized western Asia Minor, bringing on it a "deluge of anarchy and barbarism"[26], while Hierax now fled them, now sought to oppose them, and eventually himself led them once more against Attalus. Between 229 and 227 the latter won three decisive victories, subduing the Galatians and forcing Hierax to flee, like his brother before him, across the Taurus. Seleucus was then absent in Iran, fighting the Parthians;[27] but his generals met and defeated Hierax in Mesopotamia, and a year later he was assassinated. In the same year, 226, Seleucus II also died, having abandoned his Iranian expedition to struggle with the situation in the west. His son, Seleucus III, was assassinated in 223 while leading an expedition against Pergamum. The throne then passed to Seleucus II's younger son, Antiochus III, who thus inherited a

[23] See Will, o.c., I 251–2, 256.
[24] For an outline of the evidence for their Zoroastrianism see Boyce, Zoroastrians, 80–100.
[25] Will, o.c., I 296–7.
[26] Bevan, o.c., I 196.
[27] Will, o.c., I 308–10 (who puts his Iranian expedition between ± 230 and ± 227); Le Rider, Suse, 298–9.

greatly diminished realm, consisting, as far as is certainly known, of Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Susiana, Persis and Media. (The extent of Seleucid authority over other parts of Iran at this time is obscure.[28])

The first success in recovering some of the lost territories was won for Antiochus III by his cousin Achaius, who in 222 defeated Attalus of Pergamum and regained the former Seleucid possessions in Asia Minor; but in the same year Molon, satrap of Media (supported by his brother Alexander, satrap of Persis) revolted and marched on Babylon. Antiochus himself met and defeated him in 221, a number of Molon's soldiers deserting to the young Seleucid.[29] Molon had had some support from Artabazanes of Atropatene, and Antiochus now marched against him. This seems to have been the first time that this Iranian principality, a stronghold for Zoroastrianism, was invaded by a Macedonian army. Artabazanes, an old man, made peace at once on terms—presumably the paying of tribute; and Antiochus returned to Antioch, where he learnt that Achaius had proclaimed himself king in Asia Minor. Antiochus, leaving him be, embarked on the Fourth Syrian War (219–217), seeking once more to gain South Syria, but meeting heavy defeat at the battle of Raphia. He then entered into alliance with Attalus of Pergamum, crossed the Taurus and in 215 took Sardis, eventually capturing and killing Achaius. The lands he regained thereby were essentially Lydia and Phrygia, some former Seleucid territories being presumably ceded to Attalus as his reward.[30]

Affairs in the west being thus more or less satisfactorily settled, Antiochus turned again to the east. In 212 he invaded Armenia and exacted tribute; and the next year he was in Media, preparing for a great expedition against Parthia (where Arsaces II was then ruling) and Bactria (where the Greek Euthydemus was king). Before embarking on this enterprise he associated with himself in the kingship his young son Seleucus (born to him by his wife Laodice, daughter of Mithradates II of Pontus and of Laodice, Antiochus' own aunt, sister of Seleucus II[31]). The imperial treasury was evidently depleted by continual wars, with loss of territory and interruption to trade;[32] and Antiochus was reduced at the outset to

[28] Cf. Will, o.c., I 308–9; H. H. Schmitt, Untersuchungen, 45–84.
[29] On his revolt see Will, o.c., II 20–1; Le Rider, o.c., p. 300; Schmitt, o.c., pp. 116–43.
[30] Will, o.c., II 50.
[31] For Antiochus' family tree see Schmitt, o.c., p. 297.
[32] Will, o.c., II 55.

plundering Anahit's great temple at Ecbatana of what precious metals remained to it after earlier Macedonian pillage.

In 209 Antiochus marched east along the Khorasan Highway, reaching Hecatompylos (modern Kumis) without encountering resistance. Arsaces II had retired behind the mountains to Hyrcania, and Antiochus' army struggled after him, taking the towns of Tambrax and Syrinx. At the latter place, when the wall was breached, the defenders massacred all the Greek residents before attempting flight.[33] Thereafter, it is said, Arsaces fought with great valour, and was finally admitted "to an alliance" with Antiochus, accepting, it appears, the status of a vassal-king.[34] The Seleucid then marched against Euthydemus of Bactria, who met him with a largely Iranian army. Antiochus won the first battle and laid siege to the Bactrian king in his capital of Zariaspa (Bactra). The siege lasted two unavailing years[35]; and in the end Antiochus made a treaty with Euthydemus, recognizing him as king, and being supplied by him with war-elephants and provisions for his troops.

Antiochus then marched on east, crossing the Hindu-Kush into Paropamisadai, where, it seems, he treated on friendly terms with its Indian prince, receiving from him more elephants and provisions. He then returned across western Arachosia and Drangiana, to winter in Carmania. Finally he visited the important trading port of Gerrha on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, returning at last to Seleucia-on-the-Tigris in 205/4. The fact that he did not enter Persis in person is taken as proof that that satrapy then fully acknowledged Seleucid suzerainty and needed no quelling.[36]

By this grand circuit of the east Antiochus was held to have "put his kingdom in a position of safety, overawing all subject to him by his courage and industry";[37] and thereafter he took the Achaemenian title of "Great King", *Basileus Megas*. The chief practical gain from the seven arduous years appears to have been the restoring of trade along both northern and southern routes, and the stimulating of new commercial activity in safer conditions.[38] It was probably at this time, at the height of his fame, and as a measure, it seems, to strengthen the ties between the Hellenistic cities (on whose loyalty the Seleucids still so much depended) and the throne, that Antiochus instituted an official cult of the living

[33] Polybius X.31.11.
[34] Justin XLI.5.7; see Bevan, o.c., II 20; Will, o.c., II 57; Le Rider, o.c., p. 322.
[35] See Will, o.c., II 60.
[36] Ib., II 63–4, 65.
[37] Polybius XI.39.15.
[38] Will, o.c., II 66–8; Le Rider, o.c., pp. 303–4, 348.

king, exacted from his subjects rather than being voluntarily offered by them.[39] The cult was to be served by a high priest in each satrapy, whose term of office was presumably annual, since legal instruments were dated by it.—These details are to be inferred from a royal edict of 193, of which three inscribed copies survive, decreeing the establishment of a parallel cult of the living queen (then Laodice of Pontus), under the charge of a high priestess.[40]

In 204 Antiochus was in Asia Minor, where he won back some cities from Egypt and local dynasts, and threatened Pergamum's sphere of interest;[41] and in 202 he invaded South Syria for a second time, and after a two-year campaign won a decisive victory over the Egyptian forces there. So at last this disputed region (which included Judea and Samaria) became a Seleucid possession. Egypt and Pergamum appealed to Rome, already involved in Greek affairs, for help against Seleucid aggression; and in 200 a Roman embassy sought to mediate between Antiochus III and Ptolemy V. Antiochus returned to Asia Minor with large forces, and by 196 had established himself at Ephesus, from where he crossed to Thrace. Subsequent campaigns led to war with Rome, and Antiochus was defeated at Thermopylae in 191. He retired to Asia Minor and gathered a great army at Sardis to meet the pursuing Romans. "All Asia felt the strain of effort. Every province from the Mediterranean to Central Asia sent its choice of fighting men"[42], with many Iranian troops, including semi-nomadic Dahae, in Antiochus' forces;[43] but at the battle of Magnesia-by-Sipylus in 190 the Romans were victorious, and a year later, at the Treaty of Apamea, imposed harsh conditions. A heavy indemnity was exacted, and the Taurus mountains were set as the western boundary of Seleucid power. Thus ended the Seleucids' century-long struggle for Asia Minor. A number of Zoroastrians who had hitherto been their subjects in western Anatolia passed once more under the rule of Pergamum (which had allied itself with Rome); and eventually, in 133, they found themselves living in the newly created Roman province of Asia.

The shock of the defeat at Magnesia was clearly enormous, with wide repercussions; and the loss of Seleucid prestige as well as possessions is likely to have threatened the recently restored situa-

[39] Will, o.c., II 112–13.
[40] One of these inscriptions is from Laodicia-Nehavend in Media, see below, pp. 88–9.
[41] Will, o.c., II 113.
[42] Bevan, o.c., II 93.
[43] Cf. ib., p.94; Le Rider, o.c., p. 322.

tion in Iran. Payment of the indemnity also drained the state's reduced resources. In 187 Antiochus III marched east again, but was killed ignominiously trying to plunder a temple in Elymais.[44]

The final period of Seleucid rule, 190–64 B.C.

After Magnesia Antiochus III had had to give his younger son, Antiochus, to Rome as hostage. The elder succeeded him, as Seleucus IV; and in due course was obliged to send his own son Demetrius as hostage in Antiochus' place. Seleucus was assassinated in 175, and his brother, then living in Athens, succeeded him as Antiochus IV, to become the most widely known of his dynasty because of his dealings with the Jews. Through these light is shed on the contending forces of Hellenism and traditional religious and national feeling in one part of the Seleucid Empire; and despite the special features of the Jewish situation, this is of value, analogically, for reconstructing the history of Zoroastrianism at this epoch. Antiochus, a complex character, was a champion of Hellenism; and he strove also to exalt his own status as a living god (declared by his by-name of Theos Epiphanes, "God Manifest"), seeking to establish his own worship as a common factor among a multiplicity of cults. In this he was doing no more than accentuating what he had inherited from his father; but he did so impressively, putting "Theos" on his coins, and letting his head be shown in godlike fashion, surrounded by rays.[45]

At first Antiochus appears, like his predecessor, to have been preoccupied with internal affairs; but in 170 he became embroiled with Egypt. He invaded that land successfully in 169 and again in 168, when a resolution conveyed to him from the Roman Senate caused him to cease hostilities and withdraw. This was another harsh blow to the Seleucids' prestige, since Rome now manifestly dictated the limits of their power throughout the eastern Mediterranean lands.

Returning from Egypt in 169, Antiochus had entered the temple at Jerusalem and seized its wealth and treasures (as he had done those of other Syrian temples, being continually in need of money);[46] and on his backward march a year later, finding Jerusalem in the grip of troubles which had the look of anti-Seleucid plotting, he took the city by assault and sacked it. Thereafter its

[44] See further below, pp. 40–1.
[45] Bevan, o.c., II 154–5; cf. Will, o.c., II 308 for bibliography.
[46] Bevan, o.c., II 156–7; Will, o.c., II 337, 339.

temple passed into the control of the inhabitants of the *polis* established around the citadel, and an altar to an alien god was set up within it.[47] In 167 Antiochus issued an edict constraining the Jews to abandon their religion and law and to adopt Greek ways, with the worship of Zeus Olympius, on pain of death. This provoked the Maccabean revolt, and with it the beginning of years of alternating strife and concessions between the Seleucids and Jews; but initially Antiochus left a regent to deal with the uprising while he himself took the field elsewhere. In 165 he was in Armenia, whose king he subjected; and thence he marched south to Media, where Ecbatana, it seems, now exchanged "its old and famous name for Epiphanea, perhaps on receiving a new Greek colony".[48] He proceeded then to Mesene, on the Persian Gulf; and at some point tried, like Antiochus III, to seize the treasures of an Elymaean temple, but was rebuffed.[49] He was perhaps making a circuit of the western borders of Iran, and gathering resources, before challenging the Parthians,[50] now under the formidable rule of Mithradates I; but in 164 he died of illness at Gabai (Isfahan).

Antiochus V, a boy of nine, succeeded his father under a guardian; but his cousin Demetrius, son of Seleucus IV, having been ten years a hostage in Rome, now escaped and succeeded in attaining the throne. He was a strong king, but had much to contend with, including the continuing Jewish troubles; and in 150 he was killed in battle, the victim of yet more dynastic intrigue, furthered by Egypt, Rome and Pergamum. His supplanter, the adventurer Alexander Balas, proved worthless, and was assassinated in 145, the throne passing then to Demetrius II, son of Demetrius I; but a military commander crowned Balas' infant son as Antiochus VI, and after his convenient death proclaimed himself king, under the name Tryphon. These dynastic troubles, and the growing strength of Parthia, appear to have had a disastrous effect on Seleucid trade in the east;[51] and appeals for help against rising dangers were reaching Demetrius from the Hellenistic cities there. Mithradates

[47] Will, o.c., II 338 (following essentially the studies of E. J. Bickerman for which see ib., p. 332).
[48] Bevan, o.c., II 160.
[49] For a bibliography of this event see J. Sievers, EIr. II 2, 129. Against Wikander's attempt (Feuerpriester, 71–5) to see this as part of Antiochus' religious policy, with him, as bridegroom of the goddess, claiming a bride-price, see Will, o.c., II 354–5; Schmitt, Untersuchungen, 102–3; and further on the incident below, p. 41.
[50] Will, o.c., II 352. On Antiochus IV's Iranian expedition see Le Rider, o.c., pp. 311–24.
[51] Le Rider, o.c., pp. 310–11, 347–9.

had already occupied Media, in 147, and in 141 he invaded Babylonia, taking Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. Demetrius, leaving forces to combat Tryphon, marched against him, and achieved early successes; but in 138 he was defeated and taken captive by the Parthians, who then established a hold on Babylonia and Elymais, and the regions along the Persian Gulf.[52] Almost all Iran was thus once again under Zoroastrian rule.

Demetrius' throne was claimed by his younger brother, Antiochus VII, who began his reign auspiciously by defeating Tryphon. In 130 he set out with a large army against the Parthians, and, it seems, won three battles, regaining Babylonia and Susa[53], and pressing on to winter in Media. There in the spring of 129 he was attacked by Mithradates' successor, Phraates II, and lost his life. This marked the end of Seleucid power in Iran after a span of about 180 years, or some six generations.

The dynasty survived in Syria through a series of short reigns, rent by feuding and "self-consumed by its own disordered energies"[54]; until in 64 Pompey appeared and annexed Syria as a Roman province, deposing the last Seleucid, Antiochus XIII.

[52] A. D. H. Bivar, CHIr. III.2, 35.
[53] On Susa at this juncture see Le Rider, o.c., pp. 337–8.
[54] Bevan, o.c., II 262. On the last reigns of the dynasty see Will, o.c., II 448 ff., 505 ff.

CHAPTER THREE

ON THE WESTERN EDGE OF THE IRANIAN PLATEAU: SUSA AND ELYMAIS

Susa

Refounded by Seleucus as a Greek *polis* under the name Seleucia-on-the-Eulaeus[1], Susa was never to regain its former rank of imperial capital; but down to the end of the Parthian period it remained an important city, the head of a satrapy whose boundaries corresponded—at least originally—to the present-day province of Khuzistan. Unlike Persepolis, it had not been deprived of its former royal splendour, and its palaces were maintained, with a veneer of Greek decoration, for the use of the Macedonian satrap and occasional visits by the Seleucid court[2]; an inscription datable to the end of the third century B.C. mentions "Timon, the chief of the royal palace"[3]. As a military stronghold Susa kept a great strategic importance; in 222 Molon, the rebellious satrap of Media, occupied the lower town (the "craftsmen's town" of the archaeologists), but was unable to capture the upper town.[4]

Susa continued to play a major economic role, the tributes brought from all parts of the Persian empire being now replaced by a trade conducted by merchants, predominantly along the Mesopotamian axis. It has even been argued that the Seleucid kings deliberately favoured this development, the new foundation of Susa going together with the creation of a direct waterway between the

[1] The fundamental work on Susa during this (and the subsequent) period is Le Rider, Suse, 1965. (Tarn, GBI, 27, considers that Seleucia-on-the-Eulaeus was first founded as a military colony, and became a *polis* only under Antiochus III; but see Le Rider, o.c., pp. 280–1).
[2] P. Bernard, JA, 1976, 256. The "Palace on the Shaur" built by Artaxerxes II opposite the *apadāna* hill has also yielded evidence of a Seleucid reoccupation: ib., n. 33; R. Boucharlat and A. Labrousse, Cahiers de la DAFI 10, 1979, 71–8.
[3] Published by F. Cumont, CRAI 1932, 272–4.
[4] Polybius V.48.13–15; cf. above, p. 29. Archaeological investigations have shown that reinforcement of the defences of the upper town during this siege caused the first damage to the *apadāna* palace, which was repeatedly despoiled subsequently for the sake of new buildings (including, it seems, the so-called *āyadana*, on which see below, n. 22): R. Ghirshman, Arts Asiatiques, 1968, 14–17; Terrasses sacrées, I 200.

town and the Persian Gulf[5]; this was achieved by restoring and extending the old channel of the Ulaï (mentioned in *Daniel* 8:2, 16), whose name was adapted to "Eulaios" by the Macedonian settlers. In any case, study of the coins found on the site shows that Hellenistic Susa was able to attract a substantial share of the trade between the new capital Seleucia-on-the-Tigris and the Gulf (despite the fact that Susiana was deprived of part of its coastal strip by the satrapy of the "Erythraean Sea", carved out at its expense some time before 222, which was to become the kingdom of Mesene-Characene).

By comparison, commercial links with the Iranian plateau appear to have been limited. This was, no doubt, due partly to the growing power of the Elymaeans, masters of the Bakhtyari mountains and able therefore to control the routes between Susiana, Media and Persis[6]. After their resounding victory over Antiochus IV's plundering expedition in 164[7] they appear to have encroached gradually upon the lowlands, removing the whole left bank of the Karun river from Susa's control. In about 147[8] their king Kamniskeires, first of a long line of rulers to bear this name (or perhaps rather title), held Susa briefly, and issued coins there with his Greek-looking portrait.[9] This episode opened two extremely confused decades in the history of the city, which saw an alternation of Elymaean and Parthian occupations, interrupted by the reign of an obscure usurper bearing the Iranian name Tigraios (c. 137–132), and by two ephemeral Seleucid reconquests: first by Demetrius II (140), then by his brother Antiochus VII (130–129).[10] Parthian rule in Susa was firmly established only with the defeat of the latter at the hands of Phraates II. In these struggles the Elymaeans appear to have acted as a last rampart against Parthian expansion, giving battle to Mithradates I after his capture of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, then sending troops to Demetrius II during his ill-fated expedition in 140.

[5] Le Rider, o.c., pp. 267, 302–8 for the intensification of this traffic under Antiochus III. Ed. Will, however, has expressed a certain scepticism about the long-sighted economic projects attributed by this author to the political masters of Susa: Hist.pol., II 62, 354, 454. On the economy of Susa and Susiana see also R. Boucharlat, "Suse, marché agricole ou relais du grand commerce", Paléorient II/2, 1985, 71–81.

[6] See below, pp. 40–1.

[7] See above, p. 33.

[8] According to Le Rider's revised chronology of this period, following new nnmismatic discoveries: RN, 6e sér., 20, 1978, 33–7. Slightly different views by P. Strauss, RN 13, 1971, 109–40.

[9] Le Rider, RN 11, 1969, 18–22 with Pl. II/10–11.

[10] See above, pp. 33–4.

Loss of the function of a capital city, and the severing to a large extent of traditional links with the Iranian heartland, led to a sharp decline in social influence (and probably also in numbers) of Iranians in Susa. In fact, among the numerous personal names attested by Greek inscriptions from the Seleucid and Parthian periods, the only Iranian ones belong (with one possible exception) to administrators posted there by the Arsacid kings; some are Semitic, while the overwhelming majority are Hellenic.[11] Until the Sasanian conquest the civic power was to remain continuously in the hands of the descendants of the Seleucid settlers, who maintained their cultural identity in the gymnasium and in their cultic associations.[12] On the local coinage the images of deities remained purely Greek during the whole of the Seleucid period[13]. The favourite types were Apollo and Artemis, ancestral gods of the dynasty; in their quality of *Daittai* i.e. "Carvers" (presumably at civic banquets) they shared a temple built by the colonists (known from an inscription, but its site not identified).[14] The occurrence of a bee or deer on some coins has been interpreted as an influence of Artemis of Ephesus, possibly introduced by Ionian settlers native to that city.[15]

The absence of any iconographic contamination with Nanaia, the major local deity, is striking, and suggests that in this period her cult was not officially confounded at Susa with that of Artemis (as it appears to have been in Parthian times, when coins issued by the Susian mint show Artemis with such orientalizing attributes as a *polos*, a diadem and rays). Nevertheless the temple of Nanaia, continuously maintained—possibly on the same spot—since the cult of the goddess had been brought from Erech in the twelfth century B.C., remained the most prestigious temple of Susa[16]; and

[11] Le Rider, Suse, 280–7. The only seemingly indigenous name which could be Iranian is Goras, father of Ariston who at the end of the 1st cent. B.C. engraved (or perhaps composed) a Greek epigram embodying some Iranian concepts (see HZ IV). Cumont (CRAI 1931, 248) compared the name with Warāz "boar"; but others consider it Semitic (Le Rider, o.c., p. 286 nn. 2, 3).

[12] Mentioned in an inscription of the first half of the 1st cent. B.C. (Cumont, CRAI 1933, 264–8).

[13] Le Rider, o.c., pp. 288–93. The only exception is, under Antiochus IV, an enthroned goddess with *polos* and sceptre, accompanied by an eagle. Le Rider has shown that this type, also attested in Syria-Phoenicia, cannot be specifically identified as Nanaia, but indicates rather an attempt by Antiochus to unify artificially various local goddesses while associating them with his own favourite deity, Zeus Olympios, symbolized by the eagle.

[14] Le Rider, o.c., p. 289; this inscription was pnblished by Cumont, CRAI 1931, 283.

[15] Tarn, GBI, 6; Le Rider, o.c., p. 281.

[16] See HZ II 31; A. T. Olmstead, History of Assyria, N.Y.-London 1923, 486.

from the time of Antiochus III we have proof that it was frequented by the colonists. It is in fact mentioned in a series of Greek inscriptions recording manumissions; these were found reused in the masonry of a later dungeon on the southern edge of the upper town, but were originally displayed in various temples to whose gods the freedmen were consecrated[17]. While one inscription mentions Apollo and Artemis *Daittai* in this connection, the four others in which the name of the deity is preserved have "Nanaia"; the names of the manumitting masters are all Greek, except for one woman, Bēltibanatis (feminine of "Bēl is creator")[18]. Starting from the fact that almost all the slaves mentioned are women, and elaborating from uses well attested in Semitic religion, the first editors considered that the manumitted were bound to remain in the Nanaia temple as sacred prostitutes.[19] But this theory has since been demolished: every clause in these acts can be accounted for by Greek law, under which consecration to the deity was simply meant to warrant the former slave's freedom[20].

There is—unfortunately for our purpose—no evidence to show whether any Zoroastrian rituals had been introduced in the Susa temple under the Achaemenians, when Nanaia tended to be fused with "Anahit" and possibly provided a model for the image-cult of this goddess[21]; and, if so, whether these rituals survived the downfall of Persian power. The decrease of the Iranian element, which we have been led to assume, does not speak in favour of such an assumption. The existence of a fire temple is even more speculative[22].

There is, however, one puzzling document which may indicate

Pliny, Hist.nat., VI.135, expressly pairs Susa and evidently the Nanaia temple: "the river Eulaeus . . . passes round the citadel of Susa and the temple of Diana, which is regarded with greatest reverence by the races in those parts".

[17] These inscriptions (and others not pertaining to manumissions) were published by Cumont: Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Perse 20, Paris 1928, 77–98; CRAI 1931, 278–92; 1932, 278–86; 1933, 260–8. But see below, n. 20.

[18] Cumont, CRAI 1933, 262.

[19] See especially Cumont, Mém. de la Délégation . . ., pp. 86–7; also P. Koschaker, Abh. Sächs. Akad. d. Wiss., 42, 1931, 68–83.

[20] L. Robert, Revue de Philologie, 1936, 137–52 (repr. in Opera Minora Selecta 2, Amsterdam 1969, pp. 1216–31).

[21] One can ask whether the "setting up" of images of Anahit by Artaxerxes II, recorded by Berossus, was not in certain cases (especially at Babylon and Susa) an appropriation of existing images of Nanaia or Ishtar, going together with the introduction of magi in their temples (although M. B. expresses strong doubts about this suggestion). The only Achaemenian witness of a cult-statue of Anahit, that on a Greco-Persian seal, could pass for the depiction of a Mesopotamian goddess worshipped by a Persian (see HZ II 204 with n. 37, 274).

[22] On the spurious "Achaemenian *āyadana*" see HZ II 225–6. To the references given there, add: Ghirshman, Terrasses sacrées, I, 197–200; D. Stronach in

that in certain circumstances the Apollo worshipped at Susa was consciously assimilated to Mithra: a royal bronze issue of Artaban II[23], dating from *circa* 126/125—shortly after the last Seleucid reconquest of Susa—bears, on the obverse, the full-face portrait of the king, while the reverse shows a nude Apollo holding his quiver pressed under his left arm (an unusual depiction, supposedly copied from some local statue); he gives his right hand, perhaps holding an arrow, to a kneeling figure with a high rounded tiara and billowing hair. This is obviously the Parthian king, associated with the god in a scene of investiture or worship. That the Arsacid sovereign agreed to be shown in this humble attitude is in itself surprising, even more so in front of a Greek god; and one is tempted to conclude that the Parthians were already used to regarding Apollo's images as Mithra's—an inheritance from the Hellenistic age. (In fact, later on, Tiridates of Armenia quite clearly declared to Nero that an Arsacid king kneels to Mithra, and normally, it would seem, to no other: "Master, I am the descendant of Arsaces, brother of the kings Vologesus and Pacorus, and thy slave. And I have come to thee, my god, to kneel (*proskynēsōn*) to you as I do to Mithra")[24]. In the case under discussion, it remains surprising that Artaban, whose short reign was entirely devoted to the eastern front, should have taken this step precisely at Susa, a place he is unlikely to have visited; and one is led to suppose some initiative by his satrap, the circumstances of which we have no means of knowing.

Papers in honour of Professor Mary Boyce, Acta Ir. 25, Leiden 1985, 619–22 (both accepting the traditional identification as a temple—not necessarily a fire temple—, but proposing a date not earlier than the 2nd cent. B.C.); H. P. Francfort in Le Plateau iranien et l'Asie centrale des origines à la conquête islamique, ed. J. Deshayes, Paris 1977, 279–80; R. Boucharlat in Temples et sanctuaires, ed. G. Roux (Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient, 7), Lyon 1984, 126–30 (both contemplating the possibility of a non-religious, post-Achaemenian pavilion).

[23] Le Rider, o.c., issue 97, ill. Pl. X, descr. p. 79, comm. pp. 293–4, 374–6. The issue is there attributed to Mithradates I and dated 140–138; but a coin hoard since discovered has led to its reattribution to Artaban II (O. Mørkholm, Acta Archaeologica (Kobenhavn), 36, 1965, 151; accepted by Le Rider, RN 20, 1978, 35 n.2).

[24] Dio Cassius LXII.5.2. Le Rider (o.c., p. 375) mentions this passage as general evidence for *proskynesis* to the gods, but does not point to the specific link between Apollo and Mithra. The political explanation tentatively suggested by him (Mithradates paying homage to the god of the Greeks of Susa as an extreme concession to detach them from the Elymaeans) would not, theoretically, be incompatible with the reattribution to Artaban II; but in any case this gesture by a Parthian king is surely more comprehensible if he identified Apollo with his own Mithra, *yazata* of just war and treaties. Compare the *proskynesis* of the Kushan king Huvishka in front of Nana: R. Göbl, System und Chronologie der Münzpragung des Kušānreiches, Wien 1984, 43 with Pl. 167, type "Nana 5".

Elymais.

The earliest transmitted account of the Elymaeans comes from the report of Nearchus, Alexander's admiral; he mentioned them in a list as a "predatory people" of the Zagros mountains, who "exacted tribute from the [Achaemenian] kings".[25] Their territory occupied a long stretch of the mountain ranges to the north-east and east of the lowlands of Susiana. They were sometimes in league with their northern neighbours the Cosseans, who held to ransom travellers on the mountain road linking Susa with Laodicia and Ecbatana; to the east they bordered the Paretacenians, masters of the highlands above Gabai (Isfahan); to the south-east, the Uxians, who held the "Persian gates". In the period considered here the main axis of their realm appears to have been along the road which, from Susa and Sostrate (Shushtar), cut through the Zagros along the tortuous valley of the Pasitigris (Karun), the longest river of Iran, and reached the plateau at the oasis of Gabai. Although not now used as a road, it is still marked by impressive constructions known as the "road of the Atabeg", but undoubtedly in part much earlier than this medieval dynasty[26].

Like their successors in the same area—the Kurdish Atabegs, the Bakhtyars in the last century—, the Elymaeans derived considerable wealth from their control of all the southern passes of the Zagros; they were also highly valued as archers, and presumably their mercenaries contributed greatly to the quantities of weapons offered at their temples[27], together with other fabulous riches. In 187 Antiochus III, on the pretext of suppressing rebelliousness, but in reality anxious to replenish his treasury, emptied by the payment of tribute to Rome[28], attacked a temple of Bel[29] (otherwise called

[25] Quoted by Strabo XI.13.6; see also id., XI.12.4, XV.3.12, XVI.1.8 and 17–18. For the early history of the Elymaean kingdom generally see Le Rider, Suse, 353–5.

[26] H. Layard, Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia, London 1887, I, 412–24; A. Stein, Old Routes, 137–41; K. Schippmann, "Notizen zu einer Reise in den Bachtiaribergen", AMI 3, 1970, 231–7 with Pl. 110–14; Ghirshman, Terrasses sacrées, I 179–84. Remains of Sasanian bridges have been surveyed by J. Hansman (still unpublished; mentioned in Archaeological Investigations in Northeastern Xuzestan, 1976, ed. H. T. Wright, Ann Arbor 1979, 114–23 on the Seleucid to Early Islamic period).

[27] I Macc. 6:1–4; followed by Josephus XII.354. The weapons are said there to have been offered by Alexander.

[28] See above, pp. 31–2.

[29] Diodorus XXIX.15. This expedition, together with that of Antiochus IV, has been fully discussed by M. Holleaux, "La Mort d'Antiochos IV Epiphanès", Revue des Études Anciennes, 1916, 77–102 (= Holleaux, Etudes d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques, III, Paris 1942, 255–79), who has proved conclusively the

"Zeus"[30] or "Jupiter Elymaean"[31]); he managed to pillage it, but the inhabitants killed him and all his troops as he retreated. In 164 Antiochus IV, proceeding towards Gabai[32], tried to repeat his father's mischief, selecting as his target the temple of a goddess whom Greek historians call either "Artemis"[33] or "Aphrodite"[34], and to whom *II Maccabees* gives her real name, Nanaia.[35] Repelled by fierce local resistance, he had to go on his way, only to die shortly afterwards at Gabai. (These episodes, it has been supposed[36], may account for the fact that Elymaean kings recorded at Susa from the 140's onwards are given a title meaning "treasurer": *Kamniskires*, from Elamite *qa-ap-nu-iš-ki-ra*[37]—their kingship having, according to this hypothesis, evolved from the hereditary guardianship of the national wealth kept in temples.) In 139/138, however, priestly resistance proved unsuccessful against Mithradates I: better prepared than his Seleucid predecessors, he managed to take "both the temple of Athena and that of Artemis, the latter called Azara" (identical with the one attacked by Antiochus IV?), "carried off treasures valued at ten thousand talents",[38] and secured the submission of Elymais[39]—temporarily only, as it was to

historical character of both episodes, against earlier authors who took only the first as authentic. K. Eddy, The King is Dead, 133–4, 145–6, reconstructs a background of political agitation stirred up by the Elymaean priests, which is perhaps pressing the sources too far.

[30] Diodorus XXVIII.3 (on the same episode).

[31] Justin XXXII.2.1–2 (the mss., wrongly, give "Jupiter Didymaean").

[32] See above, p. 33.

[33] Polybius XXXI.9 (abridgment); followed by Josephus XII.354–355, and Porphyrius, FGrH II, n° 260, F.53 and 56 (from Jerome, In Daniel X, 718, 722): "Diana".

[34] Appian, Syr., 66. As noted by Holleaux, o.c., p. 258 n. 6 (reprint), the variant creates no difficulty as the oriental goddess (whether Nanaia or Anahit) could as well be equated with Aphrodite as with Artemis.

[35] II Macc. 1:13–15; see also 9:1–2 (where the episode is situated at Persepolis!). The parallel passage, I Macc. 6:1–4, does not name the goddess. Some polemical embroideries of II Macc. led S. Wikander (Feuerpriester, 71–5) to imagine that both kings intended to celebrate a ritual marriage between their own divine persons and the Elymaean goddess, but see above, p. 33 n. 49.

[36] J. Harmatta in Ghirshman, Terrasses sacrées, I 296. Otherwise Henning, art. cit. in n. 37, p. 165.

[37] W. B. Henning, "The Monuments and Inscriptions of Tang-i Sarvak", Asia Major 1952, 151–78 (= Selected Papers II, Acta Ir. 15, 1977, 359–86).

[38] Strabo XVI.1.18. (Although Strabo simply mentions a "king of Parthia" without date, it is generally agreed that this episode took place during the campaign recorded by Justin, see n. 39).

[39] Justin XLI.6.8 The puzzling relief of Hung-i Nauruzi (otherwise Hung-i Azhdar) near Izeh-Malamir, which apparently represents the investiture of a local king by a sovereign on horseback, has been interpreted as commemorating this event: L. Vanden Berghe, "Le Relief parthe de Hung-i Naurūzī", Ir. Aut. 3, 1963, 155–8 with Pls LIII–LVI; and with K. Schippmann, Les Reliefs rupestres

reappear a few decades later as an independent kingdom, which lasted until its conquest by the first Sasanian king.

About seven cult centres dating from the time of the Elymaean kingdom are known at present, most of them in the vicinity of the Karun valley[40]. Two, possibly three, have so far yielded material attributable to the Seleucid period.

The most impressive discoveries have been made at Shami, a site enclosed by mountains at the north-west edge of the plain of Izeh-Malamir (itself lying at the foot of the main Zagros ridges and, to judge from the concentration of monumental remains, obviously then the political centre of inner Elymais). Here, among traces of an ancient settlement occupying a natural terrace between two peaks, a rescue excavation brought to light the remains of a temple[41]; it was probably built of mud brick, as only stone foundations of the rectangular outer wall could be traced (23 by 12 m.), and the inside layout could not be reconstructed with certainty. The furnishing consisted of a burnt-brick altar, *thymiateria* (burners for offerings), and seven stone bases for statues of deities and rulers, themselves made of stone or bronze, of which substantial remains had escaped ancient pillagers. Among pieces of distinctly Greek work were a female stone head[42], and a mask from a bronze statue, slightly larger than life, depicting a beardless, youngish man with Hellenistic diadem[43]. This royal portrait has been variously identified as Alexander[44], Antiochus III, or Antiochus IV[45]; and the last theory has gained wide acceptance, leading to far-reaching speculation. But there is no special similarity with known portraits of Epiphanes; identifications from the features of the mask are

d'Elymaïde (Irān) de l'époque parthe, Gent 1985, 32–7 with Pls I–VI. The disproportionate profile head of the riding king is almost certainly copied from tetradrachms of Mithradates I, but the general style points to a far later date of execution. See lastly T. Kawamy, "Monumental Art of the Parthian Period in Iran", Acta Ir. 26, Leiden 1987, 119–25. (The reading and historical interpretation of inscriptions (?) by J. Harmatta, AASH 29, 1984, 189–217, are extremely unlikely).

[40] Schippmann, Feuerheiligtümer, 217–61; Vanden Berghe-Schippmann, o.c.

[41] Stein, o.c., pp. 130–5 and 141–9, with Pls IV–VI; Schippmann, Feuerheiligtümer, 227–33; Ghirshman, Terrasses sacrées, I 236–8 with n. 1 (who attempts to reinterpret the plan).

[42] Stein, o.c., p. 134 with fig. 49 (interpreted as Aphrodite); Ghirshman, l.c. (as Artemis); Kawami, art. cit., p. 133 with Pl. 67 (no identification).

[43] Stein, o.c., pp. 150–1 with Pl. IV.

[44] Ib. (tentatively).

[45] M. Rostovtzeff, The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World, Oxford 1941, I 66 with Pl. X/1, who eventually decides in favour of Antiochus IV. Followed (among others) by Eddy, o.c., p. 146; Ghirshman, l.c.; Vanden Berghe-Schippmann, o.c., pp. 19–20.

risky, as it has come to us broken in three pieces which cannot be rejoined[46]; and historical probability goes against the idea of Seleucid kings dedicating costly statues of themselves at sanctuaries which they were merely interested in despoiling. This effigy is far more likely to belong to a local king; and in fact the tetradrachms which they issued at Susa show that the Elymaean conquerors of the 140's did not wear beards, and were eager to commission superb portraits of themselves from local Greek craftsmen[47]. (The almost intact bronze statue of the "Parthian prince", which has made the site famous, probably dates from at least a century later.)[48]

The presence of impressive statues of rulers has led to the supposition that the temple at Shami was consecrated to the cult of deified kings[49]; or, more cautiously, that it contained a gallery of royal ancestors, like the one at Nimrud Dagh.[50] But such hypotheses are not necessary to account for these effigies, which could simply have been erected by donors, according to the Hellenistic custom now documented as far east as Aï Khanum and Takht-i Sangin[51]; the most logical assumption is that the Shami mask commemorates the generosity lavished by one of the conquerors of Susa on his national sanctuaries. Remains of the cult statue are more likely to be represented by colossal fragments, which show a bare thigh and a left hand bent around some added object[52]: these may indicate a Zeus (i.e. Bel) with his sceptre, or, less probably, a Heracles with his mace.

Fifty kilometres further west, standing among lower, dry ridges

[46] Wrongly interpreted by Ghirshman as coming from two heads, one male, one female (l.c.; also Iran. Parthes et Sassanides, Paris 1962, 20–1, with illustration). The face has since been reassembled at the Tehran Museum, although with much distortion (photograph in G. Herrmann, The Iranian Revival, Oxford-Lausanne 1977, 39). A lead cast which has so far been used in attempts at identification (Stein, "An Archaeological Journey in Western Iran", The Geographical Journal 92, 1938/2, fig. 9; Rostovtzeff, l.c.), appears to have important details such as nose and chin completed from imagination.

[47] The arrangement of the hair on the Shami mask is almost identical with that of the head on the tetradrachm of Okkonapses, the 3rd Elymaean king of Susa, who issued coins here c. 140–138: see Le Rider, RN 20, 1978, p. 33 fig. 1. This identification would not be contradicted by what is left of the features of the mask.

[48] See lastly Kawami, art. cit., pp. 59–63 with Pl. 11. Ghirshman's attempt (Terrasses sacrées, l.c.) to put all the Shami finds in the Seleucid period does not carry conviction.

[49] Stein, Old Routes, 151, 155; Eddy, o.c., p. 146 (who goes so far as to consider it a temple to Antiochus Epiphanes).

[50] S. M. Sherwin-White, "Shami, the Seleucids and dynastic cult: a note", Iran 22, 1984, 160–1. For Nimrud Dagh see below, p. 328.

[51] P. Bernard, Abstr. Ir. 8, 228.

[52] Stein, o.c., p. 151 with Pl. V/4, 5.

which form the transition between the Zagros and the plain, is the stone "Sacred Terrace" of Bard-i Neshande[53], which appears to have been built during the Hellenistic period. No object found here is characteristically Achaemenian, and coins deposited by visitors at the foot of the original facade (subsequently enclosed in an extension of the terrace) belong to the Seleucids and to an Elymaean king of the 140's[54]. In this first phase the terrace supported only a square podium (5 by 5 m., preserved to a height of 1 m.); it was perhaps already flanked by a sacristy of similar dimensions.

The existence of a Seleucid phase is less easily ascertained at Masjed-i Solaiman, a still larger terrace 18 km to the south of Bard-i Neshande, on the road linking inner Elymais with Sostrate and Susa. Here too the original terrace, of uncertain date, also carried (presumably from the beginning) an open-air podium[55]. On a western extension, a large temple was built in Parthian times upon a layer of loose stones which the excavator considered to be the remains of an earlier temple (the "Temple antérieur"), purposedly demolished[56]. The objects found in this layer appear to be modest remains of temple furnishings; their style certainly does not contradict the proposed Seleucid date, but would also be compatible with the early Parthian period[57]. Among them are cult implements (*thymiateria, situlae*); terracotta statuettes of horsemen wearing the Macedonian *kausia*, riding double-headed horses and carrying the image of a nude goddess[58]; and two small bronze images of Athena[59] (a later votive plaque from this same temple shows her standing side by side with Artemis[60]). On the western edge of the complex there stood a small temple to Heracles in Parthian times. (The excavator's theory that this existed already in the previous period lacks substantiation.[61])

There is a romantic appeal in trying to associate Elymaean sites explored by archaeologists with this or that episode known from

[53] Ghirshman, Terrasses sacrées, I 3–38, with plans I–II.
[54] Ib., p. 15; C. Augé, R. Curiel and G. Le Rider, Terrasses sacrées de Bard-è Nechandeh et Masdjid-i Solaiman. Les trouvailles monétaires, Paris 1979 (Mém. DAFI, XLIV), 16–17.
[55] Ghirshman, o.c., I 53–75 with plan III.
[56] Ib., pp. 76–7.
[57] Ib., pp. 78–89, with corresponding illustration in vol. II.
[58] Ib., I 78–81; II, Pls CXI–CXIII. See below, n. 68.
[59] Ib., I 89; II, Pls XCVII/3 and C/1–2.
[60] Ib., I 117–8; II, Pl. XCVII/1. Subsequent cleaning at the Louvre Museum has established the true identity of the deities, wrongly interpreted as Anahit and Mithra in the publication (communication by P. Bernard).
[61] Ib., pp. 90–1 (cf. p. 119: "all the sculpture . . . dated already from the Parthian period").

historical sources. So, the temple of Bel which cost Antiochus III his life has been tentatively identified with Bard-i Neshande[62]; that of Nanaia—supposedly the same as the "Azara" temple—has been located at Shami[63]; and the demolished "Temple antérieur" at Masjed-i Solaiman was regarded by its excavator as the Athena temple ransacked by Mithradates[64]. All these identifications are possible, but none is compelling, especially if one bears in mind that the archaeological exploration of Elymais is still far from complete.

A question of more consequence for the present history is the true identity of the deities variously named in our sources, and the nature of the cult celebrated in the temples so forcibly defended by the Elymaeans. The excavator of the "Sacred Terraces" proposed a definitely Iranian interpretation, taking these monuments as a point of reference for the whole evolution of Zoroastrian forms of worship down to the Sasanian period[65]. According to him, the Elymaeans, originally a branch of the Persian tribes, established these terraces for the open-air worship of Ahura Mazda as described by Herodotus, the podiums being destined for the ceremonial lighting of the sacred fire; the addition at Masjed-i Solaiman of a roofed temple to Athena (and, it was alleged, of another to Heracles) was ascribed to a Macedonian garrison; after the collapse of Seleucid domination the service of the temples was maintained (or restored) by the local inhabitants, who reinterpreted the Greek deities as Anahit and Vahram respectively. But this theory, attractive as it might appear, has since been proved to rest on

[62] Vanden Berghe-Schippmann, o.c. in n. 39, p. 17.
[63] Ghirshman, l.c. in n. 41, who draws an attractive comparison between the setting of Shami and the mountainous landscape mentioned in the Porphyrius' fragment (quoted above, n. 33), which also gives the name "Saba", possibly reflecting "Shami". Unfortunately one cannot be certain that these indications actually refer to the Elymaean temple, as the arrangement by Jerome of quotations from Porphyrius is far from clear. Moreover, nothing in the Shami finds points clearly to Nanaia or Artemis. (The confusion between the Nanaia temple of Susa and the one attacked by Antiochus IV, made by Tarn, GBI, 463–6 and Wikander, l.c. in n. 35, arose from an obsolete identification of Elymais with Susiana).
[64] Ghirshman, o.c., p. 89. Differently Henning, art. cit., p.177, and J. P. Guépin, Persica 2, 1965–66, 19 sq., who propose putting the "Azara" temple near Tang-i Sarvak—a location consistent with what is known of Mithradates' campaign, but rather off the probable road taken by Antiochus IV to Gabai. The targets of the 2 attacks may well have been distinct, as Elymais could have supported more than one rich temple of Nanaia.
[65] Ghirshman, o.c., *passim*; summarized in "La Religion de l'Iran du VIIIe siècle avant notre ère à l'Islam", in Le plateau iranien et l'Asie centrale des origines à la conquête islamique, ed. J. Deshayes, Paris 1977, 343–8.

ruinous foundations[66]. In particular, it has been brought out that the cultural connections of the Elymaeans were more with the Elamites of old (their most likely ancestors, from whom they inherited their name and the title of their kings), and with Mesopotamia (whence they borrowed their written language, a form of Aramaic)[67]. The "Macedonian garrison" at Masjed-i Solaiman remains a mere hypothesis, as no traces of its quarters have been found[68]; and the discoveries at Shami, in the very heart of the country, show that the Elymaeans did not need Greek settlers to feel the impact of Hellenistic forms of cult.

According to Darius, the unsubmissive Elamites "did not worship Ahuramazda"[69]; and they are not likely to have adopted his cult later on, when pressure exerted by Achaemenian power diminished and eventually disappeared. The abundant series of cultic scenes dedicated in Parthian times by worshippers on the Terraces never illustrate such specifically Zoroastrian motives as the *baresman*, mouth-coverings, or prayers uttered before a fire-holder; in this respect they stand in marked contrast with the iconography of *frataraka* coins and reliefs from neighbouring Persis[70]. The most explicit religious record of Elymais, i.e. the inscribed reliefs carved in the later political centre at Tang-i Sarvak (second century A. C.), do not hint at any assimilation between Bel and Ahura Mazda, for the king worships Bel (clearly named) in the form of a baetyl set on a stepped podium[71]. One cannot but consider the possibility that the podiums on the "Sacred Terraces" fulfilled a similar function[72]. Parthian reliefs from Masjed-i Solaiman show Zeus-Bel with cornucopia, pouring an offering with a *patera* on a *thymiaterion*[73]: this gesture, already found on Seleucid coins from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris which depict the same god (alone or paired with Tyche-Ishtar)[74], refers to the characteristically Semitic concept of the god sacrificing to himself (Zoroastrian deities occasionally sacrifice to others, but never to themselves). Artemis and Athena, also, as we have seen, attested in the Seleucid period at Elymais, both from historical sources and archaeological remains, reappear at Tang-i Sarvak, enthroned together and receiving royal homage[75]. Their depiction side by side would not be expected in western Zoroastrianism, where their concepts would normally have been merged in that of Anahit[76]; perhaps this representation reflects the ancient pair formed by Ishtar (hence Athena) and Nanaia (hence Artemis); or, alternatively, Athena might here stand for Allath, as she does so often on the western and northern periphery of the Arabian desert[77].

One source, it must be admitted, could suggest that this Nanaia-Artemis was eventually assimilated to Anahit: Aelian mentions that "in the country of Elymais there is a shrine to Anaïtis and there are

[66] See already the reservations expressed on both the chronology and interpretations by Schippmann, Feuerheiligtümer, 244–51, 256–8; also HZ II 22. A well argued refutation is given by J. Hansman, "The Great Gods of Elymais", in Papers in honour of Professor Mary Boyce, Acta Ir. 25, Leiden 1985, 229–46 with Pls II–IV (who also draws Elymaean coins of the Parthian period into the discussion).

[67] Henning, art. cit.; HZ II 130; Hansman, art. cit., pp. 241–2.

[68] Ghirshman's interpretation (o.c., pp. 78–81) of the votive statuettes as depicting Macedonian *amphippoi* (i.e. horsemen provided with a remount) carrying a statue of their protectress Athena Hippia is unacceptable; the horsemen ride one bicephalic horse, and the nude goddess can in no case be the virgin Athena. The only feature of probable Macedonian origin is the *kausia* worn by the horsemen. See also below, p. 187.

[69] See HZ II 127.

[70] See below, pp. 113–14, 117.

[71] So Henning, art. cit., pp. 157, 160, Pls XV, XVI, XXIV; H. Seyrig, "Sur un bas-relief de Tang-i Sarvak", Syria 47, 1970, 113 with Pl. IX; Hansman, art. cit., pp. 238–9; Kawami, art. cit., pp. 94–5, 103–4, Pl. 47. Ghirshman's interpretation of the baetyl as a royal *tiara* (o.c., p. 284) has been rightly rejected.

[72] Ghirshman's identification as fire-chambers (*ateshgah*) of niches hollowed in the outer facade of both terraces (Bard-i Neshande: o.c., pp. 20–1; Masjed-i Solaiman: o.c., pp. 61–2) is unacceptable. In both cases these are situated close to an access stairway and lack any flue, so that they are far more likely to have sheltered oratories for cult-images.

[73] Ghirshman, o.c., II, Pl. LXXIX/2; identified by Hansman, art. cit., p. 243 with Pl. III/3 (but the "baetyl" is in reality a *thymiaterion*). Add Ghirshman, same plate, 3–4.

[74] Seyrig, art. cit., pp. 114–5; Hansman, art. cit., pp. 236–7. Also depicted, without *patera*, at Tang-i Sarvak (see ib.), and by a bronze statuette from the Parthian shrine at Bard-i Neshande (identified by Hansman, art. cit., pp. 243–4 with Pl. III/2).

[75] Seyrig recognized Athena (art. cit., p. 115 with Pl. IX/3), but mistook the radiated Artemis for Helios; similarly Hansman, art. cit., with Pl. II/a, and Kawami, art. cit., pp. 100–1 with Pls 44–5. In fact both goddesses are identically dressed with a long mantle ending in a train. The correct interpretation was put forward by H. von Gall, AMI 4, 1971, 212–13; approved by P. Bernard (personal communication). Vanden Berghe-Schippmann, o.c. in n. 39, pp. 67–72 with Pl. 31–3, were misled by damages to the surface and took both to represent bearded warriors.

[76] In eastern Iran Athena preserved a distinct personality, thanks to her assimilation to the Zoroastrian Arštāt (F. Grenet, St. Ir. 13, 1984, 258–61, and "L'Athéna de Dil'berdžin", in Cultes et monuments religieux, ed. Grenet, 41–5 with Pls XXIV–XXV). There is, however, no indication that such a process took place in the west.

[77] Herodotus (I.131) bears witness to the fame enjoyed by Allath beyond her Arabian homeland already in the Achaemenian period. See, however, J. Starcky's reservations (Lexicon Iconographicon Mythologiae Classicae, I/1, 1981, s.v. "Allath"): "Even if Aramaic influence was strong in Elymais, there is no reason to suppose a cult to Allath there, but, at most, an imitation of the iconographic type of Athena-Allath"; the author is, however, influenced by the traditional, and highly debatable, identification of the Elymaean Athena with Anahit.

tame lions there which welcome and fawn upon those on their way to the shrine"[78]—a detail which is very appropriate to Nanaia. But by Aelian's time the name Anahit had become so generally associated with various oriental "Artemises", that one is entitled to doubt whether the Elymaean Nanaia was really worshipped by Zoroastrians as their own goddess[79]. It has been alleged also that the presence near Masjed-i Solaiman of natural fires fed by jets of gas was likely to attract Zoroastrian veneration, bearing in mind the cult paid in Sasanian times to "self-sustained fires" (*ataxš ī a-xwarišnīh*)[80]: this is possible, but this circumstance does not appear to have any bearing on the character of the deities worshipped on the terraces.

To conclude, there are indications that Zoroastrianism met a fairly rigid barrier at the south-western edge of the Iranian plateau: Elymais, together with Susa, belonged decidedly to the sphere of Babylonian religion. It was receptive of outer forms of Hellenistic worship, but, despite two centuries of Achaemenian domination, the impact there of Zoroastrianism remained probably of an intellectual character, and confined to educated urban circles. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Zoroastrian Parthian conquerors treated with equal harshness the temples at Babylon and in Elymais[81], repeating in the latter the behaviour of their Seleucid enemies.

[78] XII.23.
[79] Similarly Hansman, art. cit., pp. 234–5.
[80] E. Herzfeld, AMI 1, 1929, 71–2, and AHI, 93; M. Siroux, Athār-é Īrān 3, 1938, 157–9; Stein, o.c., p. 162. For a Zoroastrian interpretation of the demonstration of properties of oil, made to Alexander in Adiabene (Plutarch, Alexander, 35), see G. Dumézil, "Alexandre et le mandat céleste", in Dumézil, L'Oubli de l'homme et l'honneur des dieux, Paris 1985, 236–41.
[81] Diodorus XXXIV.21 (destruction of temples at Babylon by Phraates II after his defeat of Antiochus VII, cf. above, p. 34).

PART TWO

IN LANDS OF ANCIENT IRANIAN HABITATION

CHAPTER FOUR

ZOROASTRIANISM AND HELLENISM: A GENERAL SURVEY

At the time of Alexander's conquest, it is reasonable to assume, most inhabitants of the towns and villages in the Iranian satrapies were Zoroastrians, the oldest communities being in the east, but leadership in religious as in political matters having been exercised for generations by Persians under the rule of the Great Kings. This leadership had manifested itself in later Achaemenian times in a number of innovations, including the introduction of a common liturgical calendar, the building of temples to house cult images and consecrated fires, and the fostering of the monistic heterodoxy of Zurvanism. Despite Zoroastrianism having become "the" Iranian religion, there is evidence down to Sasanian times and beyond of the survival here and there of yet more ancient Iranian beliefs.[1] (Similarly, paganism persisted in out-of-the-way places over many centuries in Christian Europe.) North-east Iran was moreover open to the recurrent introduction of pagan or aberrant beliefs and usages by new Iranian settlers, infiltrating or invading from the steppes. Evidence for the existence of such beliefs or usages there in Arsacid or Sasanian times is not by itself proof therefore that they were known in those regions in the Achaemenian or Seleucid eras.

The main question concerning the latter epoch is, however, that of the interaction of Zoroastrianism with Hellenistic religion. As its later history shows, the Iranian faith was little affected in the long run by the European one; but despite the meagreness of the direct evidence, some points of considerable interest can be deduced about influences or reactions between the two during the Seleucid period itself.

Contacts between Hellenes and Iranians

An important aspect of the question is how closely or generally the two religions in fact came into contact. The obvious and impressive setting for an encounter by Iranians with Hellenistic

[1] See Zaehner, Zurvan, 13–16, and further below, pp. 170–1, 457–8.

worship was the Hellenistic city, with its dignified temples and beautiful statues of the gods, its colourful religious processions and public sacrifices. Yet such cities, though numerous enough to allow the Seleucids to hold most of western Iran for generations, were few in proportion to the vastness of the land. Old Iranian towns continued to exist, even though dominated strategically by new Greco-Macedonian cities, and these towns remained presumably largely under the control of Iranian nobles, with certain Greek officials resident there.[2] Around them would have been a network of dependent villages, paying their dues, probably very much as before, to their Iranian overlords, who would have remitted what proportion was demanded of them to the new rulers of the land.[3] Most peasants, living in such circumstances, probably seldom if ever encountered Hellenes, unless they were unlucky enough to have Greco-Macedonian troops quartered on them during some winter season—an experience calculated to instil nothing but bitterness in their hearts towards these strangers and all their ways. Village priests would have shared the lives of their parishioners, remaining equally remote from the conquerors' world; and in such rural communities no new influences are likely to have affected the accustomed practice of their ancestral religion.

The Hellenistic cities likewise stood within a network of dependent villages, for the Seleucids chose for them sites where there was good farmland already in cultivation, to ensure their prosperity. Groups of peasants might therefore be turned off the actual land on which the city was built; and others might lose their holdings in the region around its walls, which would be divided up and distributed in lots to the new citizens. "An ancient 'city' should always be considered together with the land, fields and woods which supplied it".[4] What happened to peasants thus made landless can only be guessed at; but some may have been reduced to virtual bondage, working for the colonists in what were now their fields.[5]

In the villages round about, lying beyond the lands immediately appropriated for the new city, the peasants were presumably encouraged to continue working their fields, so as to be able to pay dues to it in kind. Sometimes at least guard-posts appear to have

[2] E. Bikerman, Institutions, 164–6; P. Briant, Rois, tributs et paysans, 258–9. Bikerman points out that the only old town whose structure under the Seleucids is fully known is Jerusalem, where the "nation of the Jews" was governed by its priests and aristocrats, who had autonomy with regard to its affairs.
[3] Briant, o.c., pp. 241–4.
[4] Robert, Villes d'Asie Mineure, 371; cf. Bikerman, o.c., p. 160.
[5] Briant, o.c., p. 239.

been built here and there outside a city's walls, both to give protection to the villagers in times of danger and to ensure their submissiveness.[6] As far as daily life went, however, "it may be supposed that neither the status nor the economic condition of the native peasants actually underwent any real changes. They would have kept their houses, their villages, their families; they would have continued to cultivate the fields round their villages; the organization of the village community would not have been destroyed."[7] Among the things that they retained would have been their ever-burning hearth fires, the focus for family devotions, and also their local sanctuaries—probably at that period simply places on hilltops or by trees or springs which had become holy through regular worship there.

The dealings of such rural communities with their new masters would have been collective, and presumably the headman or village elders would have had to learn a little basic Greek; but communication is not likely to have been extensive, or to have gone in general beyond practical matters. It may thus be reasonably supposed that the villagers of Seleucid Iran, whether directly subjected to Hellenes or working still for Iranian landowners, constituted in the main a body of faithful adherents to Zoroastrianism, with little or nothing occurring to challenge their traditional beliefs and ways. (A parallel may be sought in the better-known conditions of Palestine, where those who in the second century B.C. opposed Antiochus IV's measures to end the exclusive worship of Yahweh found their chief support in the country districts, which had little experience of the allure of Hellenism.[8])

Conditions for close and continual contacts between the colonists and their Iranian subjects clearly existed within the Hellenistic cities, for even in those which were wholly new creations there was evidently an Asian population, providing labour of various kinds. This population was made up presumably partly of local people (such as perhaps the dispossessed peasant families), partly sometimes of captives of war.[9] In the latter case, groups of prisoners, enslaved to a new city, might include people of widely differing

[6] Bikerman, l.c.; Briant, o.c., pp. 237–8.
[7] Briant, o.c., p. 237. Cf. ib., pp. 156–8 and Bikerman, o.c., p. 177.
[8] Bevan, House, II 174–5; Schürer, HJP I 156 ff., 177 ("pro-Hellenism had in fact no roots among the people").
[9] On the reports by Justin (XII.5.12) and Curtius (VII.6.27) of the gift by Alexander of the survivors from 3 rased Sogdian towns to his new city of Alexandria-on-the-Jaxartes, see Briant, o.c., pp. 244–6; A. B. Bosworth, "Alexander and the Iranians", JHS C, 1980, 10–11.

levels of intellect and culture, and diverse callings, among them priests. The Hellenistic citizen body for its part was also heterogeneous, for the colonists who came out from Greece to join the Macedonian veterans and Greek mercenaries were mixed family groups,[10] with the penniless and land-hungry sharing the venture with people of some means and education, including philosophers, poets and rhetors, doctors and teachers, and instructors in various skills.[11] Moreover, as their proper names show, they came from different regions. Most of those from Macedonia and Greece probably had little or no previous knowledge of Iranians, while others from Ionia might have inherited a familiarity with aspects of their culture going back over generations. Despite all such diversity, surviving inscriptions show that educated Hellenes among the settlers spread a pure, living Greek culture, city by eity, right across Seleucid Iran, a fact that has been demonstrated by excavations of two towns on opposite flanks of the land—to the south-west (in modern Iraq) the eastern Seleucid capital of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, to the north-east (in modern Afghanistan) the nameless *polis* known from a village nearby as Aï Khanum.[12] This urban Hellenism, extinguished relatively early in some plaees, flourished in others all through the period of Seleucid domination. Yet despite its evident strength, it is difficult to say how much it affected Iranians, even locally. In the early years, even if chances of war brought Asians of intellect and ability within the walls of a Hellenistic city, it is unlikely that they would have had in general any close contact with their European counterparts there. The groups of Hellenes, however heterogeneous, were united through all belonging to the conquering people and through sharing the same privileges—privileges from which others who lived within the city were largely or entirely excluded.[13] There was moreover the language barrier (which if it was to be overcome had in general, it seems, to be assailed from the Iranian side, by the subjects not the rulers).[14]

[10] Briant, o.c., p. 255 with n. 24.
[11] Robert, "Une bilingue gréco-araméenne d'Asoka", JA 1958, 13.
[12] For monographs on individual groups of finds from Seleucia (exeavated up to 1939 by L. Waterman) see volumes in the University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, by N. Debevoise (Vol. 32), R. H. McDowell (Vols. 36, 37), and W. van Ingen (Vol. 45); and more generally Clark Hopkins, ed., Topography and architecture of Seleucia on the Tigris, Ann Arbor, 1973. For Aï Khanom see below, p. 157 n. 21.
[13] Briant, o.c., pp. 236, 261–2.
[14] A. Momigliano, Alien Wisdom, 7–8, 81, 149. In general, "while the Greeks did not have to know the native languages, most of the natives did not have to know Greek", E. Bickerman, Religions and politics in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, Como 1985, 507.

Matters were plainly rather different in those Hellenistic cities which were refoundations of old Asian towns. Here too there was a physical separation of conquerors and conquered, with the Europeans, presumably generally a minority, living sometimes in a fortified citadel, sometimes in a separate quarter,[15] and again constituting the main citizen body, governing in its own interests; but here the old town had its own traditions and its sacred places, some of ancient and impressive dignity; and inscriptions from Seleucia-on-the-Eulaios (Susa) show that in the second century Hellenes there paid honour to the goddess Nanaia even more sedulously, if the relative number of inscriptions can be trusted as evidence, than to their own divinities.[16] This is in accord with the general readiness of individual Greeks to worship and propitiate the gods of the countries in which they settled. Yet the city authorities of Susa never officially recognized Nanaia by putting her image on any of their coins;[17] and surviving city records show that, however many individual accommodations and contaets came to be made there between Hellenes and Asians, "the descendants of the first Macedonian and Greek colonists were able, throughout the Hellenistic period and down to about the mid first century B.C., to remain the controlling group of the city, and to preserve the Greek character of their institutions".[18] The tenacity of the Hellenes is attested also at Dura-Europos, where "throughout the entire Parthian period the founder of the city, Seleucus I, was held in honour. Especially striking is the retention of the leading urban magistracies by 'Europaioi', i.e. Macedonians, right down to the end of the city's existence", that is, to 256 A.C.[19]

How the Asians were organized who lived in these cities remains obscure. Occasionally chosen individuals may have been granted citizenship, while the rest, once the harshness and uncertainties of the settlement period were over, at least lived from day to day in contact with the urban Greek way of life, and shared in it to an undefined extent. "Although the Seleucids had no definite purpose of hellenising Asia, mere contiguity naturally produced some effect."[20] In minor Hellenistic cities, such as those which evolved from military colonies, Asians may have taken a greater part in

[15] Le Rider, Suse, 280–1; Briant, o.c., pp. 258–9.
[16] Cf. above, pp. 37–8
[17] Le Rider, o.c., pp. 292–3.
[18] Ib., p. 287.
[19] V. G. Lukonin, CHIr. III.2, 716–17.
[20] W. W. Tarn and G. T. Griffith, Hellenistic Civilisation, London 1952, 159. "The cities, not the kings, hellenized the East", Bickerman, o.c., p. 508.

public life and civil administration. There too there would usually have been a gymnasium, "the centre of both physical and intellectual training for the common man",[21] and the official language was always Greek. A number of Iranians, it seems, came therefore to study Greek seriously, if Plutarch is at all to be trusted when he writes: "Homer was commonly read, and the children of the Persians, of the Susianians, and of the Gedrosians learned to chant the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides".[22]

Cultural contacts with Hellenism evidently extended beyond city walls as far as Iranian nobles were concerned. Archaeological finds show that they became patrons of Greek craftsmen, plainly enjoying their artefacts; and some members of their class entered fully into the world of the conquerors. As we have seen, the sons of certain Persian nobles who served Alexander themselves took part, as troop-commanders, in the Successors' Wars;[23] and the names are recorded of Iranians who held high position, as army officers or administrators, under the Seleucids[24] (although proportionately to the Greeks and Macedonians they were very few in number[25]).

At a humble social level, Iranians served in the Seleucid armies, probably both as individual mercenaries and in auxiliary troops furnished by a particular city or region.[26] Sources concerning these troops are meagre; but Persis is known to have provided archers and slingers and drivers of scythe-wheeled war-chariots, while the Medes were famed for their cavalry.[27] Sometimes these troops were commanded by Hellenes, sometimes by their own leaders; but they were presumably always accompanied by their own priests, to pray for victory and to perform at least minimal rites for the dead and dying. In religious terms they probably lived therefore fairly much to themselves; but they must have witnessed some of the Greek rituals regularly performed before and after battle, and they perhaps experienced, through contact with other ethnic groups, a certain loosening of their own traditional beliefs. But for whatever

[21] Tarn, GBI, 18 (q.v. pp. 6–9, 19–22 on the military colony evolving into a *polis*). On the gymnasium (with its obligatory nakedness during physical exercise) as a barrier between Greeks and non-hellenized Orientals see Bickerman, o.c., p. 512.
[22] Of the fortune of Alexander, I.5.
[23] Above, p. 18.
[24] M. Launey, Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques, I, 565–6, 557; H. Bengtson, "Die Bedeutung der Eingeborenenbevölkerung in den hellenistischen Oststaaten", Welt als Geschichte, 1951, 136–7.
[25] Cf. Schmitt, Untersuchungen, 100.
[26] Bikerman, Institutions, 89.
[27] Launey, o.c., pp. 568–9; Bikerman, o.c., p. 60.

reasons, the Seleucids do not appear to have recruited large numbers of Iranians, and so the influence of these soldiers, when disbanded, on Iranian society is not likely to have been great.—Conversely, the Seleucids may well have taken over at least one military custom from the Achaemenians, that of requiring soldiers, in taking an oath of loyalty, to invoke not only the gods but also "the Fortune (Tyche) of King Seleucus". The phrasing of this "royal oath", attaching the army to each individual ruler, probably embodied the Iranian concept of the kingly *khvarenah*.[28]

In Iranian civil life generally the patterns established under the Achaemenians were not much changed. The largest administrative groups were still the satrapies, which corresponded broadly with Iranian ethnic and linguistic divisions; and their natural tendency to separatism was favoured by the structure of the Seleucid empire, which consisted essentially of "a king, an army, and a bureaucracy . . . Even before the final dissolution any satrapy could easily set up for itself . . . because the governor of a satrapy had an organisation ready to his hand . . ., while the Greek cities or settlements in his territory were only separate units and not parts of a whole".[29] Such a governor possessed, it seems, his own *basileion* or palace residence; and visits there by the Iranian noblemen of the region must have been one means of making them familiar with Hellenistic culture and appreciative of its material and aesthetic aspects. It is also very possible that such obligatory contacts extended to high priests, men of wealth and standing in the Iranian community over whom the Macedonian governors probably sought to exercise some measure of control.

The scribes

For administrative and fiscal purposes the satrapies were subdivided, the basic unit for taxation being the hyparchy;[30] and each hyparchy possessed a land-register, written in Greek, which gave the boundaries of the villages and properties in it.[31] The men who compiled these registers were presumably in the satrap's employ; but they must have needed to consult local people, and among those most likely to have been able to aid them were Iranian scribes serving the local landowners. At this time the Iranian languages

[28] Bikerman, o.c., p. 97. Cf. above, p. 13 with n. 59.
[29] Tarn, GBI, 4.
[30] See with bibliography Frye, History, 155–6 with nn. 47–9.
[31] Tarn-Griffiths, o.c., p. 133.

themselves were not yet being written.[32] Iranian scribes were trained to read and write Aramaic, which had been the *lingua franca* of the Middle East before the Macedonian conquest. This they then translated aloud into the local Iranian language for their aliterate employers, for whom writing was a craft, not an accomplishment for a gentleman. Many of them must now also have learned enough of the new *lingua franca*, Greek, to deal on their masters' behalf with the new officialdom and its demands, acquiring for this purpose at least a basic vocabulary, and a knowledge of terms for figures, weights and measures etc. Yet in only one satrapy, Bactria, did they abandon written Aramaic in favour of written Greek. Elsewhere the tradition of writing in Aramaic was kept up among the Iranians themselves; but since there was no longer, as in Achaemenian days, a central imperial chancellery where Aramaic was used and by which a single standard was maintained, local idiosyncrasies gradually crept into the usage of scribal schools in the different satrapies, as subsequent developments show.

The importance of these facts for the history of Zoroastrianism is twofold. First, the scribes were close to the priests,[33] and the regional separation which these developments attest may therefore be taken to indicate a measure of separation also between the priesthoods of the different satrapies. Alexander's conquest having ended the ecclesiastical as well as the political domination of Persia, the different Iranian peoples now became free again to practise and uphold the Zoroastrian religion each according to their own convictions and needs.

The scribes' adherence to the Aramaic language is important secondly as an instance of the general loyalty of the Iranians to traditional ways, and their dogged rejection of new things which threatened to replace old ones. Much of what Hellenism brought offered no such threat, being wholly novel, and acceptable as an enrichment to life; but in the sphere of religion Hellenistic beliefs encountered Iranian ones, which were both very old and immensely complex and strong.

The minstrel-poets

In sharp contrast to the scribes, maintaining the alien art of writing by means of a fossilized foreign tongue, and having to some

[32] There is possibly one example of written Iranian belonging to the Seleucid period, i.e. the inscription in Aramaic script at Darius' tomb, see below, pp. 118–20; but this is far from certain.

[33] Cf. above, p. 12 n. 51.

extent enforced contact with Hellenes, were the minstrel-poets of Iran, practitioners of an ancient native craft, whose contribution to resisting Hellenism is likely to have been very great. They cultivated, with professional skill, the art of extemporising verses to music, an art which required them both to learn by heart traditional themes and forms of expression, and to compose afresh upon new subjects.[34] There is some evidence for the influence exerted by minstrels in Achaemenian times, and for the esteem in which they had then been held;[35] and the importance of court eulogists is shown by Curtius' description of Babylon's surrender to Alexander, for in the procession that went out to meet the conqueror, he records, magi and Chaldean priests were followed by a whole group of musicians, "accustomed to sing the praises of the king".[36] The privileges and rewards of these court minstrels must have ended abruptly with Alexander's conquest; for whatever else the Macedonian took over from the Persian kings, patronage of Iranian minstrelry is not likely to have been included. Nor was the Hellenistic city a place to provide Iranian poets with a livelihood. Minstrels must therefore have pursued their traditional calling under the Seleucids among Iranians only, with presumably neither wish nor need to have dealings with their country's new masters.

Later evidence shows how wide was the range of their poetry, and how influential the part which they played in an aliterate, intelligent and music-loving society; for they were not only entertainers, giving pleasure to nobleman and peasant alike; they were present on all occasions of note, observing, recording, and giving expression to common emotions and thoughts; by turns eulogists, satirists and story-tellers, historians of the past and commentators on their own times—and hence to a large extent the shapers of opinion. Some minstrels were probably wanderers, and well-turned verses could also travel, passed appreciatively from mouth to mouth; and so these poets had a part too in spreading news. Many verses of lamentation must have been composed and repeated after the battles of Granicus, Issus and Gaugamela, after the burning of

[34] See Boyce, "The Parthian *gōsān* and Iranian minstrel tradition", JRAS 1957, 10–45.

[35] See ib., pp. 19–20.

[36] V.1.20–3. Curtius does not say whether these eulogists were Persians or Babylonians, but the former seems more likely. (Melodically, F. G. points out, Iranian minstrels are likely to have learnt much at that epoch from the Babylonians and other Near Eastern peoples, just as they acquired new musical instruments, cf. Marcelle Duchesne-Guillemin, "Une marionette d'époque parthe et le problème de l'origine du luth", Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden, 65, 1984–1985, 23–30.)

Persepolis and the slaughters of Alexander's eastern campaigns; and celebrations of feats of individual valour, and dirges for the dead, must have helped to keep awake both Iran's pride and her sorrow at defeat and alien rule.

Leading minstrels doubtless found their chief patrons among the great Iranian lords. Among these were the Atropatids of Lesser Media, independent of Macedonian rule and probably strongly anti-Macedonian in sentiment;[37] and the *fratarakas* of Persis, at least one of whom gave violent expression to his hostility to the Hellenes.[38] At their courts, and in the halls of like-minded barons, minstrels would have pleased both their patrons and themselves by composing verses that fanned anti-hellenistic feeling.[39] They are likely thus to have made common cause with Iran's priests in sustaining national memories and encouraging defiance of the foreign infidels and hatred of Alexander.[40] In a number of oral

[37] See above, p. 18 and below, p. 69 ff.

[38] See below, pp. 113–14.

[39] The fact that Iran's former wealth of minstrel poetry is represented only by a few works set down in Middle Persian (the official language of the Sasanian empire) is no reason for supposing that under the Seleucids only the minstrels of Persis were active in using their verses to revive their people's pride and spirit (so the pioneer in this matter, S. K. Eddy, The king is dead, 81 ff., whom others have followed); for although it was the Persians who had suffered most, in loss of power and privilege, through the Macedonian conquest, all Iranians had experienced defeat and almost all were living under continuing alien rule, and there were minstrels everywhere.

[40] The story about Alexander's birth which appears in Iranian versions of the Alexander romance (on which see M. N. Southgate, Iskandarnamah, a Persian medieval Alexander-Romance, New York 1978, 167–85)belongs to a later age. According to it, Alexander was the elder half-brother of Darius III, born of a union between that king's father and a Macedonian princess. She became displeasing to her husband and was sent back by him to her native land, being (unknown to him) with child. There she bore Alexander, whose true parentage was concealed because of the disgrace of her rejection. Alexander was thus the rightful heir to the Achaemenian throne, and in conquering Iran was doing no more than claiming his inheritance. This story was apparently invented in early Islamic times in imitation of the Egyptian one preserved by Pseudo-Callisthenes, which made Alexander's real father the last Egyptian pharaoh. This Egyptian fabrication was evidently reproduced in the lost Pahlavi version of Pseudo-Callisthenes (on which see Nöldeke, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans, Denkschriften d. kaiserlichen Akad. d. Wiss zu Wien, 1890, 11 ff.), for it is found in its 6th-century Syriac translation. It thus came to offer a challenge to Iranian patriotism, and the parallel Iranian fiction was presumably forged in response to it. It is first found in the Shahnama (ed. Beroukhim, V, pp. 1779–82); but Firdausi, although he uses the tale, nevertheless tells of Alexander's conquest of Iran in profoundly sorrowful terms, thus underlining how incompatible this late fiction was with the genuine Iranian tradition of Alexander the accursed, "born to trouble the order of the world", which Chardin found still alive among the Zoroastrians of Iran in the 17th century (see his Voyages en Perse, ed. L. Langlès, Paris 1811, VIII, 377–8, cited by Darmesteter, "La légende d'Alexandre chez les

literatures, including that of ancient Iran, priestly and minstrel traditions tend in any case to be partly interdependent, each contributing themes to the other.[41] In the Seleucid period Median minstrels almost certainly helped to celebrate the miracles and legends of Adur Gušnasp, drawing thus ever more pilgrims to its shrine;[42] and minstrels generally contributed presumably to the dissemination of an essentially religious apocalyptic literature, interweaving political prophecies of the downfall of the Macedonians with visions of the end of time in a way that was doubtless deeply satisfying to their Zoroastrian listeners, and earned them good rewards. Since this type of poetry seems linked with, or paralleled by, that of the Persian Sibyllists, consideration of it will be deferred to a later chapter.[43]

Hellenes and the Iranian religion

It has been assumed by not a few scholars that Alexander deliberately fostered a syncretism between Zoroastrianism and the Hellenistic religion as part of his supposed policy of bringing Persians and Hellenes together; but there is no evidence for this. On the contrary, as we have seen,[44] his treatment of the Iranian religion appears to have been marked by a quite unusual neglect. Elsewhere he is recorded to have honoured alien divinities and bestowed gifts on their temples;[45] and in this the Seleucids followed him. They are known to have made generous donations and offerings to temples in Greece and Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylon and Egypt.[46] The one country for which there is no information in this respect—because of the general dearth of records there for the period—is Iran; but it is reasonable to assume that they acted in the same way there also, with Seleucus I and Antiochus I, husband and son respectively of the evidently much loved Apama, probably setting an example of generosity to the priests and temples of that lady's natal land.[47]

Parses", Essais Orientaux, Paris 1883, 232, followed by M. Southgate, o.c., p. 189).—To Southgate's bibliography are to be added A. Abel, "La figure d'Alexandre en Iran", La Persia e il mondo Greco-Romano, Rome 1966, 119–36; J. A. Boyle, "The Alexander legend in Central Asia," Folklore 85, 1974, 217–28.

[41] See Chadwick, Growth of Literature, I 134, III 758 ff.; and for such interdependence in Avestan literature, briefly, HZ I 100 with n. 96.

[42] See below, p. 74 ff.

[43] See below, p. 371 ff.

[44] Above, p. 12.

[45] See above, loc. cit.

[46] Bikerman, Institutions, 250–1.

[47] On the likelihood that Antiochus gave gifts to the Anahit temple at Phrygian

The fact that the only record of Seleucid dealings with an Iranian temple (that of "Aine" at Ecbatana[48]) is of their despoiling it does not tell against this assumption; for according to Greek ideas the state—and the Seleucid king was the state—could always at times of need make use of the possessions of its gods; and a number of temples in other parts of the Seleucid empire—including that of Zeus in Antioch itself—suffered in similar ways.[49]

Yet though the Seleucids, except when financially hard pressed, appear beneficent towards all religions, there is no trace of their fostering any syncretism or attempting in such a way to evolve a religion of state. These were the days still of ethnic religions, and to the end the Seleucids remained Macedonians, venerating and swearing by their own ancestral gods—Apollo and Artemis Daittai and others—for whom the lavishly appointed sanctuaries at Daphne near Antioch were created by the dynasty.[50]

Ordinary colonists lived more closely than their kings with local communities; and inscriptions from Susa show that there some Hellenes came sincerely to venerate Asian gods.[51] For Iran proper the evidence is very slight; but in Bactria Ionians from Magnesia-on-the-Maeander evidently identified their own minor river-god Marsyas with the Spirit of the Oxus (Wakhš), and a truly syncretic cult appears to have developed.[52] Among major divinities there is only one instance where the identification of a Greek being with an Iranian *yazata* seems to have led to some genuine commingling of concepts, with on the Iranian side a small measure of lasting influence being perhaps felt. This is the identification of Heracles with Verethraghna, the *yazata* of Victory. Heracles was evidently enormously popular with the Seleucids' Hellenic subjects, for a whole variety of reasons. Alexander had claimed him as his ancestor, and was sometimes represented in the guise of the god-hero. The Seleucids, as Alexander's heirs, maintained Heracles' cult together with that of their own supposed divine progenitor, Apollo, thus ensuring that it was officially observed throughout their realms, in cities and by armies. It is probably his head, bearded

Apamea see below, pp. 213–14. F. G. entertains the possibility that this king founded the temple of Takht-i Sangin (see below, pp. xxx).

[48] See below, pp. 90–1.

[49] Bikerman, o.c., pp. 121–2. Schmitt (Untersuchungen, 101 n. 1) was nevertheless justified in questioning Wikander's statement (Feuerpriester, 73) that "the Seleucids always showed interest in the religion of their Persian subjects", since evidence is lacking.

[50] Bikerman, o.c., pp. 251–3.

[51] See above, pp. 37–8.

[52] See below, pp. 177, 179–81.

and bound with a twisted cord, which appears on a number of copper coins of Susa.[53] He is shown also, seated or standing, on numerous issues of the Greco-Bactrian kings.[54] As a fighter and wanderer, Heracles had moreover a natural claim on the devotion of soldiers and of travellers, as is exemplified by the making of a little wayside shrine to him at Behistun on the eve of battle.[55] One of his triumphs is represented on an ivory hilt at Takht-i Sangin, where he is shown overpowering Silenus, the two being locked in hand-to-hand struggle;[56] and as the hero of many more such contests he was looked to as their patron by wrestlers and athletes generally (some of whom, being professionals, were wanderers too). Further, he and Hermes, patron of travellers, were jointly gods of the gymnasium, and thus doubly shared functions. An inscription discovered in the gymnasium of Aï Khanom honours both these divinities.[57] The ruins of that city have yielded also a bronze statuette of Heracles;[58] and terracotta figurines of the god have been found in Iran itself[59], and in quantity at Dura-Europos[60] and Seleucia-on-the-Tigris.[61] He was invoked for protection at city gates and, with standard forms of words, at the doorways of private

[53] Le Rider, Suse, 289.

[54] P. Bernard and C. P. Jullien, "Haltères votives de lutteurs dans le Gandhara", St. Ir. 11, 1982, 43 n. 31, and below, pp. 160, 161.

[55] See below, pp. 93–4.

[56] B. A. Litvinskiy and I. R. Pichikiyan, "The temple of the Oxus", JRAS 1981, 157 with Pl. V. The theme persisted locally, for a terracotta figurine of the 3rd–4th centuries A. C. has been found at Kara-Pičok in what was once northern Bactria, which, though a debased representation of it, still shows the essential features—Silenus seized by the hair, Heracles with brandished club and lion's paws knotted round his neck. See N. M. Vinograndova and L. T. P'jankova, Arxeologičeskie Raboty v Tadžikistane XVII, 1983, 65–8; and E. V. Zejmal (ed.), Drevnosti Tadžikistana, Dushanbe 1985, 134–5, no. 359.

[57] L. Robert apud P. Bernard, Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum I, 208–11; and in detail on Heracles as patron of wrestlers in the Hellenistic east Bernard-Jullien, art. cit., pp. 33–47.

[58] Bernard, CRAI 1974, 302 with fig. 13.

[59] Fryc, Heritage, Pl. 71.

[60] S. B. Downey, "The Heracles sculpture" in The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report III, Pt. I.1, New Haven 1969, 56–9.

[61] W. von Ingen, Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris, Ann Arbor 1939, 106–8 with Pl. XVIII. Consideration of the recent discovery there of a Heracles statue with a bilingual Greek and Parthian inscription on the body belongs to HZ IV. On it see W. I. Al-Salihi, "The Weary Hercules of Mesene", Mesopotamia XXII, 1987, 159–67 with figs. 57–67; F. A. Pennacchietti, "L'inscrizione bilingue greco-partica dell' Eracle di Seleucia", ib., pp. 169–86; papers by J. Greenfield and E. Morano in the Proceedings of the Third Conference of SIE, Turin 1987, to be published by IsMEO; and P. Bernard, "Vicissitudes au gré de l'histoire d'une statuette en bronze d'Héraclès entre Séleucie du Tigre et la Mésène", Jds (forthcoming). Verethraghna was still represented as the naked Heracles early in the early Sasanian period, i.e. at Naqš-i Rajab.

houses; and an inscription of the latter kind is found above a cave-entrance at Karafto in Media Atropatene.[62]

The Greeks identified this hero-god of theirs with diverse Asiatic divinities; and in India these identifications, with Krishna and Śiva, seem to have gone beyond the mere translation of names or a shared iconography, and to have attained a measure of genuine syncretism.[63] The same appears true of the concepts of Heracles and his Iranian counterpart, Verethraghna. The link between these two was an obvious one, since one of Heracles' standard epithets was *kallinikos*, "victorious"; and on the Iranian side Heracles was plainly a being of whom Zoroastrians could approve, a hero who had toiled against mighty odds to cleanse the world of monsters. The equation is not, however, one of those recorded already in Achaemenian times, when Verethraghna is not at all prominent. True, he was one of the twenty-seven *yazatas* to receive a day-dedication in the then new liturgical calendar, so that his position in the Zoroastrian pantheon was plainly not negligible; but no theophoric names are recorded compounded with his, and no Greek writer gives him any mention. Perhaps he was then still seen primarily (in what seems the spirit of the Young Avesta) as the servant, powerful but subordinate, of the just Ahuras. It is only in Hellenistic times that he appears, locally at least, as a great divinity, elevated by Antiochus I of Commagene (although for a special reason) to be the third member of a dominant triad, together with Ahura Mazda and Mithra.[64] In subsequent epochs his name (as Varahran, Vahram, Bahram) was popular as a personal one with kings and commoners alike, and he had grown evidently to be regarded as a great protector, to be invoked in all moments of danger.[65] Specifically, this *yazata* of Victory had become, like the wandering Heracles, protector of wayfarers, invoked as Panth Yazad, "god of the road", and usurping thus the ancient function of Čista, who in time was eclipsed entirely.[66] In two very late Zoroastrian texts he is elevated moreover to a position even greater than that accorded him at Commagene, since he is named in them as the seventh Ameša Spenta (Ahura Mazda not being reckoned there as himself one of the Heptad); and the fable is told of how he alone was able to bind Anra Mainyu, because he was

[62] See below, pp. 84–5.
[63] See Bernard-Jullien, art. cit., who point out (pp. 44–5) that these identifications were made consciously and early by the Greek invaders.
[64] See below, pp. 323, 324.
[65] See Boyce, Stronghold, 70–1.
[66] See ib., p. 70 and HZ II, 62 with n. 267.

better, greater and more powerful than all the other six.[67]

Plainly this striking and unorthodox promotion of Vahram cannot be attributed entirely to the influence of Heracles. More must be due to the link which developed between Varahran, *yazata* of Victory in just wars, and the chief category of sacred fires, the Atur Varahran or "Victorious Fire";[68] for these great temple fires were seen as tireless fighters against the forces of darkness and evil, protecting those who invoked them and made them offerings. The association that came to be perceived between them and the *yazata* must therefore have contributed greatly to a belief in him as a general guardian, a belief which could of course by itself have come to embrace the particular role of guardian of wayfarers. It nevertheless seems likely that the hugely popular cult of Heracles played some part here; and that developments in Zoroastrian ritual and devotional life coincided with Greek influence to bring about changes in the concept of this one *yazata*, so that the later Varahran differs considerably from the Avestan god in the nature and scope of his functions, and has become one of the most beloved and often invoked of all Zoroastrian divinities.

Otherwise, although there is evidence from the north-east for the identification of other Greek gods with Iranian *yazatas*[69], there is no clear sign of any effective syncretism. Even in Bactria, where Greeks and Iranians appear to have co-operated fairly closely, there seems to have been no fusion of cults at this epoch (other than those of Marsyas-Wakhš), and the temple-worship of the two

[67] See J. de Menasce, "La promotion de Vahram", RHR 133, 1948, 5–18. The 2 texts in question are written one in Zoroastrian Persian in Arabic script, the other in a Pahlavi that appears to have been reconstructed from a lost Pazand text. Menasce was clearly right in holding that some apparently late texts preserve ancient materials; but this promotion of Vahram is so bizarre, and so much at variance with the central Zoroastrian doctrine of the Heptad (on which see HZ I 194, 199 ff.; BSOAS XLVII, 1984, 159–61) that it is impossible to regard these particular works as other than essentially late, composed probably at a time when the Arab conquest had enhanced devotion to Bahram, the *yazata* to whom the beleaguered Zoroastrian community addressed many prayers for a reversal of its misfortunes. This is confirmed by a detail to which Dr. G. Kreyenbroek kindly drew my attention, that in one of them (Menasce, art. cit., p. 10) the *daevic* verb *drāyīd* is quite improperly used for the utterances of Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands.
[68] See HZ II 222–5. The interpretation put forward there (of the original significance of the name of this category of temple fire being "Victorious Fire" rather than "Fire of Verethraghna") has been accepted by Dastur Dr. Firoze M. Kotwal, who found the argument convincing that Verethraghna is not in any way conspicuous in the rituals of consecration of such fires. The suggestion that the confusion between adjective and divine name did not develop until Islamic times must, however, be abandoned. It clearly took place long before then.
[69] See below, pp. 161–5.

peoples remained apparently distinct.[70] Greek influence was probably important, however, in encouraging more building of temples and setting up of statues[71]. These developments, extending throughout Iran, are likely to have sharpened an awareness of the *yazatas* as individual beings rather than as collegial members of a pantheon, called into being by Ahura Mazda and wholly subservient to his will. The results can be seen in extreme form outside Iran, with Anahit acquiring in Asia Minor a quasi-independent cult, and Mithra's worship producing a wholly independent offshoot in the mysteries which bore his name.

Hellenistic practice may also have influenced the Zoroastrians of Iran in one small detail of their funerary observances. This was an area where Iranian and Greek usages diverged completely. Yet from the following epochs (both Parthian and Sasanian) a number of interments have been found, some of disarticulated bones, some of entire skeletons, which were accompanied by a single coin, placed sometimes, it seems, in the corpse's mouth.[72] Not all these

[70] See below, p. 165 ff.

[71] It is presumably largely due to Zoroastrian iconoclasm in the Sasanian period that no such cult statues survive in Iran itself; but there is the statement that in Armenia all statues were made by Greeks (see S. der Nersessian, "Une apologie des images du septième siècle", Byzantion XVII, 1944–1945, 75); and representations on coins and in rock reliefs of the Parthian and Sasanian periods suggest a lasting Greek influence on the images of *yazatas*.—With regard to the use of images in Zoroastrian worship, introduced under the Achaemenians, Gnoli, ZTH, 220–1, somewhat distorts the present writer's interpretation of subsequent developments (see Boyce, "Iconoclasm among the Zoroastrians", Studies for Morton Smith at 60, ed. J. Neusner, Leiden 1975, IV, 93–111) in assuming that she postulated the existence thereafter, for some 300 years, of 2 distinct groups of Zoroastrians, one attending fire-temples, the other image-shrines. Such a theory would indeed belong to the world of academic fantasy rather than to the realities of ordinary life. Here and there, there may have been families with so strict an orthopractic tradition that their members never visited image-shrines; but the community in general, one may be sure, would have offered worship to both divine images and sacred fires, the 2 cults (both in different degrees innovations of the Achaemenian period) being often, it seems, housed in the one temple or temple complex (see below, pp. 80–1, 178–9, 235–6). Still today Zoroastrians of the Yazdi neighbourhood maintain separately both fire-temples and (empty) shrines to the *yazads*, and worship in both, see Boyce, Stronghold, Ch. 4.—Gnoli further (l.c.) argues against the iconoclasm of the Sasanians on the grounds that they had anthropomorphic representations of divine beings; but he is unable to cite any instance of their using images in worship, which is the crucial point. Evidence for Sasanian iconoclasm is fairly abundant, from diverse sources; and even if this were not so, it is difficult to see how else the fact could be accounted for that cult-images were used under the Arsacids, and, locally, far into the Sasanian period, but had entirely disappeared by the time of the Islamic conquest, to judge from the silence of Muslim polemicists on this matter.

[72] J. Hansman and D. Stronach, "A Sasanian repository at Shahr-i Qumis", JRAS 1970, 148; A. D. H. Bivar, "The Sasanian coin from Qumis", ib., p. 157 (with reference to earlier finds); A. McNicoll, "Excavations at Kandahar, 1975", Afghan Studies I, 1978, 51; J. M. Balcer, "Excavations at Tal-i Malyan: Parthian and Sasanian coins and burials", Iran XVI, 1978, 86–92; and for additional materials from Central Asia, with reference to Russian literature, F. Grenet, "Burial in ancient Iran", Elr. IV 559–61.

interments (which occur over an area from Susa in the west to Arachosia and Bactria in the east) are to be identified as Zoroastrian, but those of disarticulated bones may safely be held to be so. The custom has been seen to represent the Greek one of putting "Charon's obol" on the tongue of a dead person as ferry-money for crossing the Styx, a custom borrowed supposedly by Iranians in Seleucid times. The traditional Zoroastrian gifts for the dead were food and clothing;[73] and it is undoubtedly possible that, as money became more widely used under the Macedonians, Iranians learnt from Hellenes to add a coin to their provision for the departed. It is also possible, however, that they came to make this extra offering independently of the Greek observance, which appears by no means to have been commonly practised. Still today among Zoroastrians in the Yazdi area it is customary to bless a piece of silver, or a silver coin, and place it with the food and clothing consecrated on the third night after death for the use of the departed spirit;[74] so if there was Greek influence at work here, it has lasted long.

Zoroastrians and Hellenism

Excavations have established that in Iran, as we have seen, the well-to-do took pleasure in Greek artefacts and patronised Greek craftsmen; and it may well be that here and there—most probably, it would seem, in old towns refounded as Greek cities—there were groups of Iranians who became fully hellenized in speech and habits, and who embraced all things Greek, including Greek religion. This is well known to have happened among Jews in Jerusalem at this time. In general, however, all the indications are that the majority of Iranians, like the majority of the other subject peoples in the various Macedonian kingdoms, remained faithful to their own religious beliefs and practices, coming under no pressure from their rulers to do otherwise.[75] (Antiochus IV's actions towards the Jews in this respect were wholly exceptional.) The Iranians were in a strong position with regard to religion, since theirs was a credal one, with well-defined doctrines brought home to them through regular observances. They had also professional priests,

[73] Yt.13.17.

[74] See Boyce, Stronghold, 154–5.

[75] See, e.g., the succinct survey by F. M. Abel, Histoire de la Palestine, I 266 ff.

who were doubtless zealous in trying to protect the community from infidel contamination. One potent means of keeping Iranians apart from the foreign settlers existed in the purity laws. To define, discuss and develop these would then have been a natural priestly preoccupation. Thus in Palestine at this epoch new prescriptions were given out, designed to keep orthodox Jews pure and separate from the intruding Gentiles[76]; and many Egyptian writings of this time stress the harmful impurity of foreigners.[77] The chief Avestan text on the purity laws is the Vendidad, a composite work which contains matter from various periods; but there is a trace in it of apparent Hellenistic influence in the appearance there, beside traditional Iranian terms for measures of distance, of others for short lengths of measurement which correspond closely to the Greek system.[78]

Within the Iranian satrapies, moreover, Zoroastrianism, since it was part of the national heritage, could call on patriotic loyalty for its support. In the colonists' religion it met—in so far as they encountered at all—a tolerant polytheism, with a collection of beliefs rather than a system of doctrines, no professional priests, and no urge to proselytize. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the Iranian religion yielded little to the European one. This is partly to be inferred from the harmony between Zoroastrian beliefs and usages of the pre- and post-Seleucid epochs; and partly to be established by direct evidence, a meagre but valuable mixture of literary and archaeological data. The distribution of these data is uneven, with for some areas, such as Carmania (Kerman), nothing being as yet known of either Iranians or Hellenes under the Seleucids; but where materials exist, they will be discussed region by region in the following chapters.

[76] See Abel, o.c., I 220.
[77] See P. Derchain in Hellenism and the rise of Rome, ed. P. Grimal, 216.
[78] W. B. Henning, "An astronomical chapter of the Bundahišn", JRAS 1942, 235–6. It is usual to assign the Vd. purity texts to the Parthian rather than the Seleucid period, which is generally passed over in silence in histories of Zoroastrianism; but purity laws are much more likely to have been a matter for preoccupation in a time of foreign dominance than when Zoroastrians were ruling Iran, cf. their importance in the Persian Rivayats, composed under Islamic government. (There appears, admittedly, to have been a notable concern with purity rites in the late Sasanian period, see Boyce, "Cleansing in Zoroastrianism", Elr. V (in press), and "*Pādyāb* and *nērang*: two Pahlavi terms further considered", BSOAS LIV. 2, 1991 (in press); but probably the existence then of a newly written-down Vd. gave scope for intensive study of this work, with a consequent extension of observances.)

CHAPTER FIVE

IN WESTERN IRAN: MEDIA ATROPATENE, GREATER MEDIA AND PERSIS

Media Atropatene

Atropates or Atrapata, who now gave his name to Lesser Media as Media Atropatene (later Adarbadagan, Azarbaijan), had been satrap of all Media, possibly by hereditary succession, under Darius III. After that king's death he swore fealty to Alexander and in due course received back his satrapy,[1] which he governed throughout the latter years of the Macedonian's brief reign. He had been actively loyal to Iran's conqueror,[2] and with a daughter married to Alexander's close friend, Perdiccas[3], should have felt his position reasonably secure. It was surely then with bitterness of heart that under the Successors this clearly very able man found himself deprived of the greater part of the rich domain he had long governed, being left with only its isolated north-west corner.[4] This corner forms, together with neighbouring Arran and Armenia, the "region of the high plains"[5], a fractured plateau of which great blocks have sunk, becoming filled with shallow lakes.[6] Among these is Urmia, the "largest permanent sheet of water in Iran",[7] bordered by zones of fertile land. It and other lakes of the region are fed by rivers draining down from the plateau, from which three volcanic mountains rise majestically: in Atropatene itself the huge Mt. Savalan to the north-east of Lake Urmia, and Mt. Sahand to the east, the former only just surpassed in size by Mt. Ararat to the west, which is in Armenia. This was old Mannaean and Urartian territory, and in the third century B.C. much of it was probably not

[1] See above, p. 4.
[2] See above, p. 15.
[3] See above, p. 11.
[4] See above, p. 18. On the geography, archaeology, and pre-Islamic history of this region see the articles by X. de Planhol, W. Kleiss and K. Schippmann in Elr. III 205–24.
[5] Muqaddasī, cited by Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, 159, n. 1.
[6] Persia, Geographical Handbook Series, B.R. 525 (British Naval Intelligence Division), 1945, 47.
[7] Le Strange, o.c., p. 160.

yet intensively Iranianized.[8] The chief Achaemenian town of the region was evidently *Ganzaka, the "Treasury", later known as Ganzak or Ganza;[9] and this has been identified with ruin-mounds near the modern town of Miandoab,[10] in a broad river-plain at the south-east end of Lake Urmia—a district "at all times celebrated for the abundance and excellence of its pastures".[11] Ganzak dominated the fertile regions around the lake, in which Iranians had probably settled in considerable numbers; and it was presumably this town, with its Achaemenian official residence and administrative buildings, that Atropates now made his capital.[12]

An ancient highway (still in use) led up from Babylonia through the Zagros mountains, past Ganzak and on to Raga[13], and another road reached the Urmia region from Ecbatana[14]; but even under the Achaemenians traffic along these routes must have been thin compared with that along the Khorasan Highway, which, crossing Greater Media, linked Babylonia with eastern Iran; and now that Atropatene had become a separate province, independent in fact if not theory from the Seleucid Empire, such traffic as there had been must have been drastically reduced, with trade affected and no coming and going of officials. The flow of armies, traders and travellers along the Khorasan Highway itself clearly continued in full spate during the early Seleucid period, and is likely to have troubled at least one group of Iranians, namely those Median magi who lived with (it seems) their chief magus, the "Zarathuštrotema", at their holy city of Raga, now transformed into the Greek polis of Rhages-Europus.[15] Many of those using the highway in Seleucid times would have been Hellenes, or other foreigners in the service of Hellenes, who, halting at Rhages, would have swelled the numbers of non-Iranians there. The magi presumably found themselves suffering accordingly in several ways: from alien rule and alien exactions; from the proximity of many infidels; and from a sharp decrease in the income brought them formerly by Iranian pilgrims to their holy city, and by pious Iranian travellers. The

[8] Markwart, Provincial Capitals, pp. 22–3, 110.
[9] Markwart, Untersuchungen, 160 n. 2.
[10] W. Monteith, "Journal of a tour through Azerbijan and the shores of the Caspian", JRGS III, 1833, pub. 1834, 5–6.
[11] Ibid.
[12] So Markwart, Provincial Capitals, p. 109. More cautiously V. Minorsky, "Roman and Byzantine campaigns in Atropatene", BSOAS XI, 1944, 258–9, with a sketch-map of the area, Pl. I, opposite p. 250.
[13] Monteith, o.c., p. 6; Persia, Geographical Handbook Series, p. 548 (Branch Route I6A).
[14] Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, 229–30.
[15] Cf. above, pp. 23–4

chief magus of Achaemenian Raga, undoubtedly a man of wealth and eminence, would necessarily have had dealings with the Median satrap; and the satrap for his part is likely to have benefited from the riches of Raga, through dues and gifts. With satrap and chief priest alike now finding themselves in altered circumstances, it seems a natural step for Atropates, clearly a man of foresight and initiative, to have invited the chief magus to leave Raga with his priests and their great sacred fire and take up residence under his protection in Atropatene. There Zoroastrians could come on pilgrimage as before, unharassed, and bringing with them incidentally wealth. It seems equally natural for the chief magus to have accepted such an invitation from a strong and able Zoroastrian ruler, an invitation which offered him dignity and security, remote from unbelievers. The reason for supposing that this was the course of events is that the centre of Median Zoroastrianism did in fact shift from famous and holy Raga to remote Atropatene; and that in time legends were fostered which made Atropatene itself a holy land, which drew Zoroastrian pilgrims from far and wide to its shrines. The evidence for these developments is scattered through the Pahlavi books and in early Arabo-Persian writings, which provide no dates;[16] but the process which brought them about can safely be attributed to the Seleucid period,[17] a time when Atropatene had unique importance for the Zoroastrians of Media as the only part of their land which remained under Zoroastrian rule; and when the interests of its princes and priests, in maintaining the religion and developing local centres of pilgrimage, wholly coincided. The great antiquity of Zoroastrianism meant total uncertainty about the actual place of the prophet's birth or ministry, and complete ignorance of the real geography of the Avesta; and so pious local claims to be the scene of holy events could evolve

[16] For the latter see R. J. H. Gottheil, "References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic literature", Classical Studies in honour of H. Drisler, New York, 1894, 24–51; and for the former A. V. W. Jackson, Zoroaster, 191–201 (who also reproduces much of Gottheil's materials). See further K. Schippmann, Feuerheiligtümer, 310–25; and for references to scholarly discussions of some of the legends G. Gnoli, ZTH, 23 ff.
[17] Cf. Markwart, Provincial Capitals, p. 110. There is a tendency with some scholars to attribute everything mentioned in the Pahlavi books which is not attested in the extant Avesta to the Sasanian period; but against this see, e.g. Nyberg, Rel., Ch. 1, who rightly stresses that the Middle Persian writings largely represent the final written forms given to a very long and highly diverse Zoroastrian tradition. Moreover (pace Gnoli, De Zoroastre à Mani, 87–8), to suppose that, under the Sasanians, Persian priests deliberately fostered new claims for Adarbadagan (as distinct from giving established ones preference over those of Parthia) is to ignore the evident striving for religious predominance by Persia itself at that period.

relatively easily and, if adequately supported, gain credence. Zoroastrian scholastics tended to respect all traditions, collecting rather than critically examining or excluding; so once local legends became accepted, they were set down, even if they happened to be unreconcilable with other established local claims.[18]

The holy legends of Atropatene/Adarbadagan are alluded to repeatedly in the *Bundahišn*, a major Pahlavi work compiled from translations of lost Avestan texts, with accumulated glosses and commentaries. There it is said that "when Zoroaster brought the religion, he first taught and expounded it in Eranvej",[19] that is, in Airyanem Vaejah, the legendary homeland of the "Avestan" people; while in another passage, which evidently represents a gloss, it is stated that "Eranvej is in the region (*pad kustag*) of Adarbadagan".[20] In accordance with this, a number of Muslim writers attest that (in the words of Masᶜudi) "Zoroaster was originally from Azarbaijan".[21] Several associate the prophet specifically with the town of Urmia, on the western shore of Lake Urmia. In medieval times this was described as an "ancient city, in regard to which the Magians (Majus) assert that their founder Zaradušt was from it".[22] Qazwini further relates that Zoroaster "went to Mount Sabalan, separated from men".[23] The chief mountain of Atropatene was thus brought to figure in the legendary life of the prophet (according to which he sought solitude in his quest for enlightenment).[24] This association has led to speculation that the Median priests may have identified the Daryai Rud, which flows down from the north side of Savalan to join the Aras, with the holiest river of Zoroastrian tradition, the Vaŋhvi Daitya, on whose bank Zoroaster received illumination.[25] Others think that they made this identification with the Aras itself, since this flows directly into the Caspian. This for them was presumably the Vourukaša, which according to Avestan tradition receives the waters of the Daitya.[26]

[18] As those of Adarbadagan were to be, for example, with those of Bactria, for which see Jackson, Zoroaster, 208–19. On the transfer of Av. traditions to Azarbaijan see Nyberg, Rel., 401–2.
[19] GBd. XXXV.54.
[20] GBd. XXIX.12; Ind. Bd. XXIX.12.
[21] Prairies d'Or, ed. Ch. Pellat, Paris 1962–1971, I p. 203 (= Barbier de Meynard, II p. 124).
[22] Baladhuri, Kitāb Futuḥ al-buldan, ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1866, I 331, tr. F. C. Murgotten, New York 1969, I 27. See Jackson, Zoroaster, 198, for similar statements by Ibn Khurdadhbah and Ibn al-Faqīh, cited also by Schippmann, Feuerheiligtümer, 319–20.
[23] Ed. Wustenfeld, Göttingen 1848, II 267.
[24] WZ XVI.1; Pliny, Nat. Hist., XI.42.97. See Jackson, o.c., p. 34.
[25] Jackson, o.c., pp. 194–5.
[26] Herzfeld, AMI II, 1930, 56; Nyberg, Rel., 402.

The Pahlavi books show that the Median magi also associated legends concerning the forbears of Zoroaster's princely patron, Kavi Vištaspa, with Atropatene—legends which would have been familiar to every learned priest from recitation of the Avestan *yašts*. The starting point for this was perhaps the sanctification of the huge and immensely impressive Lake Urmia by identifying it with a lake mentioned in the Avesta. That chosen was Čaečasta; and the *Bundahišn* preserves the gloss "Lake Čečast is in Adarbadagan".[27] The little that is said of Čaečasta in the Avesta associates it with Kavi Haosravah. In *Yašt* 5.49 he is shown praying by it to Aredvi Sura Anahita for supremacy over all beings and victory over a particular foe; and *Yašt* 19.77 tells how he took vengeance—where it is not said—for his father Syavaršan by binding (and presumably slaying) Franrasyan. These two themes, of prayer by Lake Čaečasta and the binding of Franrasyan, are brought together in the relatively late *Yašt* 9. There in v.18 the *yazata* Haoma entreats Druvaspa for this boon, that he may bind Franrasyan and bring him captive to Haosravah, and that the latter may slay him by Lake Čaečasta; and in v.19 Haosravah himself asks for the boon that he may slay Franrasyan by Lake Čaečasta. It was this version of the old heroic story, in which Haoma plays a part, which was adopted by the Median priests, and which was eventually retold in the *Šahnama*. As Firdausi relates it,[28] Hom (Haoma) captures and binds Afrasiyab (Franrasyan); but the latter escapes and plunges into Lake *Čečast,[29] hiding himself beneath its waters. He is lured into standing up and showing himself through hearing the agonised cries of his brother, tortured to this end at the lake-shore on the orders of Khosrow (Haosravah). Hom, creeping out along a spit of land, then lassoos and drags Afrasiyab from the water, and Khosrow duly slays him. This version of the *Druvasp Yašt* story is well adapted to association with Lake Urmia, which for all its vast expanse is remarkably shallow, with "the slope of the shore being almost everywhere very gentle", whereas the original Avestan Čaečasta is characterized as "deep" (*jafra-*).[30]

That it was Lake Urmia which was meant here by "Čečast" is shown by a later passage in the *Šahnama*, where in an account of

[27] GBd. XII.3, Ind. Bd. XXII.12.
[28] Šahnama, Beroukhim edition, Tehran 1314/1935, V, p.1386 ff.; tr. Warner, IV, p. 259 ff.
[29] Text V p.1391 l.2317; tr. IV, p. 264 l.5. "Čēcašt" is deformed in the Arabic script as *xnjst*. The correct reading was restored by H. C. Rawlinson, "Memoir on the site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana", JRGS X, 1840, pub. 1841, 79.
[30] Yt. 5.49. On the shallowness of L. Urmia see Persia (= o.c. in n. 6), p. 50, cf. ib., pp. 52–3, and Spiegel, EA I 128.

events before the battle of 591 A.C. between Khosrow Parvez and Bahram Čubin, fought by Lake Urmia, Firdausi has the Sasanian king hastening towards "Azarbaijan and *Čečast"[31]. Moreover, there is abundant evidence that the name Čečast was widely adopted for Lake Urmia, becoming contracted, presumably through *Čēč, *Čēž, to Šēž, Šīž, the last being, it seems, its generally accepted form in Islamic times, with variants Čēst and Jīs (from *Čēs).[32] These reductions indicate a long colloquial use of the name among Zoroastrians in Atropatene-Adarbadagan; and this militates against the theory that the identification of Urmia as Čaečasta, and hence its association with Kavi Haosravah/Kay Khosrow, took place as late as the fifth century A.C., as part of reawakened Persian interest then in the old heroic tales of the Kavis.[33] That interest was clearly largely political, being linked with efforts by the Sasanians to strengthen their hold on north-eastern Iran[34]; and there is no reason why it should have affected the Median priests, whose own annexation of Avestan legends appears not only to be much older but also to have had a quite different aim.

That this aim was indeed that of attracting pilgrims, and with them wealth and influence, to Atropatene is brought out by the linking of these Avestan legends with the greatest of Median sacred fires, known in Sasanian times as Adur i Gušnasp.[35] When this fire was founded is not known, but it can hardly have been before the fourth century B.C., when the Zoroastrian temple cult of fire appears to have been established.[36] The proper name Gušnasp, "Possessing stallions" (OIr. **vərəšnaspa-*), is generally thought to be that of its unknown founder. The Middle Median form would have been *Wušnasp or *Wišnasp; and *wyšnsp* is preserved as a variant of the fire's name in one Pahlavi manuscript,[37] while the form Wšnasp is given by the Armenian historian Sebeos.[38] A reference to the great fire has further been seen in Ptolemy's record, made in the

[31] Šahnama, text, IX, p. 2766 l.1601; tr. VIII, p. 282 l.12.
[32] Nyberg, Rel., p. 482 n. 1 to p. 402; Minorsky, BSOAS XI, 264.
[33] So Wikander, Feuerpriester, 151; cf. above, n. 17.
[34] See Boyce, Zoroastrians, 126–8.
[35] See R. Göbl, Anzeiger d. Österreicher Ak. d. Wiss., 1964, 49–51; H. Humbach, "Ātur Gušnasp und Takht-i Suleiman", Festschrift W. Eilers, Wiesbaden 1967, 189.
[36] See HZ II 221 ff.
[37] K 20 137 V 1.16, see West, SBE V 218 n. 6, Wikander, Feuerpriester, 234, addendum to p. 100.
[38] Histoire d'Héraclius, tr. F. Macler, Paris 1904, 81; cited by Schippmann, Feuerheiligtümer, 318.

second century A.C., of a place called Ouesaspē somewhere in north-western Iran.[39] Where exactly Adur Gušnasp was then installed is not known. In the late Sasanian period its temple stood on the spectacularly beautiful hill called by Muslims Takht-i Suleiman, whose flat top holds a lake high above the level of the surrounding countryside.[40] This hill is over 160 km. to the south-east of Lake Urmia; and excavations have shown that the sacred fire was not established there before the fifth century A.C., a fact borne out by literary evidence. The tradition has thus been confirmed that Adur Gušnasp was moved[41] (conceivably in the first instance from Raga). Its first temple in Atropatene was also evidently set on a hill (in keeping with the ancient Iranian tradition of worship in high places); and this hill was duly identified with an Avestan one, namely Asnuvant, mentioned in *Yašt* 19.5 among the lesser mountains of the world. Glosses preserved in the *Bundahišn* state accordingly that "Mount Asnavand is in Adarbadagan", and that Adur Gušnasp is "in a house of fire on Mount Asnavand".[42] Scholars have sought to identify this Median "Asnavand" with lofty Savalan or Sahand;[43] but for practical reasons it is likely to have been some quite low hill, relatively easy of access for priests, servitors and worshippers. It seems, moreover, that it was not far from Ganzak, the Atropatenian capital, and so was referred to loosely as being "in Ganzak".[44]

[39] Geography VI.2.12., see Spiegel, EA I 129 n. 1. Herzfeld, AMI II 1930, 72 stated that according to Ptolemy Ouesaspē was on the way from [Raga]-Europos to *Ga[n]zaka, the latter name being an emendation from Tazaka (or Zazaka, see Minorsky, BSOAS XI, 1944, 261); but in fact Ptolemy's data are not adequate to support this firm conclusion. Herzfeld held in any case that a distinction between the two places was a mistake of Ptolemy's, since he supposed Adur Gušnasp to have been established in Ganzaka (on which theory see further below). Widengren, Rel. Irans, 271 n. 59 went even further, stating that Ptolemy attests the existence of Adur Gušnasp in "Šīz-Ganzaka".
[40] See Schippmann, o.c., pp. 309–57; and the further reports by the excavators, R. Naumann and D. Huff, "Takht-i Suleiman", Bastan Chenassi va Honar-e Iran, 9–10, 1972, 7–25; Naumann, Die Ruinen von Tacht-e Suleiman und Zendan-e Suleiman, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Führer zu Archäologischen Plätzen in Iran, Bd. II, Berlin 1977; Huff, "Recherches archéologiques à Takht-i Suleiman ..", CRAI 1978, 774–89.
[41] Masʿudi, Prairies d'Or, ed. Pellat, II p. 540 (= Barbier de Meynard, IV, p. 74); Ibn al-Faqih, ed. de Goeje, p. 286; tr. Gottheil, art. cit. in n. 16, p. 45; Schippmann, o.c., p. 354.
[42] GBd. IX.29 (Ind. Bd. XII.26) and XVIII.12 (Ind. Bd. XVII.7), cf. Zadspram III.85.
[43] See Spiegel, EA I 624; Herzfeld, AMI II, 1930, 72.
[44] See Minorsky, BSOAS XI, 265, for Yaqut's location of the "ancient fire-temple" at "Kaznā" (IV.272) or "Jaznaq" (II.72); and on Anahit's temple "in" Sardis below, pp. 203–4.

To be near Ganzak was to be near Lake Urmia; and so the Median priests were able to associate with their sacred fire the story of Haosravah and Franrasyan. The developed legend is preserved in the *Šahnama*,[45] where it is told how Kay Khosrow, despairing of finding Afrasiyab, seeks counsel of his grandfather, Kay Kaus; and on his advice they go together to the "house of Azar Gašasp"[46]. There they purify themselves and approach the sacred fire in white robes as suppliants. They scatter jewels upon the priests and coins upon the "Zand-Avasta".[47] While they are thus engaged, the hero Gudarz appears, also to pray before the fire; and he tells them that Hom is keeping watch for Afrasiyab by Lake Čečast.[48] The two kings hasten there with him; and after Khosrow has taken his revenge and slain Afrasiyab, he returns with Kay Kaus to "Azar Gašasp". There they offer to the fire prayers of thanksgiving and much gold.[49] Khosrow's treasurer joins them, and bestows a fortune on the sacred fire and robes of honour on its priests, with gold and silver coins and much else. All Khosrow's kinsmen gather at the shrine and spend forty days with him there, rejoicing together.

If anachronisms are removed from this late telling of the story (i.e. the intrusion of Parthian Gudarz, and the allusion to a written Avesta[50]), then what remains has the appearance of a dramatic and effective shrine-legend, suitable for telling to pilgrims, which took shape presumably under the Atropatids. This exalts the sacred fire by linking it with Avestan (and hence holy) persons and events; emphasizes its power to grant prayers; and sets a pattern for the lavish expression of gratitude by successful suppliants to the shrine and its priests. Moreover, the legend would have encouraged pilgrims to visit not only Adur Gušnasp but also the shore of Lake Urmia, where probably the very place was shown them where the heroic events had been enacted; and this would have created an extended pilgrimage, which the beauty of hill and fertile plain and huge lake, and the interest of the Atropatenian capital, Ganzak (doubtless also visited), would have made truly memorable, and worthy to be talked of on the pilgrims' return home. Yet another place to be seen nearby was a small lake identified as "Lake Khosrow" (Lake Haosravah), said in the Avesta to be an outflow of

[45] Šahnama, text V, p. 1385 l. 2215 ff.; tr. IV, p. 258 ff.
[46] Text, p. 1385 l. 2222 (*xān-i Azar Gašasp*), The fire's name is deformed for metrical reasons.
[47] Text, V, p. 1385 l. 2223, p.1386 l.2229.
[48] Text, V, p. 1391 l. 2320 ff., tr. IV, p. 264.
[49] Text, V, p. 1397 l. 2409, tr. IV, p. 269.
[50] Cf. above, p. 16 with n. 70.

Vourukaša, formed to hide the "Kavyan Glory" from Franrasyan when he plunged into that sea in its pursuit.[51] The *Bundahišn* has the statement that "Lake Khosrow is four farsangs from Čečast".[52] There was, further, to the west of Ganzak the town of Urmia, with its claim to be the actual birthplace of the prophet.

Adur Gušnasp itself became so closely associated with Urmia/Čečast that when eventually, some seven hundred years after Atropates lived, the great fire was moved to Takht-i Suleiman, relatively far away, its priests evidently gave the same name, Čečast (by then reduced to Čēst, Šeč) to the little hilltop lake there. (This they probably justified by thinking of it as linked by underground streams with the larger sheet of water.) The moving of the fire was presumably part of the vigorous promotion of its cult, in the mid Sasanian period, as the fire of kings; but naturally its guardians would have been reluctant to lose thereby any of its established pious connections. In *Zadspram* there is a reference to "Lake Čečast which is deep, of warm waters, without life, on whose shore stands victorious Adur Gušnasp" (*čečast var ī zu[f]r ī garmag-ābag ī judgyān, kē-š pad bār nišīnēd ādur ī gušnasp ī pērōzgār*);[53] and virtually identical descriptions of the lake occur in the *Bundahišn* and *Zand i Vahman Yašt*,[54] all presumably deriving from a gloss in the Middle Persian canonical *zand*. This gloss must have been composed sometime after the early fifth century A.C.; for although the Avestan Čaečasta is called "deep", this epithet is not used in references to Urmia-Čečast, which is moreover full of fish; but it is wholly apt for the apparently bottomless little lake on Takht-i Sulaiman,[55] as is the expression "without life", since its strongly calcareous waters, which have petrified to form the hill itself, contain no creatures. They are moreover warm throughout the

[51] Yt. 19.56 ff.
[52] GBd. XII.13; Ind. Bd. XXII.8, which has the variant "50 farsangs". West (SBE V 86 n. 7) and Minorsky (BSOAS XI, 264 n. 1), accepting this variant, tentatively identified "Lake Khosrow" with Lake Sevan (Gökče), whereas Herzfeld (AMI II, 50, 72) on the same basis saw it rather as the Caspian. The reading "4 farsangs" is found also, however, in the Zand of Ataš Niyayeš, see B. N. Dhabhar, ZXA, text, p. 38, tr. p. 68; Z. Taraf, Der Awesta-Text Niyāyiš, pp. 98/99.
[53] Following essentially the readings of H. Humbach, art. cit. in n. 35, p. 190.
[54] GBd. XII.3 (ed. B. T. Anklesaria, pp. 114/5): *var ī čečast pad ādurbādagān garmāb ud jud-gyān ku čiš-iz gyānōmand andar nē bawēd*, and ZVYt. (ed. id., pp. 50/118): *var ī čečast ī zufr ī garm-āb ī jud-gyān* (mss. *ḤY'*, var. *ŠDY'*).
[55] Cf. the comments of Abu-Dulaf, Travels in Iran, ed. V. Minorsky, Cairo 1955, 31, and Mustaufi, Nuzhat al-Qulūb, ed. G. Le Strange, Leiden and London, 1919, 69; cited by Schippmann, Feuerheiligtümer, 321, 325. The appropriateness of the *Zadspram* description, in all its details, to the Takht-i Suleiman lake is noted by Humbach, art. cit., p. 189.

year. This small lake seems also to have been referred to as the "pool (*ghadīr*), known as Lake Čest", a description which could not possibly be applied to the vast expanse of Urmia.[56]

Once this "pool" had been given the name Čest, Šeč, then its hill probably came to be known as the "Hill of Čest"; and in time the whole complex of buildings there was referred to simply as Čest/Šeč. This is the usage attested by writers of the Islamic period, to whom the place was known as Šiz;[57] but since Adur Gušnasp had been enthroned earlier near Lake Urmia/Čest, i.e. near Ganzak, some confusion arose between Ganzak and this Šiz[58] — a confusion which has been the basis of an elaborate edifice of scholarly error in modern times.[59]

[56] See Minorsky, BSOAS XI, 264–5, citing Ṭabari I/2, 616 as emended by G. Hoffmann.

[57] See the passages collected by Schippmann, o.c., p. 318 ff., with his own summing up, pp. 350–4.

[58] See ib., pp. 341–7, 349–50; and on the transfer of the name cf. Humbach, l.c.

[59] The first bricks of this edifice were laid by Markwart, Provincial Capitals, 108–9. He wrongly identified Ganzak with Šīz, but separated the latter from Čēčast, interpreting it as probably a name of Mannaean origin; and he understood repeated references in the Denkard (listed by him, l.c.) to (apparently) a *ganj ī šycyk'n* as referring to this Median town, with **sīzīgān*, supposedly an adjective derived from Šīz, being used as an epithet to distinguish this Ganzak from other places of the same name. Nyberg, Rel., 484, n. to p. 415, accepted Markwart's reading of the puzzling Dk. adjective, but differed from him in deriving Šīz from Čēčast (ib., p. 482 n. to 402); and he interpreted the Dk. phrase accordingly as meaning "The Treasury of Šīz", holding this to have been mentioned so often because a copy of the Great Avesta had been deposited at the fire-temple of Ādur Gušnasp in this very holy city (ib., p. 423 ff., esp. p. 427, end). The holiness of Ganzak-Šīz, he thought, arose through its having been a Zoroastrian mission-station in the pre-Achaemenian days of the faith's westward spread. H. W. Bailey, Zor. Problems, 230–1, interpreted the Dk. phrase differently, comparing it with another one occurring in the same work, namely *ganj ī xwadāyān*; and suggested reading the adjective as *špyk'n*, that is, as a reduction of **ša[sa]pīgān*, with **šasap-* < OP *xšaçapāvan-* "satrap, ruler". The phrase would accordingly mean "Royal Treasury", and have nothing to do with either Ganzak or Šīz. S. Wikander, Feuerpriester, 146 n. 1, described this suggestion as in itself entirely acceptable, but thought he could build a sufficiently convincing historical reconstruction on the basis of Markwart's interpretation (as modified by Nyberg) to establish that as "the only possible one" (p. 146, cf. p. 169). This reconstruction rested, however, on a series of unsubstantiated, indeed wild, hypotheses: he projected the cult of Anahit, which he saw as the "only missionary religion" of ancient Iran, back into a remote Median past, and supposed it to have been linked with a pre-Zoroastrian temple cult of fire, centred on Ādur Wišnasp. Since Lake Čaēčasta is mentioned in Yt 5, he held it to have had an especial association with Anahit, hence its identification, already in pre-Achaemenian times, with Lake Urmia, and the early naming of Ganzak after it. There was nothing, he maintained, which could be termed Zoroastrianism before the Sasanian period. Then, he supposed, intense rivalry between the 'herbads' of Istakhr and the 'mobads' of Šīz (two imaginary groups) ended in a merging of their separate traditions and the creation of a state

By the Sasanian period Zoroastrians had come to hold Adur Gušnasp, and the two other great regional fires of Iran (the Persian Adur Farnbag and the Parthian Adur Burzen-Mihr) "in an esteem which can hardly be comprehended";[60] and it was presumably then that leading priests sought means to honour all three in their daily devotions. A new section was created in the *Ataš Niyayeš*, the Avestan prayer to fire; but since no temple fire is mentioned in the Avesta (the institution itself being relatively late) this section was made up of the Avestan names of places and persons which had become piously associated with each fire, so that it could be invoked allusively through them.[61] The then dominant Persian priests naturally placed their own fire, Farnbag, first; but more words are devoted to Adur Gušnasp, almost all the elements of its shrine-legend being represented by mention of Kavi Haosravah, Lake Haosravah, Mount Asnuvant and Lake Čaečasta. The intention behind these allusions is duly spelled out in the Pahlavi commentary:[62] there Adur Gušnasp is named, Lake Khosrow is located in Adarbadagan, and it is declared that in that region "warriors" become swifter and stronger through the fire's presence (an allusion to the Sasanian characterization of Adur Gušnasp as the warriors' fire.) A pre-Sasanian layer of tradition is probably represented by the claim that "it was this Adur Gušnasp which lamented and cried for help before Ohrmazd"; for Adur Gušnasp is thus cast in the role of having appealed to the Creator on behalf of all maltreated fires in the world—a role which properly belonged not to any individual fire, however sacred, but to the divinity of fire himself, Atar. Similarly magniloquent claims were made in diverse connections for the other two fires, and all these were eventually set down, unreconciled, by priestly scribes, in unconscious record of

religion of Zoroastrianism. In the later Sasanian period Ganzak-Šīz became, he held, the chief centre of a reformed and unified Zoroastrian fire-cult, hence the repeated references to it in the Denkard. These fantasies did not find general acceptance, and even G. Widengren, who adopted a large part of them, expressed some doubts (see, e.g., his Rel. Irans, 271 n. 65). In 1971, in the introduction to the 2nd ed. of Zor. Problems, pp. xlii–xliii, Bailey abandoned **šasapīkān* as an interpretation of the problematic Dk. adjective, and mentioned the occurrence of yet another MP expression, *ganj ī šāhīkān*, for "Royal Treasury"; and subsequently M. Shaki, "The Dēnkard account of the history of the Zoroastrian scriptures", Archív Orientální, 1981, 115 n. 1, argued convincingly that the evidence, "philological as well as historical" suggests for the Dk. adj. itself an original *šhyk'n*, *š'hyk'n*, gradually corrupted into *šsyk'n* and, by a careless curving of the end of *s.* into *špyk'n*. He thus established Bailey's original explanation of the meaning of the phrase, and severed it finally from any connection with Šīz.

[60] Ibn al-Faqih, l.c. in n. 41.

[61] ANy. 5. (The same invocations are found in Siroza 9.)

[62] Dhabhar, ZXA, text p. 38, tr. pp. 67–8; Taraf, l.c. in n. 52.

pious emulation and rivalry between the priests of different regions on behalf of their own shrines.[63]

Another majestic claim for Adur Gušnasp is recorded in the *Zand i Vahman Yašt*.[64] There it is said that when Zoroaster's millennium ends, all Iranian peoples will gather in "Patiškhwargar", to which is added the gloss: "Truly it has been said that it was [at] Adur Gušnasp by the deep Lake Čečast of warm waters. Truly even there the religion appeared", events thus being made, in this Median tradition, to come full cycle in holy Adarbadagan.

The association in its shrine-legend of Adur Gušnasp with Kay Khosrow's killing of Afrasiyab led, it seems, to further links (some probably more literary than devout[65]) being forged between the fire and the Kayanian hero. Thus the *Bundahišn* alludes to Kay Khosrow's destruction, with Adur Gušnasp's aid, of an image-shrine (*uzdēszār*) by Lake Čečast, and the setting up of fire-holders (*ātašgāhīhā*) in that same place, "on Mount Asnavand".[66] Other texts mention this event more cursorily.[67] It is possible that there is here a reflection of a genuine historical occurrence, i.e. an iconoclastic act by Khosrow I Anoshiravan, as part of the general Sasanian campaign against the use of images in worship,[68] which then came to be ascribed to his older Avestan namesake. If the *Bundahišn* allusion here to Mount Asnavand can be relied on, it would seem that the *uzdēszār* in question was Adur Gušnasp's own old temple

[63] It was largely because he made no allowance for such emulation that Wikander was led to postulate, on the basis of shrine-legends, a pre-Zoroastrian temple-cult of fire. Naturally, in a desire to give their sacred fires each as impressive an antiquity as possible, priests claimed figures from Avestan tradition as their founders, without considering that heroes from the "Kayanian" cycle had lived before the prophet. Such shrine-legends contain all too obviously no shred of historical truth, however interesting they may be for throwing light on the growth, and possibly relative antiquity, of local traditions.—Unfortunately Schippmann, in his generally admirable Feuerheiligtümer, repeated Wikander's theorisings in this respect. These serve only to cast a confusing cloud over the actual history of the temple cult of ever-burning fire in Iran, which on the evidence available is of relatively late origin and distinctively Zoroastrian.

[64] VI.10; cf. West, SBE V 218.

[65] Notably the heroic tale of Kay Khosrow's capture of Bahman Diz. Firdausi in his retelling of this (Šahnama, text, II p. 758 l.1345 ff., tr. II, p. 406 ff.) sets the events near Ardabil, which in his day had replaced Ganzak as the capital of Azarbaijan (see Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, 159, 168). He has Kay Khosrow then building the temple for Adur Gušnasp, whereas in the *zand* of ANy. 5, which alludes to the same story, it is simply said that the great fire aided Khosrow in his venture. So also Rivayats, ed. Unvala, I, 72.47, tr. Dhabhar, p. 60.

[66] GBd. XVIII.12, Ind. Bd. XVII.7.

[67] Dk. VII.1.39 (West, SBE XLVII, p. 14; Sanjana, XIII, pp. 15/16; Madan, II, p. 599.1–3); MX II.95; PRDd XLVIII.42; Masʿudi, Prairies d'Or, ed. Pellat, II 540 (= Barbier de Meynard, IV 74).

[68] Cf. above, p. 66 n. 71.

near Lake Urmia; and this suggests the possibility that this sanctuary contained a chapel dedicated to a particular yazata, whose veneration continued to flourish there after the fire itself had been moved to Takht-i Suleiman;[69] but even if so, the brief narrative is so heavily enveloped in mythic associations that there is nothing to indicate how old such a cult might have been: it could as well have been established there under Arsacid as under Atropatid rule.

However this may be, it is clear that holy places were successfully created in Media Atropatene: the town of Urmia as the birthplace of Zoroaster; the shrine of Adur Gušnasp; and the shore of Lake Urmia nearby, as the scene of heroic events in which divine powers had taken part. These places were all fairly close together, in an area which was under the immediate control of Atropates and his successors at Ganzak, and easily accessible from Raga, Ecbatana and other regions of Greater Media. All these pious developments may be supposed to have been actively encouraged by the Atropatids, who would have profited, together with the priests, as the fame of these holy places grew, not merely financially but also through enhanced prestige, and the advantages brought by social intercourse with distinguished visitors to the shrines. Belief in the truth of the various legends was probably devout and general within a short time of their conception (there are many instructive parallels in the Christian and Muslim worlds); and they were doubtless a source of strength to the Zoroastrians of Adarbadagan and beyond.

Despite this success in transferring the religious centre of Media to Atropatene, there was evidently no abandonment of holy Raga, whose Zoroastrian traditions went back to perhaps the eighth century B.C.,[70] and which was to continue to be a famous centre of the religion down into Islamic times. Some priests must have remained there, tending its shrines and ministering to the local community. But the former Median tradition, that Zoroaster himself had lived and taught in Raga,[71] now conflicted with the claim that he belonged to Adarbadagan. One solution to the problem was simply to state flatly: "Ray is [in] Adarbadagan[72]; but an elegantly

[69] For the cults of fire and *yazata* in a single temple complex cf. below, pp. 178–9, 235–6.

[70] Cf. HZ II 8–9; Gnoli, De Zoroastre à Mani, 45–6; "Ragha la zoroastriana", Acta Or. 24, 1985, 217–28, esp. p. 226 ff.

[71] Pahl. Vd. I.15.

[72] Ib., and GBd. XXXIII.28. Christensen, Le premier chapitre du Vd., 43–4, ingeniously used this statement to date the Vd. commentary to the reign of Khosrow I Anoshiravan (531–579 A.C.), since that king divided Iran into 4 regions and joined Ray to the northern one, called, after its chief province, Adarbadagan; but there is probably an older basis at least for the statement, religio-political rather than simply administrative.

logical one was to say that the prophet's mother came from Raga, but his father from Adarbadagan, where he himself was born.[73] This fitted the tradition that Zoroaster's mother was sent away from her girlhood home because of the supernatural light which had come to surround her, and that she then journeyed until she came to "the land of the Spitamas", where she met and married his father.[74] Thus both Raga and the Urmia-Čečast neighbourhood came for the Median Zoroastrians to have very holy associations.

Only one surviving religious monument in Adarbadagan has been attributed to the time of the Atropatids, namely the rock-tomb at Fakhrika.[75] This is in the heartland of Media Atropatene, that is, in the river-plain to the south-east of Lake Urmia. The low, isolated hill into which it is cut rises just off the road leading south from the town of Urmia to modern Mahabad, and little more than a kilometre before this road is joined from the east by the highway from Ganzak (modern Miandoab).[76] On the north side the hill's incline is gentle; and its crest bears the remains of fortifications, which appear to have been unimportant and only briefly used.[77] On the south side it drops abruptly, with an almost sheer rock-face, into which the tomb was cut. This tomb belongs to the group of funerary monuments termed the "Median rock-tombs",[78] of which it is the only one to be found in Atropatene. It consists of an ante-chamber and tomb-chamber, skilfully hewn out of the rock some five metres above the level of the plain, with the rock-face beneath made smooth and vertical. The open facade, recessed into the cliff-face, is dignified by two pillars shaped from the rock to form a triple entrance. Each has been given a base like a truncated cone, surmounted by a torus-like ring; and this has been seen as a simplified version of Achaemenian bell-shaped column-bases.[79] Behind is the rectangular ante-chamber, with a bench carved out at each narrow end. On its long side two more pillars, repeating those

[73] Shahrastani, tr. Haarbrücker, I 275 (cited by Gottheil, art. cit. in n. 16, p. 48; Jackson, Zoroaster, 199).

[74] Dk. VII.2.2 ff.; ed. and tr. by M. Molé, La Légende de Zoroastre, 14 ff.; tr. West, SBE XLVII, 17 ff., Boyce, Sources, 72–4.

[75] First described by H. C. Rawlinson, JRGS X, 1840, 37. For subsequent bibliography see H. von Gall, "'Medische' Felsgräber", AA 1966, 20–21; and add D. Huff, "Das Felsengrab von Fakhrikah", Ist. Mitt. 21, 1971, 161–71; W. Kleiss, "Bericht über Erkundungsfahrten in Iran im Jahre 1972" AMI, n.s., 6, 1973, 28, 39.

[76] For sketch-maps see Huff, art. cit., p. 162; Kleiss, art. cit., p. 8.

[77] See Kleiss, AMI n.s. 2, 1969, 28, Abb. 24. Their date is uncertain.

[78] See below, p. 94 ff.

[79] Von Gall, art. cit., pp. 30–1 with Abb. 11; Huff, art. cit., pp. 163–7 with sketches, and Taf. 51–53.1; Vanden Berghe, Arch., 119 fig. 34.

of the facade, create a triple doorway from it to the tomb-chamber. These pillars have simple cube-shaped bases above shallow socles, and in this respect have been compared with pillars at the rock-grave of Da-u-Dukhtar in Persis, and with the temple-pillars at Khurha in Greater Media,[80] which suggests that, despite political separation, Atropatene continued to share a common culture with other western Iranians; and there are other indications that this involved a certain degree of hellenization.

The floor of the tomb-chamber is a little higher than that of the ante-chamber, and in it were hewn four rectangular cavities, each with a carefully chiselled groove around the rim, intended evidently to hold a cover.[81] These cavities, all roughly the same size, were not large enough to hold adult corpses, extended; and in the light both of the evidently strong Zoroastrianism of the Atropatids, and of the likeness of these cavities to those of the Achaemenian rock-cut ossuary at Limyra in Lycia,[82] it seems reasonable to suppose that Fakhrika too was an ossuary, an "astodana", designed to receive, after exposure, the disarticulated bones of members of one noble family according to prescriptions of the *Vendidad*.[83] The Fakhrika tomb is remarkable for the openness of its construction, with its pillared portico instead of a narrow, closed doorway, as in the Achaemenian tombs and others of the Median group, and this has been seen as a modification of Iranian tradition by a Hellenistic feeling for space and freedom.[84] It can also be regarded as a testimony to the sense of security felt by Zoroastrians in this part of Atropatene, with no fear of sacrilegious intrusion in such a place[85] — although it is very possible that under the Atropatids the family concerned maintained chantry-priests and watchmen always by the tomb.

In Adarbadagan, as in other parts of Iran, graves are to be found cut in the rocky surfaces of hills, sometimes, like a group of four at Shaytanabad (a little to the north of Fakhrika along the Urmia

[80] Huff, art. cit., pp. 167–8, with Abb. 6. On these monuments see below, pp. 120–1, 90.

[81] Huff, art. cit., pp. 169–70 with Taf. 52–3 and sketch-plan, p. 165. He established that it was only subsequently that the rock between two of the cavities was chiselled away to create a single hollow large enough to receive an integral corpse.

[82] See, with bibliography, HZ II 210–11.

[83] Vd. 6.49–51, cf. HZ I 326–7.

[84] Huff, art. cit., p. 171.

[85] The smoothing away of the rock-face below the tomb seems more a matter of tradition and design than a defensive measure, for the entrance remains accessible to any determined intruder.

road) with chiselled rims to hold a cover.[86] Such graves are undatable, and could as well be pre-Iranian as Iranian; but if Iranian, the Shaytanabad ones can be seen as another way of disposing of a corpse in general accord with Zoroastrian precept, in that under a stone cover it would there have been securely shut away from all danger of polluting the good creations.

The caves of Karafto

Near what appears to have been the border between Atropatene and Greater Media is to be found a puzzling complex of chambers and passage-ways hewn in a limestone cliff overlooking the narrow valley of the Saruk.[87] This stream is a right-bank tributary of the Zarineh, which, flowing north, passes by Miandoab to empty its waters, as a confluent of the Talavi, into Lake Urmia. The region of the caves is thus naturally linked to the heartland of Atropatene.[88] The Saruk valley cuts through grassy tableland, which provides good seasonal grazing; but there are no towns in the vicinity (the caves are named after the small village of Karafto nearby), and the place is remote from any highway or well-used track, ancient or modern.

The cliff complex includes some natural caves as well as later man-made ones; but the hewn chambers attributed to Hellenistic times all have domed ceilings and are the work of good craftsmen.[89] They are arranged in two tiers, between which one can pass; and from the time of the first visit to the caves by a Westerner in 1818,[90] interest has focussed on a Greek inscription roughly carved over the cliff-entrance to a room in the upper tier. This inscription, though weathered and partly defaced by modern graffiti, has been read as

[86] On these graves see W. Kleiss, AMI 4, 1971, 55–6 with Abb. 7; 6, 1973, 37–8 with Abb. 35.

[87] See the end-map in Stein, Old Routes, and the sketch-map given by P. Bernard, "Heracles, les grottes de Karafto et le sanctuaire du Mont Sambulos en Iran", St. Ir. 10, 1981, 302.

[88] This was cogently argued in a letter written to the present writer in 1987 by Dr. Huff, who had travelled in the region and knew the terrain well. His arguments have been accepted by P. Bernard, who was himself familiar with the site only from literary sources.

[89] On them see, with bibliography and sketch plans, H. von Gall, "Die Kultraüme in den Felsen von Karaftu bei Takab (West-Azarbaidjan)", AMI II, 1978, 91–112; Bernard, art. cit., pp. 301–24.

[90] An English doctor, J. Cormick, whose unpublished report led R. Ker Porter to the site in the same year. He made the first drawing of the inscription, to be followed by H. Rawlinson (1838), Aurel Stein (1938) and R. Naumann and H. von Gall (1975). See von Gall, art. cit., pp. 91–2; Bernard, art. cit., pp. 302–3.

follows:[91] 'Ηρακλῆς [ἐ]ν[θ]άδε κατοικεῖ. Μηθὲν εἰσέλθοι κακόν "Heracles dwells here. May nothing bad enter". These words were for a time taken to show that the complex had been a sanctuary of the Greek divine hero, who had perhaps, it was thought, absorbed the concept of a local god, such as Iranian Verethraghna; but it has now been established that while inscriptions with such wording, well attested in Hellenistic lands, occur over house doors, and in one instance over that of a public building, they are never found at entrances to holy places; and this, it is pointed out, is rational, for if a sanctuary were dedicated to Heracles himself, a declaration such as this would be superfluous; if to some other god, then it would be his protection which it enjoyed.[92] Sometimes an altar is found in connection with these apotropaic inscriptions, or a niche for offerings; but in every case this is part of a domestic cult, and belongs to the sphere of private devotions.[93]

From this it follows that the rock-chambers of Karafto, carved out with evident labour and expense, were for secular use—intended, it would seem, not as chapels or cult rooms but as audience-halls, dwelling chambers and the like.[94] This accords with the fact that the local name for the caves is Qala-i Karafto, "The castle of Karafto", and that no tradition of sanctity attaches to them.[95] The problem remains that whereas geographically the Saruk valley belongs to Atropatene, the inscription is not only Greek in language and sentiment, but is judged on epigraphic grounds to have been written by a Greek; for however irregular the carving, the shapes of the letters themselves show no awkwardness, but are of a style in general use in the late fourth to early third centuries B.C.[96] This led to a tentative hypothesis that the caves had been the residence of a Greek commander of a small force guarding what was then thought to have been the northern frontier of Greater Media.[97] Now that it is held that the area in question belonged rather to Atropatene, it is not difficult to adapt this hypothesis, and to suppose instead that the putative force was in the service of the Atropatids, with at one time a Greek mercenary at its head; for since these dynasts appear

[91] For the history of the inscription's decipherment see Bernard, art. cit., p. 303 n. 7. Stein's squeeze (Old Routes, opp. p. 327) is reproduced by von Gall, art. cit., p. 91.

[92] So Bernard, art. cit., p. 304.

[93] Ib., p. 305.

[94] Ib., pp. 305–7.

[95] Ib., p. 310.

[96] Stein, o.c., pp. 337–8; von Gall, art. cit., p. 95; Bernard, art. cit., p. 305.

[97] Bernard, art. cit., p. 308.

to have employed Greek craftsmen, there is no reason why they should not also have hired Greek soldiers. Yet it may well be questioned whether the frontier is likely to have been guarded from such an out-of-the-way place; and clearly the existing data are too meagre for any interpretation of them to be pressed. What is important for the present history is that the complex cannot be regarded as a religious sanctuary, let alone one with Zoroastrian connections;[98] and that the inscription provides yet another piece of evidence for the popularity of Heracles among Hellenes in the Seleucid era.[99]

Summary

The Atropatids appear strikingly successful both in maintaining their political independence, and in preserving and helping to develop Zoroastrian traditions, thus taking a worthy place in the long line of princely patrons of the faith. Under their rule Media Atropatene may be presumed to have prospered, free from the drain of wars. The only recorded armed incursion was that of Antiochus III in 221, and this seems to have been speedily bought off by payment of tribute.[100] This payment is not likely to have been kept up, since Seleucid fortunes soon declined thereafter; and the Atropatids continued to reign independently until their land was absorbed into the Parthian Empire. Adarbadagan was thus the only part of Iran to remain under Zoroastrian rule uninterruptedly, apart from Alexander's brief dominance, from Achaemenian times until the Arab conquest. The two hundred or so years of Atropatid rule evidently enabled it to acquire pre-eminence in religious matters in the eyes of the Zoroastrians of western Iran; and this pre-eminence was still in a measure conceded to it by Persians in Sasanian times, who naturally preferred Median traditions to those of Parthia, and who had no strongly developed network of holy legends of their own to promote,[101] and notably no claim to any such links with the prophet as those so convincingly fashioned in Atropatene at this epoch.

[98] The identification of Karafto with Mt. Sambulos is also rejected by Bernard, art. cit., who accepted instead that of this mountain with Behistun, see below, p. 93.
[99] Cf. above, pp. 62–5.
[100] Cf. above, p. 29.
[101] Cf. HZ II 8–9.

Greater Media

The Hellenistic element

From Alexander's death to the coming of the Parthians the rich and strategically important satrapy of Greater Media remained under direct Macedonian rule, being for the Seleucids their most valuable possession on the Iranian plateau. Of it Polybius writes: "Media is the most notable principality in Asia, both in the extent of its territory and the number and excellence of the men and also of the horses it produces. . . . On its borders a ring of Greek cities was founded by Alexander to protect it from the neighbouring barbarians. Ecbatana is an exception. . . . It had always been the royal residence of the Medes and is said to have greatly exceeded all the other cities in wealth and in the magnificence of its buildings."[102] The palace, he says, was both huge and splendid, "for the woodwork was all of cedar and cypress, but no part of it was left exposed, and the rafters, the compartments of the ceiling, and the columns in the porticoes and colonnades were plated with either silver or gold, and all the tiles were of silver. Most of the precious metals were stripped off in the invasion of Alexander and his Macedonians, and the rest during the reigns of Antigonus and Seleucus". Thus denuded, the great palace may well still have served as summer residence for the Macedonian governor-general of the eastern or "upper" satrapies;[103] but nothing is known of Greek settlement in Ecbatana, and it was not until 165 B.C., in the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, that it received apparently a Greek name, Epiphania, and perhaps additional Greek colonists.[104] Ecbatana stood on the Khorasan Highway, and, as we have seen, Seleucus I marked his concern for safeguarding this vital artery by refounding Raga, which controlled Media's eastern borders, as a Greek city named Europus.[105] To the west of Ecbatana is the town now known as Kangavar, which also stands on this highway. Here in Parthian times there was a famous temple to "Artemis", presumably, that is, to Anahit, mentioned by Isidore of Charax in his itinerary.[106] Scholars once identified this temple with imposing remains at Kangavar, first ascribed to the Hellenistic era, but

[102] X.27.3. On the extent of Media under the Seleucids see H. H. Schmitt, Untersuchungen, 50 ff.
[103] On this office under the Seleucids see L. Robert, Hellenica VII, 1949, 23–4; Schmitt, art. cit., pp. 116–18.
[104] Cf. above, p. 33.
[105] Above, p. 23.
[106] Parthian Stations, 6.

excavations have resulted in the building concerned being now regarded as a secular one of the Sasanian epoch[107] (with Pahlavi inscriptions and other data pointing to a large-scale reconstruction in the reign of Khosrow II[108]). Whether Isidore's "Artemis" temple was founded in late Achaemenian times, or only subsequently under the Arsacids, there is thus no means of knowing; nor yet whether there was a Hellenistic city at Kangavar.

In fact the situation is known of only one other of the many towns said to have been founded in Media by the Macedonians. This was a *polis* named Laodicia, which was set at a strategic point on the Khorasan Highway where this was crossed by a second great road that led to Isfahan and Persepolis, and then, branching, either on to Bushire (Antiochia-in-Persis) on the Persian Gulf, or east across Carmania to distant Drangiana and Arachosia.[109] The ruins of this Laodicia are on high ground by the present town of Nehavand. They have been pillaged for their stones, but have yielded as chance finds bronze objects and a stone altar,[110] and, above all, three Greek inscriptions, the longest and most important of which supplied the city's name.[111] This inscription records a letter written in June/July 193 B.C., by Menedemos to Apollodoros and the magistrates and city of Laodicia, while one of the shorter inscriptions honours Menedemos as governor of the upper satrapies, an office he may well have united with the governorship of Media.[112] Apollodorus was, it is supposed, the royal commissioner in Laodicia.[113] Menedemos sends him an edict of the king (shown by the date to be Antiochus III), with orders to have it carved on a stone stele and placed in the most illustrious of the city's sanctuaries. The edict itself is dated to March/April of the same year, two months being evidently the time it took for a communication from Antiochus, then in Western Asia Minor, to reach Media.[114] In the

[107] M. Azarnoush, "Excavations at Kangavar", AMI 14, 1981, 69–84. (For a bibliography of earlier studies see Schippmann, Feuerheiligtümer, 298–308.)

[108] Azarnoush gives photographs, without comment, of some of the short Pahl. inscriptions. There are about 20 of these, engraved on the under side of blocks scattered in the masonry covering the terrace. They were examined in 1973 by V. G. Lukonin, "Xram Anaxity v Kangavare", VDI 1977/2, 105–111, who assigned them, by the shape of the letters, to 6th- early 7th centuries A.C.

[109] D. Schlumberger apud L. Robert, "Encore une inscription grecque de l'Iran", CRAI 1967, 294 n. 4.

[110] See R. Ghirshman, Iran, Parthes et Sassanides, 18–19.

[111] See Ghirshman apud Robert, "Inscriptions séleucides de Phrygie et d'Iran", Hellenica VII, 1949, 21, where Robert (pp. 5–29) published the inscription, adding further observations on it in art. cit. in n. 109.

[112] Published by Robert, Hellenica VIII, 73–4.

[113] Robert, Hellenica VII, 22.

[114] Robert, ib., pp. 15, 17.

edict the king declares that, just as there are high priests of his own cult appointed in the kingdom,[115] so there are to be high priestesses in the same place for that of "his sister the queen Laodice" (who was in fact his first cousin, Laodice of Pontus[116]). The high priestess appointed for her cult in Iran he refers to simply as Laodice—meaning evidently by this unadorned name their daughter, who was then married to her brother, the heir-apparent Antiochus. (This prince died later the same year, and she was married again to her other brother, who was to reign as Seleucus IV[117].) The appointment of the princess as high priestess of her mother's cult in this region is an indication of the high value placed by Antiochus III on the eastern satrapies. Another inscribed copy of this edict had been known since 1884, found in the village of Dodurga in the plain of Karayük in southern Phrygia.[118] There the accompanying letter by the local governor shows that he was able to transmit the edict a month earlier than Menedemos[119], while in it the high priestess for that region is named as Berenice, daughter of the king's kinsman, Ptolemy, son of Lysimachos. Her father and grandfather have been identified as dynasts of the Carian city of Telmessus, she too being thus young and of high birth.[120]

These two copies of Antiochus' edict, found so far apart, demonstrate the unity of the Seleucid empire in its royal and official aspects; and the discovery in 1967 of a fragment of a third copy, again in Media, helps to confirm that the Seleucids held that satrapy in a firm grip.[121] The broken stele bearing this copy came to light in the neighbourhood of Kermanshah. On it too the edict was accompanied by a letter from Menedemos, written in the same month as that to Laodicia, but addressed to an individual, one Thoas, who is to have the stele bearing the edict set up in the most illustrious sanctuary in his *phulakē*, that is the military district under his command.[122] Such a district, it is suggested, was needed near Kermanshah, where the Khorasan Highway passed through

[115] Cf. above, pp. 30–1.

[116] Cf. below, p. 282. For striking details of the civic cults of Antiochus and Laodice in 2 towns of western Asia Minor see S. R. F. Price, Rituals and Power, 30–2.

[117] See Robert, art. cit., p. 18; CRAI 1967, 287.

[118] On Greeks and Persians in this place see below, p. 249. A bibliography of the Dodurga inscription is given by Robert, Hellenica VII, pp. 8–9 with nn.

[119] Robert, ib., p. 15.

[120] On the dates of these two dynasts see Robert, ib., p. 17.

[121] Published by Robert, CRAI 1967, 281–97.

[122] The Greek word was deciphered by Robert, who discusses its use and significance, ib., p. 292.

mountainous defiles and had to be guarded from brigands. The indication that there were several Greek shrines in it is interesting (unless the phrase concerned was purely formulaic).

The only known physical remains of a Hellenistic temple in Media, other than those at Laodicia, are thought to be in the fertile valley of Khurha near Mahallat, to the south-east of Qum.[123] Here two tall, slender stone pillars are still standing, uncharacteristic in their proportions for Greek architecture, and with bases and capitals which likewise suggest local adaptations of Greek forms.[124] (The bases of these pillars, as we have seen,[125] have been compared with others at the rock-tombs of Fakhrika in Atropatene and Da-u-Dukhtar in Persis.) On these grounds this building has been assigned to a date late in the Hellenistic period. Excavations (whose results have yet to be published) have revealed numerous skeletons beneath one part of the building, whose presence seems to exclude any possibility of Zoroastrian participation in worship here.[126]

The Iranian element

Although so few actual traces remain of the Hellenistic settlement of Media, the Thoas stele suggests that its relative density led to the creation there of Greek shrines in the countryside as well as in the Greek cities. Beside these, the old Zoroastrian holy places naturally continued to exist. A fabulously rich temple at Ecbatana is spoken of by Polybius, which was evidently built and embellished by Achaemenian kings; and though he says that it was dedicated to "Aine", it is presumed that Anahit is in fact meant. This temple had not been so thoroughly despoiled by Alexander and his early successors as the royal palaces at Ecbatana, for, Polybius relates, when Antiochus III reached that city in 209, on the eve of his eastern campaign,[127] it alone had "the columns around it still gilded, and a number of silver tiles were piled upon it, while a few

[123] On these remains see, with bibliography, Schippmann, Feuerheiligtümer, 424–30.
[124] See Herzfeld, AHI, 51 with Pl. VI; Vanden Berghe, Arch., Pl. 160c.
[125] Cf. above, p. 83.
[126] These skeletons led A. D. H. Bivar (JRS LIX 1969, 30) to conjecture that the ruins were those of a heroon erected over the bones of Alexander's companions who fell in the battle nearby in which Antigonus defeated Eumenes (cf. above, p. 20); but this is rejected by P. Bernard (in a verbal communication), who agrees with Herzfeld's late dating of the pillars, and points out that no communal heroon is known.
[127] Cf. above, pp. 29–30.

gold bricks and a considerable quantity of silver ones remained".[128] All this Antiochus took, enriching his empty treasury by some 4000 talents. Polybius' account of the temple's gradual despoliation suggests that the Seleucids had felt some compunction after first ravaging it, and that, though plainly no restoration had been attempted, religious life had been able to continue there (for had it stood empty, lesser thieves would surely have finished the work of looting, leaving nothing for Antiochus at this late date). It is indeed probable that during less stressful times Seleucid princes and their local officials themselves made offerings there, their motives a mixture of diplomatic and prudently devotional ones. The Zoroastrians of Greater Media must nevertheless have lived with uncertainties and griefs unknown to their co-religionists in more fortunate Atropatene.

The sanctuary at Behistun

There is one ancient holy place in Media where Hellenes appear to have added their prayers to Zoroastrian ones. This is the sanctuary on the north-east flank of Mount Behistun, the ancient "place of the gods" which rises so dramatically from the surrounding plain in the heart of Media.[129] Fragments of pottery and small bronze ornaments take the presence of man here back to about 1500–1400 B.C.[130] There are various traces of the Medes in the eighth-seventh centuries, it being they, presumably, who gave the mountain and sanctuary the Iranian name of *Bagastana; and the Persians who conquered them also evidently held the place sacred, since on another face of the mountain, separated from the sanctuary by a deep cleft, Darius had his great inscription carved, recording for the eyes of the gods who dwelt there[131] the victories

[128] Polybius X.27.
[129] Cf. HZ II 9. (Note: The sketch of Median history given there, pp. 9–12, has to be radically revised in the light of the article by P. R. Helm, "Herodotus' *Mêdikos Logos* and Median history", Iran XIX, 1981, 85–90). On the mountain's Iranian name, rendered by the Greeks as Bagistanon (Diodorus 2.13.1) see R. Schmitt, "Bīsotūn : i Introduction", Elr. IV 289–90.
[130] Excavations began here in 1963, and the German archaeologists named the complex the "Partherhang" because of Parthian rock carvings in the vicinity. See W. Kleiss, "Zur Topographie des 'Partherhanges' in Bisutun", AMI 3, 1970, 133–68. He interpreted the complex as a stronghold, but P. Bernard, art. cit. in n. 87, p. 319 ff., argued, to the writer convincingly, that as a stronghold it would have been indefensible, and presented good grounds for considering it to have been a religious sanctuary. The theory that it was a fortress was nevertheless presented again, without discussion, by H. Luschey, "Bīsotūn : ii Archaeology", Elr. IV 291.
[131] Cf. HZ II 99. On the inscription itself see last R. Schmitt, "Bīsotūn : iii Darius' inscription", Elr. IV 299–305.

that he had secured by Ahuramazda's grace. Evidence is abundant for the sanctuary being frequented in Seleucid-Parthian times; and it was not until the very end of the Sasanian period that it seems to have been abandoned (conceivably in consequence of the sustained campaign then to make fire temples the centres for public devotions).

The sanctuary was marked off by a wall of undressed stones, running from the foot of one rocky spur to that of another, and enclosing a large space. The main gateway into this appears to have been between rocks on the south-west side, opening towards the town of Behistun and the lake lying at the mountain's foot. It was here that the Khorasan Highway ran past mountain and sanctuary, bringing doubtless many worshippers over the centuries. Within the enclosed area the ground sloped gently upward. A wall separated this first zone from a second one, which rose more steeply, and which could be reached either through the first, or directly by a gateway from higher ground on the sanctuary's north side. Finally there was a third zone, divided from the second by natural outcrops of rock, and containing a level area at a height above even Darius' lofty relief. This part of the sanctuary formed a natural "high place", at which Zoroastrians could offer worship to the *yazatas* according to traditional Iranian practice.[132] Yet, elevated though it was, it was still relatively easy of access for priests and worshippers, climbing up by degrees through the sanctuary's two lower tiers; and many more could have watched from below the rites being performed there. Within each of the three tiers there were terraces made among the rocks, with in places rock-hewn stairways between them; and here and there are to be found rounded hollows cut in the stone, of the kind usually called by archaeologists "fire bowls". In the lower two zones the remains of walls of baked brick show that there had once been buildings there, of which nothing as yet is known.

Around the sanctuary are rock carvings set there by Iranian kings; and in these, it has been noted, each king is shown looking towards the holy place; Darius and the Parthian Gotarzes from the south, a Parthian Valakhš from the north east.[133] That Behistun kept its sanctity, thus royally acknowledged, for the local Median population throughout cannot be doubted; and it seems that the

[132] Bernard, art. cit., p. 321.

[133] Kleiss, art. cit., pp. 144–5, 147; Bernard, art. cit., p. 322, who stresses that this is an indication of the place's sanctity. For the inscription identifying "Valakhš" see G. Gropp, AMI 3, 1970, 200 with Taf. 101.1; on the Parthian remains generally Luschey, Elr. IV 293; and further in HZ IV.

conquering Hellenes learnt in their turn to respect this profoundly impressive place as one where prayers were likely to reach the gods. Diodorus speaks of a *Bagistanē* district which he calls "best fitting for the gods" (*theoprepestatē*)[134]; and towards the very end of Seleucid ascendancy a shrine to Heracles Kallinikos was created by its main gate. To the east of this gate there is a huge rock that had been made part of the sanctuary's outer wall; and on its irregular surface was carved the figure of the divine hero, in high relief.[135] He is shown reclining, naked, on his lionskin, drinking cup in hand, with beside him his club, leaning against a boulder. "If the heaviness of the forms, not lacking in power, betrays the provincial character of the work, the iconography itself is purely Greek".[136] There is one unusual detail, however, a quiver of arrows hanging from a tree. A Greek inscription states that the shrine had been created *ex voto* by one Hyacinthes, son of Pentauchos (a distinctively Macedonian name) for the well-being of Cleomenes governor of the "upper satrapies", in 148 B.C.—on the eve, that is, of victory by the Parthians in this region.[137] Under this inscription is carved more faintly the beginning of an Aramaic version of the same text,[138] which suggests that at least one Iranian noble (able to pay for the services of scribe and stone-cutter) accepted the propriety of Greek worship at this place.

Mount Behistun has been identified with the Mount Sambulos mentioned by Tacitus in this area[139] (Sambulos representing perhaps its ancient pre-Iranian name[140]). He relates that when in 49–50 A.C. a pretender made a bid to seize the Parthian throne from Gotarzes I, the latter "near a mountain named Sambulos offered prayers to the divinities of the place, of whom Heracles was pre-eminently worshipped".[141] The popularity here of Heracles—that is, for Iranians, of Verethraghna—was presumably due to his wayside shrine, conspicuous to all who passed by and inviting their devotions, this being a clear instance of Greek worship of Heracles

[134] 17.110.5 (see Schmitt, Elr. IV 290).

[135] Kleiss, art. cit., Taf. 2.1; Luschey, Elr. IV 293, Pl. XIII.

[136] Bernard, art. cit., p. 316. D. Stronach's conjecture that the lionskin originally represented a living lion, being older than the rest of the relief, was learnedly developed by Kleiss, art. cit., pp. 145–7, but refuted by Bernard, art. cit., p. 316 n. 51.

[137] Published by Robert, Gnomon 1967, 76.

[138] Noticed by A. D. H. Bivar.

[139] Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, Iranische Felsreliefs, 190 n. 2. His interpretation is endorsed by Bernard, art. cit., p. 312 ff., who presented cogently the arguments for seeking Sambulos here and not in Karafto.

[140] Herzfeld, Am Tor, 46; Bernard, art. cit., p. 324.

[141] Annals XII.13.

encouraging the veneration of the Iranian *yazata*.[142] Tacitus further tells a legend of Mount Sambulos, that at certain times Heracles prompts his priests there by a dream to leave ready near the sanctuary horses prepared for the chase, with quivers full of arrows. All the next day these horses roam the woods around, returning weary, with the quivers empty. Another dream then shows the priests where to find the beasts slain by the god. Neither Heracles nor Verethraghna was a riding or hunting god; and the mysterious bowman has been seen as originally Mithra, who was conceived as both in the Hellenistic age.[143] Possibly the conspicuous arrow-filled quiver was introduced into the carving at Heracles' shrine in allusion to this apparently famous legend,[144] which in consequence became in time transferred to Heracles-Verethraghna.

The Median rock tombs

Other evidence for continuity of religious life under the Seleucids comes from the "Median rock tombs". These were originally so termed on the supposition that they belonged to the period of the Median empire, forming thus a link between Urartian rock tombs and those of Darius and his successors.[145] It is now generally agreed that they are later,[146] and made in imitation of the Achaemenian royal tombs (which were probably directly inspired by Urartian models).[147] They can nevertheless properly keep the appellation first given them, since all but one[148] belong geographically to Media.

[142] Cf. above, pp. 62–5. That there was no especial connection of his cult with the mountain in pre-Seleucid times is shown not only by its OP name but also by the fact that Ctesias (apud Diodorus, 17.110.5) calls Mount Bagistanon *hieron Dios* "sacred to Zeus" i.e. to Ahura Mazda (Schmitt, Elr. IV 290).

[143] Cumont apud Stein, Old Routes, 343–4. Cf. below, pp. 484–6.

[144] So Bernard, art. cit., pp. 316–17 with n. 52.

[145] So Herzfeld, notably in Felsreliefs, Am Tor, and Iran in the Ancient East. Several of the tombs had been described by 19th-century travellers, but he was the first to consider them as a group.

[146] The basic study is by H. von Gall, "Zu den 'medischen' Felsgräbern in Nordwestiran und Iraqi Kurdistan", AA 1966, 19–43, See further his articles "Persische und medische Stämme", AMI 5, 1972, 277–83; "Neue Beobachtungen zu den sog. Medischen Felsgräbern", Proceedings of the 2nd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran, ed. F. Bagherzadeh, Tehran 1973, pub. Tehran 1974, 139–45; and "Das Felsgrab von Qizqapan', BaM 19, 1988, 557–82.

[147] Cf. HZ II 111–12, and to the references given there add D. Huff, "Das Felsgrab von Eski Doğubayazit", Ist. Mitt. 18, 1968, 58–86, and "Das Grab von Doğubayazit. Seine Stellung unter den urartäischen und iranischen Felsgräbern", Proceedings of the 10th Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara, 1986, pub. 1990, 87–95.

[148] I.e. Da-u-Dukhtar in Persis, see below, pp. 120–1.

Of these tombs we have already met that at Fakhrika in Atropatene[149]. Those in Greater Media are: Ishkewt-i Qizqapan and Ishkewt-i Kur-u-Kich in the north-west (now Iraqi Kurdistan); Dukkan-i Daud near Sar-i Pol-i Zohab, where the Khorasan Highway passed through a defile in the Zagros mountains; one by Ravansar, to the north-west of Kermanshah; another by Sakhna, between Kermanshah and Hamadan (Ecbatana), known as the tomb of Farhad-u-Shirin; and to the south of Behistun, a set of four not far from Issakvand.[150] All these have features of interest, in layout or decorative elements, but none bears an inscription. There are one or two other rock-cut cavities in Media which are quite featureless.[151]

There is no uniformity of design among these tombs, though several share common elements; but all appear to have had the same function, namely to provide a place for the remains of the dead where they could rest securely until Judgment Day without defiling the good creations.[152] Since the tombs are few in number, and were evidently costly in terms of labour to excavate and adorn, it is reasonable to suppose that they were those of great nobles, made on their own estates[153], with one or two perhaps belonging to chief magi, this being the homeland of the magi, the Median clan who, it seems, provided the first western priests of Zoroastrianism.[154] They were probably the earliest practitioners in western Iran of the rite of exposure of the dead; and several of the tombs in question, like that of Fakhrika, are *astodanas* i.e. ossuaries for

[149] Above, pp. 82–3.

[150] A sketch map of the sites (lacking only Ravansar, the last to be recorded) is given by von Gall, AA 1966, 20; and sketches of the ground plans and facades of all the tombs are set together by Huff, Proc. 10th Türk Tarih Kongr., Taf. 69–84. On them under the site names see also Vanden Berghe, Arch.

[151] Among them is an unfinished rock tomb known locally as Utaq-i Farhad, "Farhad's Room", to the south of Qaṣr-i Shirin, see H. Rawlinson, JRGS 9, 1840, 41; von Gall, art. cit., p. 25.

[152] So, essentially, von Gall, art. cit., p. 43; AMI, 1972, 282.

[153] Von Gall, who dates the tombs to late Achaemenian times, holds several of them to belong to tribal chiefs (AA 1966, 41–3; AMI, 1972, 282).

[154] Idem, AA 1966, 38 ff.; AMI, 1972, 279–80.—The present writer was wrong in suggesting (HZ II 85) that already in early Achaemenian times the term *magus* had probably lost its ethnic associations and simply meant for western Iranians "priest"; cf., e.g., above, the story of Gobares "the Mede". (She was also wrong in stating that Gaumata does not receive the title magus in the Babylonian version of Behistun. See E. N. von Voigtlander, the Bisutun Inscription of Darius the Great, Babylonian version, Corpus Ins. Iranicarum, Pt 1, Vol. II, London 1978, sections 10–12.) The question remains open as to how long, or how consistently, the tradition that magi were Medes corresponded to fact. The search for an answer is not helped by the Greek practice of terming all Zoroastrian priests, whether from east or west Iran, magi, and often calling Persians Medes.

holding excarnated bones. Evidence from the Achaemenian period shows, however, that by the end of the fifth century this rite was in use among the nobility also[155], so that it is impossible on this basis to determine whether a tomb belonged to priest or baron.

As for dating the tombs, the evidence comes from their layout, architectural and other details in the ornamentation of their facades, and points in the pose, dress and accessories of figures in their reliefs. The difficulties arise largely from the meagreness of comparative data and problems in the way of establishing an absolute chronology. Thus the adaptation of Greek architectural forms by Persian craftsmen did not begin in the Hellenistic period, but went back to the days of Cyrus and Darius, while stylistic features found at Achaemenian palaces could be copied by masons in post-Achaemenian times. Devices from Achaemenian iconography also remained accessible to later generations, being visible on the stone walls of palaces and temples and in rock sculptures, and presumably also on family gems and seals and the sealings of documents, for however destructive Alexander's conquest had been, it could hardly have swept away all such private possessions.

With dress too there is a lack of chronological clarity. It is recognized that under the Achaemenians the western Iranians wore two distinct types of costume, that termed the "Perso-Elamite" or "Persian", which was a long robe, and the "Median", which consisted of a horseman's garb of tunic, trousers, and sleeved coat;[156] and it is often assumed that the "Persian" robe disappeared with the Achaemenian empire. There is no obvious reason, however, why it should have done so. It must have been cool and comfortable to wear in the hot Iranian summers; and as far as fashion and example went, the tunic of the conquering Hellenes approximated more to it than to the "Median" dress. It is not surprising therefore to find evidence for the wearing of modified forms of the "Persian" robe still in Hellenistic times; but a potential indication of date thereby disappears.

Yet not all is negative. In particular an important observation has been made with regard to dating the four tombs which, with Fakhrika, share the feature of an open antechamber with columns, carved usually in the round. These give the monuments a very different appearance from that of the Achaemenian royal tombs with their solid flat facades, decorated with engaged pillars between which the tomb entrance is recessed only a little way into the

[155] Cf. HZ II 210, 211.
[156] Cf. ib., p.10.

cliff face. This was the type for all royal tombs from Darius I to the end of his dynasty; and it seems most unlikely that the Great Kings would have permitted any of their subjects not only to imitate their sepulchres but also while doing so to introduce an impressive new architectural feature.[157] It appears much more probable that this innovation owed its origin to a new influence, that of the Hellenes, who may be supposed to have allowed their subjects complete freedom in such matters.

Another feature of several of the tombs which has been attributed to Hellenistic influence is that of a carefully cut and squared rectangular frame round a relief or entrance, instead of simply a smoothed area of rock.[158] On the basis of these two criteria, antechamber and squared frame, almost all the Median tombs can be assigned to post-Achaemenian times—either Seleucid or early Arsacid; and there are other indications for individual tombs that support this dating.

There is only one tomb which in its present state yields no evidence of date. This is at Ravansar,[159] a little town to the north-west of Kermanshah. Here there are numerous ancient remains, including a pillar-base and pottery from Achaemenian times. The town is built round the foot of a huge isolated rock, into whose northern face the tomb is cut, looking out over the plain. An area was smoothed to form a vertical facade with a narrow ledge at its foot; and at one side of this facade a rectangular doorway was made, probably to be closed by a single slab of stone. This leads directly into the tomb chamber, which is roughly square and quite plain. There is nothing to indicate how the dead were disposed of in it, but it is large enough to have held several coffins or numerous receptacles for bones. Outside there are carvings in the smoothed area, but so badly weathered and defaced that there is no certainty as to what they depict. Above the tomb the cliff is almost sheer, but from below it is accessible, no attempt having been made to smooth away the rock; and this accords with the likelihood that it was a family one, used repeatedly.

[157] So D. Stronach, "The Kuh-i Shahrak Fire-Altar", JNES XXV, 1966, 221 with n.30. Huff, Proc. 10th Türk Tarih Kongr., 92–3.
[158] N. C. Debevoise, "The rock reliefs of ancient Iran", JNES I, 1942, 89. Contra von Gall, AA 1966, 33–4, who for one example (Dukkan-i Daud) seeks parallels in Paphlagonian rock graves; but since, as he himself maintains (p. 43), the Median tombs derive from royal Achaemenian prototypes, such remote comparisons are hardly helpful.
[159] This tomb was known to Herzfeld, but he was not able to visit it. On it see M. Golzari, Kermānshāhān-i bāstān, Kermanshah, n.d., 29 ff.; P. Calmeyer, "Das Grabrelief von Ravansar", AMI 11, 1978, 73–85.

Near the village of Issakvand in the district of Harsin, south of Behistun, are four small rock chambers which are undoubtedly ossuaries, not being large enough to receive a corpse.[160] One of these, by the village of Surkhkade (Surkhade) on the left bank of the Gamas Ab, is cut in a mountain slope high above the valley floor.[161] Its rectangular entrance, which appears to have been closed by a stone slab, is set in the upper part of a smoothed rectangular panel; and this is surrounded by a double border of recessed lines, looking like the framework of a door. The mountain side can be fairly easily climbed, so the ossuary may have been repeatedly used.

Further up the Gamas Ab, in the narrow valley of a small right-bank tributary and opposite the abandoned village of Deh-i no, are three other ossuaries, in a group near the base of a cliff.[162] Of them it is the middle one which offers the most interest. Its entrance is framed by a single border; and, as if standing on this, is the somewhat clumsily carved figure of a man.[163] He is clad in a sleeved, calf-length robe, and is bearded and bare-headed, his unbound hair reaching almost to his shoulders. He stands in an attitude of prayer, with both hands raised—an attitude which has its support in Zoroaster's own words,[164] but which is not portrayed in Achaemenian art. There the convention is of one raised hand. The pose with two uplifted hands is often shown, however, in Seleucid times (notably on the *frataraka* coins of Persis). Other pointers to a Seleucid date for the Deh-i no carving is that a solitary

[160] J. de Morgan, who was the first to notice three of these ossuaries, approached them up the valley of the Gamas Ab, and did not mention the small village of Issakvand, which lies to the east. This was first used as a reference point for these monuments by Oskar Mann, who came on them from the direction of Harsin. He heard the village's name as "Issākawand". Subsequently Herzfeld made the form "Sakavand" current, until it was noted by von Gall that this did not correspond with local usage, which seems now to be predominantly Issākvand, variant Ishaqvand.

[161] First noticed and described by Mann, "Archäologisches aus Persien", Globus 83, 1903, 328 (for a photocopy of which article I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Huff). Mann heard the village name as Surkhkade, but it has since been referred to as Surkhade(h), Surkh(a) Deh. See Stein, Old Routes, 311; von Gall, AA 1966, 29; G. Gropp, "Bericht über eine Reise in West- und Südiran", AMI 3, 1970, 175 with Taf. 78.3.; M. Golzari, o.c. in n. 159, p. 27.

[162] First noticed and described by J. de Morgan, Mission scientifique en Perse, IV (1896), 299–301 with fig. 179, Taf. 32, 33. Further Vanden Berghe, Arch., Pl. 132.c; von Gall, art. cit., pp. 28–9; Gropp, AMI 2, 1969, Taf. 65.1 and 3, 1970, 175; Golzari, o.c., p. 25; von Gall, AMI 5, 1972, Taf. 74.1; Proc. 2nd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran, 141 with Abb. 6.

[163] Herzfeld, seeing these as ossuaries of Median magi, romantically interpreted this middle one as belonging to Gaumata, with his representation carved above it.

[164] Y 29.5.

figure would be unusual in Achaemenian sculpture but is common in Hellenistic monumental art. Further, the worshipper's pose, with a suggestion of ardent movement, contrasts with the calm, controlled stance characteristic of Achaemenian figures.[165] It is moreover exceptional for a Zoroastrian to have the head uncovered, and Iranians are not so represented in Achaemenian or Sasanian art, this being presumably a fleeting fashion due to Hellenistic example. A datable parallel to the figure at Deh-i no is provided by the carving of Mithradates I at Behistun. There the Arsacid is portrayed in the same attitude, and is likewise bare-headed and wears his hair in the same way; and since the two reliefs are not far apart, they may, it is suggested, have been carved at about the same time, that is around 140 B.C., towards the very end of the Seleucid era in Iran.[166]

Additions were made thereafter to the Deh-i no carving which would accordingly belong to Arsacid or possibly even Sasanian times; but it is nevertheless practical to consider them here.[167] A *thymiaterion* or incense-burner was introduced,[168] and a much smaller figure was added in front of the first one. It is of a man standing, also with both arms raised, before a fire-holder as tall as himself, with flames leaping up above his head. The fire-holder is of the type found at Pasargadae and represented in the funerary reliefs of Darius and his descendants, that is, it has a rectangular shaft with three-stepped top and base.[169] The man is wearing tunic, trousers, and a distinctive type of *tiara*, with a peak jutting forward over his forehead. He has been seen as a magus, representing perhaps the priests who performed the soul-rites at the *astodana*, and hence portrayed on a smaller scale than the noble worshipper whose family these priests served;[170] but this is necessarily speculative, since there appears to be no way of distinguishing priest from layman in such sculptures. Both might wear "Median" dress, and laymen were regularly shown in devotional attitudes, from Darius onward. Noblemen moreover used the *baresman* in acts of worship,[171] and shared with priests the obligation to protect sacred

[165] These points were made by Dr. Huff to the writer by letter.

[166] Huff, Proc. 10th Türk Tarih Kongr., 93–4.

[167] On them see von Gall, AA 1966, 29 n. 7; AMI 5, 1972, 278–9, who thought that the first figure too had been added some time after the ossuary was made. Contra Gropp, AMI 3, 175.

[168] Identified as such by Gropp, l.c.

[169] Cf. HZ II 51–2, 113.

[170] Von Gall, AMI 5, 279–80, 282.

[171] Cf. below, p. 331 n. 113. (The suggestion by the writer, HZ II 146, 147, that a layman might regularly hold the *baresman* in the right hand, a priest in the left, is rightly rejected by von Gall, BaM 19, 567 n. 26.)

objects from contact with their breath (hence both could be portrayed using the *tiara* as mouth-protection). Originally, it has been suggested, colour might have been the indicator, but with the paint worn away, this piece of evidence is lost.[172]

To the north-east of Behistun the tomb near Sakhna known as "Farhad-u-Shirin" is unquestionably for bodies, not disarticulated bones.[173] This is hewn out of a cliff well above the floor of a narrow valley. The cliff face was smoothed away to form a perpendicular wall, and in this was cut the antechamber to the tomb, with two free-standing columns forming an imposing facade; but the mass of rock above has crushed these, and only one badly damaged base remains. The base is thought to resemble (even more closely than those of the outer columns at Fakhrika) the "bell" form of certain Achaemenian bases.[174] The antechamber has a small doorway in the back wall, over which is the familiar device of the winged disk. This is carefully carved, with tail and appendages, and (as in various Achaemenian representations) has a pair of horns, symbol of divinity, set on its upper rim.[175] The doorway opens into a square chamber with two deep sarcophagi carved out of its sides, as in the Achaemenian royal tombs. Between them, against the back wall, a short shaft leads down to a second chamber, cut further back into the cliff. Here a third sarcophagus is sunk in the floor by its back wall. This is the only two-storeyed tomb known in Iran. At the foot of the smoothed area of rock a broad terrace was cut out of the cliff-face, possibly for the performance of soul-rites there.[176]

Another tomb with columned antechamber is Dukkan-i Daud ("David's shop") near Sar-i pol-i Zohab.[177] This was carved out at even greater height, in a smoothed perpendicular area within a

[172] See HZ II 20–1, 107.—Ib., p. 147, it was argued that a man on a small stone relief from Dascylium, now in the Istanbul museum, must be a noble rather than a priest because his cloak is reddish purple. Von Gall saw it as red, not purple (art. cit., p. 568); but both observations are valueless, for Professor Stronach assures me that the colouring is modern. The walls of the museum room are decorated in this shade, and some of the paint was applied to the relief. Von Gall, l.c. with Abb. 5.c, also cited as magi 2 figures from the Dura mithraeum, now known to be wearing Palmyrenian dress and probably donor portraits, see below, pp. 489, 549 n. 187.

[173] Herzfeld, Am Tor, 8 ff.; von Gall, AA 1966, 21, 23 ff.; Vanden Berghe, Arch., Pl. 134a.

[174] Von Gall, art. cit., p. 32 with Abb. 13, 14.

[175] Cf. HZ II 102–3 with n. 75.

[176] Gropp, AMI 3, 1970, 173–4 with Taf. 78.2.

[177] First reported by H. Rawlinson, JRGS 9, 1840, 38 f.; for bibliography see von Gall, AA 1966, 23; illustrated in Sarre-Herzfeld, Felsreliefs, Abb. 20, 21; Herzfeld, Am Tor, Abb. 3 and Iran in the Ancient East, Taf. 25; von Gall, art. cit., Abb. 9, 10, and Proc. 2nd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran, pp. 139, 140 with Abb. 1, 3, 4.

great cliff that towers on above the tomb. Again the weight of overhanging rock has cracked and destroyed the column-shafts, but here both capitals and bases survive. The capitals are of abacus form, while the bases derive from an Achaemenian type of a torus set on two round plinths.[178] The whole antechamber is surrounded by a carefully cut rectangular frame, consisting of two deep recessed bands with a third band along the top. In its back wall is a small entrance to a rectangular tomb chamber, of which all one shorter side is taken up by a sarcophagus, hollowed out of the rock. Whereas the Sakhna tomb seems intended for three members of one family, Dukkan-i Daud thus appears to have been the costly mausoleum of a single great person.

Almost at the base of the smoothed area, and set to one side, is a relief known as Kal-i Daud, "David's stele". This shows a man standing within a well-proportioned rectangular frame.[179] He wears an ankle-length robe with perhaps almost as long a coat over it, and holds in his left hand the long *baresman*, while his right is raised in the familiar gesture of reverence. On his head is a *tiara*, its side-flaps brought across his mouth (beard showing beneath), and a peak jutting sharply forward over his forehead, as with the *tiara* of the little figure in the Deh-i no relief. A similar *tiara* is worn by a man carved in the doorway of a Persepolis house, and by others on the *frataraka* coins, these Persid examples being all attributable to Hellenistic times;[180] but also by a man in "Median" dress on a seal of the fifth century B.C. from Dascylion, so that the fashion was not new.[181] Both he and the Persepolis man are shown in the same pose as the Kal-i Daud figure—long *baresman* in one hand, the other hand raised—which suggests that this was a long-established convention for depicting a devout Zoroastrian. The Kal-i Daud figure is generally referred to as a magus, but there seems nothing positive to identify him as such.

A third tomb with antechamber is Ishkewt-i Qizqapan (Kurdish for "Cave of the Ravisher") in north-west Media. This is hollowed out of a cliff at a point where the Surqaushan leaves the fertile Surdash valley and forces its way through a winding gorge to

[178] Von Gall, AA 1966, 25.

[179] The frame is clearly shown in the drawing by de Morgan, o.c. in n. 162, IV p. 300 fig. 178; and in photographs by Vanden Berghe, Arch., Pl. 125. f.; Golzari, o.c. in n. 159, p. 24. For another photograph see von Gall, AMI 1972, Taf. 74.4. On the long *baresman* see HZ II 38–9.

[180] See below, pp. 117, 114.

[181] Von Gall, art. cit., p. 278, with Taf. 74.2 (reproduced from Akurgal, Kunst Anatoliens, Abb. 120).

join the Little Zab.[182] The tomb is set high in this cliff, with below it the rock smoothed away. Again the antechamber has two central columns, but here they are engaged to the back wall, and remain almost intact. They too have simple bases of Iranian type, with square plinth and torus; but the capitals, though of Ionic inspiration, are massive, and declare "by the heaviness of the volutes and the lack of an echinus" their provincial character.[183] Over them the rock is elaborately worked to represent a wooden roof, with eaves.

Between the columns a small doorway leads into the original tomb chamber. Two other chambers, hollowed out later, open out of this to left and right, through similar doorways. Each was evidently provided with its own door, and details in the way these were closed, and also in the imitation rafters of the antechamber roof, have been compared with similar features at those Karafto caves which are assigned to Hellenistic times.[184] The three chambers, all rectangular and of roughly the same size, are together of almost exactly the same width as the antechamber. In each there is a single cavity in the floor along one wall, with a rim for a stone lid. These cavities are judged not quite large enough to have received articulated bodies, so this tomb appears to have been an *astodana*.[185]

Above the entrance to the central chamber is a relief, filling the upper half of the space between the columns. This shows two men facing each other across a fire-holder of the standard type, as represented in the Deh-i no relief, but with the fire on it shown by a simple semi-circle instead of the usual jagged pyramid of flame. The motif of a sacred fire flanked by two men at prayer is found on Achaemenian seals,[186] and was to be a standard Sasanian device. At Qizqapan the figures, three-quarters life-size, stand each with right hand raised in the attitude of reverence, and the left grasping the tip of a bow, whose other end rests on the ground by his advanced foot. This is exactly the pose in which Darius had himself portrayed both in the Behistun relief and above his tomb, where he too stands before fire in a similar holder. He however holds a simple bow, whereas the Qizqapan men grasp compound ones of

[182] On the location and tomb see C. J. Edmonds, "A tomb in Kurdistan", Iraq I, 1934, 183–92 with Pls. XXIII–XXVI; further von Gall, AA 1966, 27; Proc. 2nd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran, 141–2 with Abb. 7, 8; and BaM 19, 1988, 557–80.
[183] Von Gall, AA 1966, 27.
[184] See Huff, Proc. 10th Türk Tarih Kongr., 93; and further on the door-fastenings von Gall, BaM 1988, 559–60.
[185] Von Gall, ib., p. 561.
[186] Cf. HZ II 145, 146.

the so-called "Parthian" type.[187] Both wear *tiaras*, with the side-pieces over their mouths, across their beards; but otherwise they are dressed quite differently. The one on the left is in "Median" costume, with tunic and (it seems) trousers, and a coat reaching to his ankles. This he wears in a fashion characteristic of the standard-length *kandys*, that is, like a cloak, an empty sleeve being shown hanging down. The man on the right wears a calf-length robe, like the worshipper in the Deh-i no relief. Their bows would seem to identify both men as nobles,[188] and conceivably they represent two generations of a family, the elder by choice in one kind of garb, the younger in another.

Continuity with Achaemenian iconography is further shown in a device carved above this central scene. This is a rendering of a familiar Achaemenian one, and shows a bearded, crowned figure set in a circle representing the moon's orb.[189] He rises from its lower rim, which is thickened to indicate the lunar crescent. In his raised right hand he holds a flower, and traces of red colouring remain in his crown, though the stone here is badly weathered.[190]

To the right of the entrance, and at the same level as this device, is another, set within a circle of the same size. This (in which again there appear traces of reddish paint) consists of a central boss surrounded by eleven rays or petals, with little semi-circles at their tips.[191] It has been identified as a rosette,[192] but more often as a stellar device, in harmony with the neighbouring moon symbol;[193]

[187] On simple and compound ("double-convex") bows in Achaemenian sculpture see D. Huff, "Das Felsrelief von Qir", AMI 17, 1984, 234–8. The compound bow is there shown always carried in a case; but von Gall has drawn attention to the fact that it is represented uncased on coins of the Cilician satrap Datames c. 375 B.C.—On the shape and manufacture of the compound bow (regularly featured on Arsacid coins, hence the term "Parthian") see F. E. Brown, "A recently discovered compound bow", Seminarium Kondakovianum IX, Prague 1937, 1–10; E. McEwen, "Persian archery texts . . .", The Islamic Quarterly XVIII, 1976, 76–99 (references which I owe to the kindness of Professor Bivar). On archaeological evidence for the use of both simple and compound bows among Iranians in Achaemenian and later times see B. A. Litvinskij, Eisenzeitliche Kurgane zwischen Pamir und Aral-See, Munich 1984, 39–41; Antike und frühmittelalterliche Grabhügel im westlichen Fergana-Becken, Tadžikistan, Munich 1986, 76–81.
[188] Ghirshman, Perses, Proto-Iraniens, Mèdes, Achéménides, Paris 1963, 18; von Gall, Proc. 2nd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran, 142; BaM 1988, 567–8.
[189] Cf. HZ II 114–15; von Gall, BaM 19, 572 (with n. 55).
[190] Edmunds, art. cit., p. 187 and Pls XXIVb, XXVa; von Gall, l.c.
[191] Edmunds, art. cit., p. 189 and Pl. XXVIb; von Gall, art. cit., p. 575 with Taf. 27 d.
[192] H. J. Kantor, "Achaemenid jewellery in the Oriental Institute", JNES XVI, 1957, 17.
[193] Herzfeld, Iran in the Ancient East, 203–5; H. P. Francfort, Fouilles d'Aï

but nothing like it has yet been noticed elsewhere to help in its interpretation.

To the left of the entrance, and at a slightly lower level than the two roundels, is a third device set in a rough square. This, though much weathered, can be seen to be a crude rendering of the Achaemenian one of a figure in a winged circle.[194] The figure is reduced to a bearded head, wearing a low crown, and the hands, one raised in salutation; and, as in a number of Achaemenian renderings of this symbol, there are two pairs of wings,[195] the upper ones curling up around the head, the lower ones straight, with faint indications beneath them of the ribands and tail. The asymmetrical placing of this device, and in a square instead of a roundel, spoils the balance of the facade's decoration, and makes it unlikely that this was planned as a whole.

This third device is a variant of the simple winged circle, as carved over the entrance of the Sakhna tomb. It was clearly very popular among western Iranians; and since they had adopted it from the Assyrians,[196] the meanings and uses of its Assyrian prototype appear relevant to an understanding of its significance for them.[197] In Assyria the winged disk represented a god Ṣalmu (whose name may even be that of the device itself); and "Ṣalmu" occurs as a by-name for the sun god Shamash, in keeping with the device's origin as a solar symbol. The device could be set, as a symbol of power, over any god or mortal who enjoyed a sovereign role. Oaths of loyalty to particular kings were sworn on it; but it seems also to have been a popular symbol, which appears abundantly, perhaps as a good-luck charm, on jewels, armour and weapons. All this accords admirably with Iranian use of the symbol to represent *khvarenah*, the divinely sent "fortune" which is linked with the radiant sun, and through which kings, heroes and lesser mortals prosper, failing if it deserts them.[198] Presumably the symbol acquired both talismanic and apotropaic powers, and so came to be set even on tombs.

Khanoum III (Mém. DAFA XXVII), 1984, 99; von Gall, l.c.

[194] Edmunds, art.cit., pp.187, 189; von Gall, art. cit., p. 573 with Taf. 27 c.

[195] Cf. HZ II 115; von Gall, art. cit., p. 574 Abb. b.

[196] Kantor, art. cit., p. 16, points out that of 3 closely related symbols—winged disk, figure in winged circle with I pair of wings, and figure in winged circle with 2 pairs of wings—only the last is special to Iran.

[197] On these see S. Dalley, "The god Ṣalmu and the winged disk", Iraq XLVIII, 1986, 85–101.

[198] For references for this interpretation of the Iranian understanding of the symbol see HZ II 103 n. 82. Dalley's admirable analysis of its Assyrian uses further undermines the former Western interpretation of it as representing Ahura

Something of the same significance seems to have attached to the symbol of the moon disk (also adopted by the Iranians from their Near Eastern neighbours[199]), since the moon too was thought by its radiance to distribute *khvarenah* to the earth;[200] and the figure in the moon disk appears likewise to have been used as a charm, often in auspicious multiples of three, six and seven.[201] This symbol was perhaps thought to be especially appropriate to set at a tomb, since the moon governed the night which belonged to the spirits of the dead, the *fravašis*.

Close to Qizqapan, in another limestone cliff, is the tomb called in Kurdish Ishkewt-i Kur-u-Kich, "Cave of the boy and girl".[202] It is not set so high up, and, the rock beneath having been left rough, can be reached fairly easily. Here again there is an antechamber but it, like those at Dukkan-i Daud and Sakhna, had two free-standing columns which have broken away, leaving the base of one only, with a little bit of shaft. This base is again the simple type of square plinth and torus. Above, two great beams are carved across the width of the roof, as if resting on these columns. The facade has no other ornament. A low entrance leads into a small chamber, which is divided almost exactly in half by a coffin-shaped receptacle sunk in the floor to one side. This is small, making it probable that this too was a family *astodana*.

This is the last of the major Median rock tombs; and, apart from the undatable Ravansar, there seem good grounds for assigning all of them to a post-Achaemenian date.[203] The men for whom they were made evidently employed masons who were familiar with

Mazda (defended by P. Lecoq, "Un problème de religion achémenide: Ahura Mazda ou Xvarnah?", Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin oblata, Acta Ir. 23, 301–26; von Gall, art. cit., pp. 573–5). It is probably wrong to look for any representations of Iranian gods before the late 5th cent. B.C.

[199] Cf. HZ II 114.

[200] Ib., p. 115.

[201] Notably (in stylized form) in threes on the 10 spacer-beads of a pearl necklace, and in sixes on 2 gold buttons, all found in a sarcophagus at Susa, see de Morgan, Recherches archéologiques III (Mission archéologique en Iran, Mémoires VIII), Paris 1905, pp. 51 fig. 79, 52 fig. 80, with Pls. IV.2, 3, V. 6; Kantor, art. cit., p. 15 fig. A; J. F. X. McKeon, "Achaemenian cloisonné-inlay jewellery", Alter Orient und Altes Testament 22, 1973, 116 fig. 5. In sevens on 2 superb earrings (very much alike but not in fact forming a pair, as P. Calmeyer has shown in an as yet unpublished study), for reference to which see HZ II 93 n. 23. Its occurrence in these varying multiples destroys the theory that a grouping of 7 of these devices represented the *khvarenahs* of the Great King and 6 leading Persian nobles, on the pattern of the Zoroastrian Heptad (HZ II 93–4).

[202] Edmunds, art. cit., p. 190 with Pl. XXVII.b, c; von Gall, art. cit., pp. 580–1 with Taf. 30–32.

[203] HZ II 291 n. 18 is to be modified accordingly. Von Gall appears to be alone in arguing consistently for an Achaemenian dating for the group.

Achaemenian architectural forms and devices, but were also able to use Hellenistic elements. Despite this limited concession to contemporary taste, the tombs represent a notable continuity with Achaemenian religious tradition, both in their essential character and purpose and in their iconography (worshippers before a fire-holder or with *baresman*, the *khvarenah* symbols).

Summary

In cities the Zoroastrians of Greater Media were not apparently able freely to foster the institutions of their faith under Seleucid rule, witness the continuing dilapidation of Anahit's great temple in Ecbatana and the flight of the magi from Raga. The rock tombs show, however, that in country districts a few wealthy families were able to spend fairly lavishly in adopting what had been the established way for their former kings to dispose of the dead; and from this it may reasonably be deduced that they supported their religion locally in other ways also, for the benefit of their own souls and the salvation of the world. It is also very likely that they, and lesser people, went on pilgrimage, when opportunity offered, to Adur Gušnasp in Atropatene and the older sanctuaries at Raga; for the Seleucids do not seem to have prevented the normal movement of travellers.[204] Craftsmen appear to have wandered, seeking patrons, as is suggested by the stylistic details which link the Hellenistic temple at Khurha with Zoroastrian rock-tombs, and the latter with the caves at Karafto; and minstrels may be assumed to have done so too. Ties were probably thus maintained between Greater Media and Media Atropatene, to the benefit of the religious life of the former, hampered as this apparently was to some degree by alien interests and controls.

Persis

To the south-east of Media lay Persis, the homeland of the Achaemenians but not, geographically, a natural centre of power within Iran, situated as it was well off the great highway that formed the main link between its western and eastern regions. In physical terms Persis has been described as a series of steps descending from the central plateau down to the Persian Gulf.[205] Pasargadae stood in the highest, most northerly "step" which

[204] Cf. below, pp. 147–8.
[205] Frye, History, 8.

bordered on Media, with Persepolis in the next one down, in the wide Marvdasht. The fertile plains and valleys of Persis were divided from one another by mountain ranges, stretches of salt desert and large swampy depressions, so that much of the region was barren; and these natural features broke it into smaller areas where, it seems, even under Seleucid suzerainty certain Persian families came to exert semi-independent power; but the history of such developments is obscure, and has to be put together from meagre and sometimes seemingly conflicting data.

Although Persis lacked any great natural wealth, it had evidently prospered notably under the Achaemenians as the heartland of their vast empire; and still some decades after the Macedonian conquest it could be said of it that it "furnished in plenty everything needed for luxury and enjoyment".[206]

The Hellenistic element

Little is known of Macedonian rule over Persis after the dismissal of Peucestas in 316, apart from the names of one or two of its satraps. Peucestas seems to have kept the ruined city of Persepolis as the centre of his administration,[207] and there five small stone slabs were discovered that came presumably from altars to Greek gods; for each is inscribed with the name in the genitive of a Greek divinity: Zeus Megistos, Athena Basileia, Apollo, Artemis and Helios.[208] These are carved in a "splendid script of early Hellenistic times"[209], and there is nothing to suggest any accommodation with Iranian beliefs. It was nevertheless assumed at first that these names were used to represent Iranian divinities, with Zeus for Ahura Mazda, Athena and Artemis for Anahit, Apollo and Helios (as at Commagene) for Mithra. Athena does not, however, stand elsewhere for Anahit, whose Greek counterparts were regularly Artemis or Aphrodite; and five separate dedications for three divinities would be very strange.[210] The only justification for making such identifications was that the slabs came to light somewhere near the ruins of the so-called Frātadāra temple. This is a puzzling building, to be discussed below in its Iranian context; but wherever

[206] Diodorus XIX.22.1 (cf. above, p. 20).
[207] See ibid.
[208] Herzfeld, AHI, 44. See further Robert, CRAI 1967, 282; Frye, o.c., p. 158 n. 58. The stones were taken to Chicago.
[209] Robert, l.c., cf. Herzfeld, AHI, 46.
[210] Thus at Nimrud Dagh Apollo-Mithra-Helios-Hermes is one god, with one statue, altar and dedication (see below, pp. 322, 323).

exactly the five altars originally stood, it seems that in fact the victorious Macedonians set them up simply to their own gods.[211]

The names only are known of Greek cities founded in Persis, with no certain identifications of sites; but the strong probability is that Antiochia-in-Persis, on the Persian Gulf, was at Bushire.[212] A letter from there survives, inscribed with many related documents on a wall at Magnesia-on-the-Maeander in distant Ionia. Magnesia had sent out colonists to diverse places in the east,[213] including (as it emerges from the letter in question) this Antiochia; and one of the wall inscriptions explains that, its patron goddess Artemis having manifested herself in a dream to her city priestess, and the Delphic oracle having been consulted, its citizens resolved "to hold crowned games for the inhabitants of Asia . . . that so they should do honour to Artemis Leucophryene . . . if they came to Magnesia to the holy altar and brought gifts pleasing to the city goddess".[214] Eventually they sent envoys accordingly to the kings and cities of Asia. The kings—the Seleucid Antiochus III and his son and co-regent Antiochus, Attalus I of Pergamum, and Ptolemy IV of Egypt—all responded favourably, their letters being duly engraved.[215] The envoys to Antiochus III met him in 205 at Antiochia-in-Persis, on his return from his great circuit of the east,[216] and they evidently carried a letter for the citizens of Antiochia also, whose answer likewise survives intact.[217] It begins with ready acquiescence to Magnesia's request, and praise for that city's Hellenic zeal and loyalty to the Seleucid king. Old ties of kinship are recalled that bound their two communities together; it is stated that Antiochia-in-Persis had been strengthened by Antiochus I; and finally that city makes an appeal of its own, asking for new settlers to come out to reinforce its citizen body. This letter is dated by the magistrate of the year in which it was sent, who was also chief priest of the city-cult of the deified Seleucid kings, both those who were dead and the living Antiochus III and his son; and to it, it is recorded, Magnesia responded favourably in its turn, sending out men "adequate in number and distinguished for virtue".[218] These must

[211] In view of their early date, some scholars identify them with the altars set up by Peucestas at the meeting in Persis of the confederate army in 316 (above, p. 20).
[212] Tarn, Alexander, I 257; GBI, 418.
[213] Cf. below, p. 180.
[214] Welles, Royal correspondence, 145–6.
[215] Ib., pp. 141–5.
[216] Cf. above, p. 30.
[217] O. Kern, Ins. von Magnesia, 61, OGIS 233, with emendations by Robert, Hellenica VII, 1949, 20 n.
[218] See Bevan, House, I 280–1, II 7; Will, Hist. pol., II 65.

have been among the last Ionian settlers in Iran; for in 190 Antiochus' defeat at Magnesia-by-Sipylus brought western Asia Minor into Rome's sphere of influence.

This letter from Antiochia sheds a tiny shaft of light on the obscure history of Hellenism in Persis, showing this city functioning normally still as a *polis* at the end of the third century, and staunchly upholding Greek ways. Yet its appeal to Magnesia suggests that its citizens were not without apprehension of becoming outnumbered by those of local or mixed descent. As for active causes of fear, it is recorded that, under a king Antiochus, Numenius, governor of Mesene at the head of the Gulf, defeated "Persians" (i.e. some sort of Iranians) by sea and land near the Straits of Hormuz;[219] and it has been reasonably supposed that his successes were in putting down pirates,[220] who must have become a serious menace to call for such measures. It was presumably to defend commercial interests against these and other threats that a Hellenistic fortress was established on the little island of Ikaros (modern Failaka) near Mesene, now part of the state of Kuwait.[221] A damaged inscription shows that (if the date has been rightly deciphered) this fortress was founded by Seleucus II, in the forties of the third century B.C. Within its walls the remains of two Greek temples were excavated and in the larger one pillars were uncovered which had bases of Persian type but Ionic capitals[222]—exactly the blend of Iranian and Greek elements which is found in the pillars of several of the Median rock tombs, and the Persid one of Da-u-Dukhtar. The architectural ornament in some instances imitates Greek models closely, but is purely linear, lacking the sculptural quality of Hellenistic works of art from Greece itself; so that the buildings appear to be the products of local workmen.[223] This fortress seems to have been maintained for only about fifty years.

In inland Persis the varied terrain was well calculated to allow local unrest to gather head. Evidence of uprisings is limited, however, to one stray story told by Polyaenus.[224] According to this, under king Seleucus a certain Seiles lured 3000 Persians who were planning revolt into an ambush, where he used Macedonian and

[219] Pliny VI.152.
[220] Will, o.c., p. 64.
[221] See K. Jeppesen, "A Hellenistic fortress on the island of Ikaros (Failaka) in the Persian Gulf", Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques, 8e Congrès International d'Archéologie Classique, Paris 1963, pub. 1965, 541–4.
[222] Ib., plates vol., Pl. 136.1.
[223] Ib., text vol., p. 543.
[224] VII.39.

Thracian troops to slaughter them to a man. Which Seleucus is meant is not known; but other evidence points to the Macedonian dynasty having been able to maintain satraps in Persis until at least the reign of Antiochus III, the last to be named being the Alexander who joined his brother Molon, satrap of Media, in rebelling against this king in 223, at the beginning of his reign.[225] Thereafter Persian troops are known to have fought at Raphia in 217.[226] Control of the Gulf zone was probably maintained largely by sea, but where the satraps of Persis resided is not known. It was not evidently at Pasargadae, where there is a striking dearth of Seleucid coins after those of Seleucus I. Perhaps it was at or soon after his death in 280 that this ancient Achaemenian capital was swept by fire, being re-occupied, it seems, at only a humble level.[227] As for Persepolis, authority there appears to have been delegated fairly soon to native governors, who at times seem to have enjoyed virtual independence.

The Iranian element

The fratarakas

Evidence for the existence of these quasi-autonomous local governors comes almost solely from coins.[228] The Achaemenians struck no coins in Iran itself, and the Atropatids of Lesser Media likewise issued none. The Seleucids, however, minted strikingly handsome coins within Iran, and under their rule the Greek terms *drachma* and *denarios* entered the Persian language (to survive today as *dirham* and *denar*). In Persis the local dynasty of the *fratarakas* followed the example of their foreign overlords, a number of their coins (which were of silver only) being overstruck on posthumous issues of Alexander's.[229] Their coinage was produced evidently for prestige rather than to meet any practical need, its circulation being very limited; and the honorific which these dynasts gave themselves there, "of the gods" (Aramaic *zy 'l'hy*), may have been directly

[225] Cf, above, p. 29.
[226] Polybius V.79.6 (cf. above, p. 29).
[227] See Stronach, Pasargadae, 155–6.
[228] On the distribution of Seleucid and Persid coins in Persis see Frye, History, 159 with n. 59; Schmitt, Untersuchungen, 46–50.
[229] D. Selwood, "Coins of Persis", CHIr. III.1, 301.—For the coins of the successive minor dynasties of Persis see G. F. Hill, BMC Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia, clx-clxxxii, 195–244 with Pls. XXVIII–XXXVII; M. Alram, Nomina, 162–86 with Taf. 18–22.

inspired by the Seleucid cult of deified kings.[229a]

Yet the fact that the legends on these coins were in Aramaic, not Greek, was in itself a declaration of allegiance to traditional Persian ways; and in general the *fratarakas*' coins consistently served a Persid religio-political propaganda. Unfortunately the Aramaic script used on them is often far from clear; and because of ambiguities in individual letters the title which these dynasts bore can be read in several different ways, e.g. as *prtkr'* or *prtdr'* or *prtrk'*.[230] Since a device on the reverse of several issues declares the rulers concerned to be Zoroastrians, the first element came to be interpreted as **frāt* "fire", on the basis of Armenian *hrat*, a presumed Iranian loanword in that tongue;[231] and the title was read as either **frātakara* "maker of fire" or **frātadāra* "keeper of fire". Those who favoured the latter interpretation supposed that this was a dynasty of priest-kings, principally concerned to maintain a sacred fire at Persepolis (where many of their coins are found).

Against this interpretation it was pointed out that the device in question, that of a man worshipping in the presence of fire in a raised holder, was a standard one in Zoroastrian iconography, from early Achaemenian times onward. It could not therefore be taken to imply that any priestly office was held by the person thus shown. Moreover, attention was drawn to the occurrence of a rare word, *prtrk*, in Aramaic papyri from Egypt, used there as the title of an Achaemenian official, subordinate to the satrap but wielding considerable powers.[232] This title could readily be analysed as having for its initial element Iranian *fra-* "first", and so could be read as *fratarak(a)*, with an English equivalent of "prefect, governor" or the like. Such a title seemed suitable for the Persian dynasts, who may well have traced their descent from officials appointed by early Macedonian satraps to deal locally with native affairs, and who (such is the continuity in many respects between Seleucid and former times) may even represent a family which had exercised

[229a] H. Humbach ("Herrscher, Gott und Gottessohn in Iran und in angrenzden Ländern" in D. Zeller (ed.), Menschwerdung Gottes—Vergöttlichung von Menschen, Freiburg Schweiz/Göttingen 1988, 91–144 at pp. 101–3) suggests rather that *'lhy'* [sic], which he reads as *elāhayyā*, is pl. majestatis for "god" in the sense of "lord, master", and that it refers to the *fratarakas*'s overlord, whom he identifies as the reigning Parthian monarch; but this seems difficult to justify, if only on chronological grounds, see further below.
[230] See P. Naster, "Note d'épigraphie monétaire de Perside: fratakara, frataraka ou fratadāra?", Ir. Ant. VIII, 1968, 74–9.
[231] The Armenian word was first, it seems, drawn on for a possible etymology by F. Justi (Naster, art. cit., p. 78 n. 7).
[232] The papyrus word was first associated with that on the Persid coins by F. C. Andreas (Naster, ib., pp. 78, 79, nn. 5, 12, 22).

authority in some such way already under the Achaemenians. (The evolution in the Hellenistic era of such subordinates into quite powerful local rulers may have a parallel in the possible development by which a "treasurer", *kamniskires*, founded a dynasty in neighbouring Elymais.[233]) Since the title *frataraka* thus seems appropriate and is actually attested, while those of **frātakara* and **frātadāra* remain speculative and unconfirmed, this reading has come to be generally accepted.

The coins are known of four *frataraka*s; and because of their similarities it is assumed that those who struck them were kinsmen, forming a dynasty; but since, except for the standard legend on the reverse (*prtrk' zy 'l'hy*), the name of each stands alone, there is nothing to indicate their relationships,[234] and the coins have had to be arranged typologically. The earliest are held to be those of Bagadat (*bgdt*), a pious but not specifically Zoroastrian name meaning probably "Given by the gods".[235] On their obverse is his dignified portrait head, presented with a good technique.[236] He wears a short jacket over tunic and trousers—the standard garb of his dynasty; and on his head is the satrapal *tiara* of Achaemenian times, bound with the Hellenic diadem of a ruler. The *tiara*'s

[233] Henning, "The monuments and inscriptions of Tang-i Sarvak", Asia Minor, n.s. II, 1952, 165; but see further above, p. 41.

[234] On the reverses of the coins of the first *frataraka* there appear also the isolated words *bgwrt* and *br* (?). The first, read as **bagwart/bagward*, has been explained as his father's name; the second, much discussed, appears on the coins of his successors also. On it see Selwood, art. cit., p. 302; Alram, o.c., p. 165.

[235] See S. Zimmer, "Iran. *baga* ein Gottesname?", MSS 43, 1984, 187–215, who argued convincingly that in many Iranian proper names the element *baga* is to be understood as "god" in the general sense. The remarks in HZ II 15 are to be modified accordingly. Zimmer's analysis does not, however, disprove the case for *baga* having been used in fixed liturgical phrases and cultic associations as the title of one particular divinity, i.e. the god known in Indian tradition as Varuṇa but in Iran, it seems, invoked and spoken of only by titles (Ahura berezant, Apąm Napāt, Baga). Zimmer did not extend his inquiry into the Vedic field, which provides supporting evidence for this interpretation; and N. Sims-Williams, "Mithra the Baga" in a paper read at a conference on Histoire et cultes de l'Asie Centrale préislamique, sources écrites et documents archéologiques, convened by P. Bernard and F. Grenet, Paris, 1988 (to be published), cited from Achaemenian invocations only the one formula: *Ahuramazda uta Mithra Baga/(baga)*, passing over the fact that when Mithra is invoked alone, or in the triad *Ahuramazda Anahit*[a] *uta Mithra*, no *Baga/baga* appears. (On this point see HZ II 139, 283). It would seem a strange usage that not only gave Mithra alone the title "god", but gave him it only in this one specific formula (which occurs also on Elamite tablets at Persepolis). The writer sees no reason therefore to withdraw her interpretation that OP Mithra-Baga was an ancient pair-compound, meaning "Mithra-(and)-the Baga", parallel to Av. Mithra-Ahura berezant, Vedic Mitrāvaruṇā. See further her "Mithra Khšathrapati and his brother Ahura", Aspects of Iranian culture, Papers in honour of R. N. Frye, BAI 4, 1990 (in press).

[236] Hill, Survey, I, 252; Alram, o.c., p. 162.

sidepieces are tied across his forehead.[237] The reverses bear two different devices. One shows him enthroned, holding a sceptre and flower. His pose is clearly modelled on the carving of Darius enthroned at Persepolis; but in front of him is planted a tasselled banner.[238] The other device presents him standing, right hand or both hands raised in the gesture of reverence, before a large rectangular structure, a little taller than himself, and with the same banner set beyond it.[239] The structure has a two-stepped base, is panelled, and bears on its flat top three small square objects, each surmounted by a pair of outward-curving horns. Taken in isolation it could well be interpreted as a building, and it has indeed been seen as a fire-temple,[240] or the representation of some edifice at Persepolis;[241] but if on the one hand it is considered in the general framework of western Iranian Zoroastrian iconography, and on the other is compared with parallel devices on later Persid coins, the conclusion seems inescapable that it is in fact a massive fire-holder, approximating in type to certain pillar-like ones that appear on Achaemenian seals.[242] What the three horned objects which surmount it represent can, however, only be guessed at.

The same device, with identical fire-holder, appears on reverses of the second *frataraka*, named Wohubarz (*whwbrz*), who is invariably shown standing beside it with both hands raised. On the obverse his portrait head, still well engraved, shows him wearing the *tiara* with forward-jutting peak, like the little figure in the Deh-i no relief, and that at Kal-i Daud.[243] The side-flaps are brought forward across his chin. In the legend on the reverse he calls himself *prs prtrk'*, "*frataraka* of Pars", which suggests a claim to extended power; and there is a piece of literary evidence to suggest that this claim was not an empty one. This is a story recorded by Polyaenus directly after the one about Seiles and the ambush and massacre of 3000 Persians.[244] It tells how Oborzos (generally

[237] Hill, Survey, Pl. 126.E; BMC Arabia, Pl. XXVII.7; Selwood, CHIr. III.1, Pl. 10.1.

[238] On Iranian banners, including that on the *frataraka* coins, see C. Nylander, "The standard of the Great King—a problem in the Alexander mosaic", Opuscula Romana (Stockholm), XIV, 1983, 19–37, esp. p. 26 ff.

[239] Hill, Survey, Pl. 126.F; BMC Arabia, Pl. XXVII.

[240] So Hill, BMC Arabia, p. 195 ff.; K. Erdmann, Das iranische Feuerheiligtum, Leipzig 1941, 20–1. In particular, it has been compared in shape with the Ka'ba-yi Zardušt, seen by some as a fire temple.

[241] Frye, History, 160.

[242] So P. Naster, "Fire-altar or fire-tower on the coins of Persis?", Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica I, 1970, 125–9. For the relevant Achaemenian seals cf. HZ II 145.

[243] Hill, BMC Arabia, Pl. XXVIII.10; Selwood, l.c., Pl. 10.2.

[244] XII.40.

identified as Wohubarz), hearing of a conspiracy being formed against him by 3000 settlers in Persis, had them taken under strong guard to another, populous district. There they were scattered in separate lodgings, and at Oborzos' instigation all were made drunk and killed by their hosts. "Thus were three thousand murdered in one night, and buried, without tumult or confusion".[245] Whatever the truth underlying this unheroic tale, as told it suggests both the power and influence of Oborzos—power to shift a large body of restive Hellenes, influence among his fellow-Persians to procure their massacre. The secrecy involved suggests, however, a fear of Seleucid reprisals.[246]

The story nevertheless evidently gained currency, without this preventing the *frataraka*s from maintaining their position. Two more of them struck coins after Wohubarz. The first bore the name Artakhšir (*'rthctr*), which is etymologically identical with Old Persian Artakhšaça (Artaxerxes to the Greeks), but of a different dialect form. The second was called Watfradat (*wtfrdt*), a name familiar to Greeks in Achaemenian times as Autophradates. Both these *frataraka*s wear the *tiara* with jutting peak, like Wohubarz; and like him they are shown standing with both arms raised before the pillar-like fire-holder with three horned objects on top. But on some of Watfradat's coins he, like the Achaemenian kings in their tomb-sculptures, holds a bow in his left hand (the bow being of the compound type held by the two nobles in the Qizqapan relief).[247] On these coins there appears, moreover, also as in the Achaemenian funerary carvings, the figure in a winged circle, but reduced,

[245] Tr. by R. Shepherd, London 1793, repr. Chicago 1974, p. 297.

[246] This is one consideration which militates against accepting as genuine a unique coin which came to light in 1986, said to be from a large hoard of Persid coins found "in the neighbourhood of Kerman". This, finely engraved, bears on the obverse the standard portrait head of Wohubarz; but on the reverse is a scene of startling action. The dynast is there portrayed wearing the long Achaemenian robe, kilted up to show one bare leg. With his left hand he grasps the hair of a Macedonian soldier, kneeling with his back to him, while with his left foot he presses on the soldier's right leg, pinning him down. In his right hand he holds the short sword, the *acinaces*, being clearly about to slay his foe with it. To one side, in Aramaic script, are the letters *krny*, which could be taken to spell the MP derivative of OP **karana-* "commander of the army, commander-in-chief"; but to the other is the legend *dnt zy whwbrz*, and the word *dnt* is neither recorded nor intelligible, see R. Schmitt apud M. Alram, "Eine neue Drachme des Vahbarz (Oborzos) aus der Persis?" Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses III, 1987, 147–55. In this article Alram points out the incongruity of the coin's reverse design with the designs of other *frataraka* coins, and the possibility that it has been forged on the basis of Polyaenus' story and various known models from antiquity (see his Pl. 20).

[247] Hill, BMC Arabia, Pl. XXIX.5, 6, 8, 9; Selwood, art. cit., Pl. 10.4; Alram, o.c., Taf. 17.533–Taf. 18.542.

as at Qizqapan, to no more than a bust upon wings. This is set facing the *frataraka*, just above the horns on the fire-holder. On another of his issues Watfradat stands by a fire-holder of different shape, whose rectangular shaft is crowned by two deep crenellations. Parallels to this form of fire-holder are again to be found on Achaemenian seals.[248] No trace of flames appears between the crenellations, but the winged bust is set just above them, the wings slightly raised to conform to their shape. Behind Watfradat—a strikingly Hellenistic touch on one of these defiantly Iranian coins—stands Nike, crowning him.[249] In using this alien image the *frataraka* was adopting a well-known and widely understood motif of his day, which had appeared on one of Seleucus' coins found at Pasargadae and minted probably at Persepolis.[250]

Watfradat is the last of the four dynasts who used the title *frataraka*, and the coins of the following Persid rulers differ from theirs in style and fabric. There is some uncertainty as to the order of these rulers.[251] The first was perhaps a Watfradat II (the reading of the name is uncertain[252]), who is presented in a new type of *tiara*, flattish, with the usual neckflaps but no mouth-guard, and surmounted by an eagle with spread wings. On the reverses of his coins there still appears the crenellated fire-holder, with winged bust now facing away from the worshipper (who stands as before with hands uplifted) and towards the standard, on which there perches a large bird.[253] These coins bear a personal name only, without title. There followed perhaps a nameless king who set no legend at all on his, but continued to use the same devices on their reverses.[254] Then there probably came a "king Darius" (*d'ryw mlk'*), under whom the tetradrachm, which had been the standard *frataraka* denomination (on the Seleucid model) was replaced by the drachma.[255] The anonymous coins, and the change in coin-types, have been taken to be the first signs of Parthian influence on Persis, exerted probably around 140 B.C. Darius' coins, and the remainder of this second series of Persid coins, will therefore be considered

[248] Cf. HZ II 145 with nn. 93, 94.

[249] Hill, Survey, Pl. 126.G; BMC Arabia, Pl. XXIX.7; Selwood, art. cit., Pl. 10.5; Alram, o.c., Taf. 18.544.

[250] G. K. Jenkins apud Stronach, Pasargadae, 186, 197.

[251] The order followed here is that proposed tentatively by Alram, o.c., p. 163; slightly differently Selwood, art. cit., pp. 303–4.

[252] See Alram, "Die Vorbildwirkung der arsakidischen Münzpragung", Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonensis 3, 1987, 127–8 with n. 29.

[253] Alram, Nomina, Taf. 18.546–50.

[254] Hill, BMC Arabia, Pl. XXX.14; Alram, o.c., Taf. 18.551–3.

[255] Alram, o.c., p. 163.

in the next volume of the present history.—Apart from the early coins of this second series, virtually no data exist concerning Persis in the Seleucid period after the reign of Antiochus III.

The dating of the early Persid coins can only be approximate. Numismatists are prepared, on the basis of "style, design and fabric", to assign those of the *fratarakas* to the third century B.C.;[256] and a period roughly between 250 and the end of that century is widely accepted, with the possibility that Antiochus III ended the *fratarakas'* freedom to mint coins when he was at Antiochia-in-Persis in 205. During this half-century Antiochus II and Seleucus II were much occupied with matters in the west of their domains, and with the rise of the Arsacids.[257] The second series is then held to have begun fairly early in the first half of the second century, as Seleucid control of Iran grew weaker again. For the time of the *fratarakas* the relationship of Persian dynasts to Macedonian satraps remains obscure. A statement by Strabo has, however, been pertinently cited, to the effect that in his own day "the Persians have kings that are subject to other kings, formerly to the kings of Macedonia, but now to those of the Parthians".[258] Most probably the *fratarakas* were nominally vassals of the Seleucids and subordinate to their satraps, but in fact virtually petty kings. In such circumstances they were presumably able, like the independent Atropatids, to exert within their territory an unrestricted patronage of the Zoroastrian religion.

Persepolis

Since 1923 intermittent excavations have taken place on the site of the town of Persepolis, which was looted and burnt by Alexander's soldiers; and on the jambs of the doorway of a large house, dated to the post-Achaemenian period of reconstruction, two carvings were found, one on each side.[259] These were only lightly incised, in a technique used also for the Mithradates relief at Behistun. On one jamb is represented a man wearing a long robe and *tiara* with forward-jutting peak, resembling thus in his attire the figure at Kal-i Daud. Like him he holds the long *baresman*, but in his right hand, his left being raised in the attitude of reverence. The carving opposite him is of a woman, the only known representation of one in pre-Sasanian Iranian sculpture. Her hands are empty, and both are reverently raised.

The natural desire to make a coherent pattern from scattered data led the discoverer of these reliefs to see this pair as one of the *fratarakas* of Persis and his consort;[260] but the technical comparison which he himself drew with the Mithradates relief suggests a date around the mid second century, well after the *fratarakа* coins must have ceased; and there is in fact nothing to identify the figures, who perhaps simply represent the master and mistress of the house, immortalized by some travelling craftsman.

Close by, but opening on to a different street, another large building was excavated, made up of a network of chambers and passageways. At one end there was a square room, in which were found the bases of four central pillars, with against the back wall a stepped stone pedestal. Separated from this by a long narrow room was a pillared hall. These two structures had the appearance of a temple sanctuary with associated hall for religious gatherings, and they were identified as such by their excavator.[261] He linked them not only with the figures in the door-jambs but also with the slabs bearing the names of Greek gods, and assumed that the building was accordingly to be assigned to the late fourth century B.C. He therefore dated the *fratarakas* (whom he saw as **frātadāras*) to very early in Seleucid times, maintaining that the "national party" had come to power in Persepolis before 300 B.C.; and held that it was they who had built this temple, in which, as priest-kings, they ministered to their sacred fire. He named it accordingly the "Frātadāra Temple".

The building has, however, no apparent connection with either the carvings or the inscribed stones; and its date—whether Achaemenian

[256] Selwood, art. cit., p. 302.

[257] Cf. above, pp. 27, 28. Otherwise on the *fratarakas'* date R. Stiehl in F. Altheim, Geschichte der Hunnen I, Berlin 1959, 376–9, who sought to avoid the problem of divided authority in Persis by dating all four *fratarakas* to the 2nd century, when Seleucid power was rapidly waning in Iran; but it is generally held that this allows too little time to them and their successors before the rise of Parthia. J. Wiesehofer, in an unpublished paper cited by M. Alram, art. cit. in n. 246, p. 153 n. 23, argues for the "Nike" coin of Watfradat marking the final achievement of full independence by the dynasty, an event which he places between 187 and 164 B.C.—Herzfeld, AHI, 46, dated the beginnings of the dynasty back to before 300 B.C. For details about other chronological speculations see Naster, art. cit., in n. 230, p. 77 n. 1.

[258] XV.3.24 (cited in connection with the Fratarakas by Schmitt, Untersuchungen, 46; Frye, History, 161).

[259] Herzfeld, AHI, 46–7. He says there that the carvings were in the window-jambs of the "Frātadāra Temple"; but later excavations established that they were in the door-jambs of a neighbouring building. For Herzfeld's ground plan (showing both buildings as one complex) see E. Schmidt, Persepolis I, Chicago 1953, 56; Schippmann, Feuerheiligtümer, 179. For the reliefs see Schmidt, o.c.

[260] Herzfeld, l.c.

[261] Herzfeld, o.c., p. 54.

or post-Achaemenian— has since been much debated.[262] The only evidence is that provided by architectural forms. Further excavation of the presumed temple-hall has yielded not only a large block of stone, possibly the socle of a statue, but also column-bases which are undoubtedly of late Achaemenian date.[263] The uncertainty continues, however, since these could have been taken from ruined buildings and re-used in Hellenistic times. As for the purpose of the temple, this too is not known : it could have had either a sacred fire or a *yazata* as its main cult object. It has even been suggested that it may not have been a temple at all, but rather a large private building of late or post Achaemenian date, like others now known in the vicinity.[264]

Istakhr and Naqš-i Rustam

Less than 5 km. from Persepolis, by the road to Pasargadae, stood Stakhra or Istakhr, the "Stronghold". Certain words in Aramaic letters on the *frataraka*s' coins have been interpreted as showing that this was their mint city; but nothing has yet been uncovered there that goes back to their epoch, or that has any Zoroastrian connotations. (The remains of a large building have been excavated from early Muslim times, in which stone pillars of an older date were reused. These were at first assigned to the Hellenistic period;[265] but they have since been re-assessed, and most have been dated to the beginning of the Sasanian era, i.e. to the second half of the third or to the fourth century A.C.[266])

Off the road between Persepolis and Istakhr is Naqš-i Rustam, the cliff-face where the early kings of Darius' line had their tombs; and here in 1923, carved at the entrance to the tomb of Darius himself, were noticed the barely visible remains of an Aramaic inscription. Even then this was "far too much damaged to be read coherently or to be restored"[267], and it has since deteriorated further. From three words which were made out, i.e. *ḥš'yty wzrk*

[262] For a bibliographical survey down to 1971 see Schippmann, o.c., pp. 177–80.
[263] See A. B. Tilia, Studies and restorations at Persepolis and other sites of Fars II, ISMEO, Rome 1978, 87, and as cited in HZ II 226 (where other statements about the temple and 5 altar-slabs are to be revised as above).
[264] So R. Boucharlat, "Monuments religieux de la Perse achéménide . . .", in Temples et sanctuaires, Séminaire de recherche 1981–83, directed by G. Roux, Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient 7, 1984, 131–2.
[265] Herzfeld, o.c., pp. 48–50.
[266] See P. Bernard, "Trois notes d'archéologie iranienne", JA 1974, 284–8.
[267] Herzfeld, o.c., p. 48.

"great king" and *m'hy* "in the month", it was deduced that the whole was written in Old or Middle Persian in Aramaic script; and a line drawing was published showing what else it seemed possible to see.[268] By the forms of the letters the inscription was dated to the fourth or early third century B.C.[269]; and a date in the late fourth century seemed to fit with the subsequent decipherment of the word *slwk*, interpreted as a rendering of "Seleucus"[270]—referring presumably to Seleucus I. Yet problems were seen in supposing that the inscription belonged to his time. Its careful alignment and carving suggest that it was done deliberately and openly, at the order of someone in authority; but those in authority then were Hellenes, who would hardly have used either Persian language or Aramaic script. These considerations led one scholar to question the reading, or interpretation of, *slwk*, and to attribute the inscription to the end of the Achaemenian period, seeing it as ordered perhaps by Artaxerxes II or III "in the same spirit as the earlier cuneiform inscriptions which proclaimed the glory and the heritage of the Achaemenian house".[271]

Yet this explanation brings difficulties of its own. No Achaemenian after Darius set an inscription at his own tomb. Why then should it have occurred to any of them to add a fresh one to those at his ancestor's? And why, doing so, should he have had this written in Persian not Aramaic, thus breaking with the by then established scribal tradition of the epoch? It seems more reasonable to see both inscription and its language as innovations made in response to the shocks and changes brought about by the Macedonian conquest. At that time the Persian nobles could see Greek inscriptions being set up not only in Greek cities but even at Persepolis; and this might have prompted some of them to have this one inscribed at Darius' tomb. The well-shaped Aramaic letters presumably represent Achaemenian chancellery usage;[272] and to scribes trained in this, applying Aramaic script to Persian words would not have been unduly difficult, since they were used to writing Persian proper names and special terms with Aramaic characters. As for the question of authority, the Persian nobles clearly did not lose all

[268] Herzfeld, Altpersische Inschriften, Berlin 1938, 12 with Pl. IV.
[269] F. Rosenthal, Die aramaistische Forschung seit Nöldeke, London 1939, 36.
[270] Henning, "Mitteliranisch", 24.
[271] Frye, "The 'Aramaic' inscription on the tomb of Darius", Ir. Ant. XVII, 1982, 85–90, with new photographs of the inscription, Pls. I–IX.
[272] One of the reasons which Frye gives (art. cit., p. 90) for assigning the inscription to Achaemenian times is that its lettering is much superior to that of the *frataraka* coins; but over 50 troubled years may well have intervened between the two.

position and dignity through the conquest; and it is unlikely that the Macedonian satrap, had he been aware of it, would have felt it necessary to forbid them to place an inscription in a (to him) incomprehensible script in an inaccessible place, where few if any would see or be able to read it.—Yet unless more of this inscription can one day be deciphered, almost all that can be said about it remains necessarily surmise.[273]

If this text was indeed entirely in Persian, written phonetically in Aramaic script, it is as far as is known unique; and it had, it seems, no influence on general Iranian scribal usage, and the slow process by which more and more Iranian words came to be introduced into Aramaic texts, so that gradually during the Parthian period the various Middle Iranian scripts evolved.[274] This was the fruit of long, natural, widespread growth, not of one particular local achievement.

Rock tombs

Persis has one rock-cut tomb which has features in common with those of the Median group, and others which link it even more closely than them with the Achaemenian royal tombs—which is hardly surprising, since the latter were relatively close at hand, to provide direct models.[275] This tomb, known as Da-u-Dukhtar ("Nurse and girl") is in the neighbourhood of Fehlian, some 3 km. off the highway that once led from Susa to Persepolis.[276] It is nevertheless well beyond the area which it would seem reasonable to think of as the *frataraka*s' country. It is very high up in a

[273] In a series of publications (listed by Frye, art. cit., p. 86 n. 4) F. Altheim proposed a number of additional readings on the basis of Herzfeld's line-drawing; but these have been challenged by Henning (see CHIr. III 2, 786 n. 1) and by Frye (art. cit., pp. 86–9), both of whom had examined the inscription; and also, on linguistic grounds, by R. Schmitt, "Zu einer neuen Geschichte Mittelasiens im Altertum", WZKM 67, 1975, 82–3.

[274] See notably Henning, "Mitteliranisch".

[275] The unfinished monument at Qadamgah in the Kuh-i Rahmat (see Vanden Berghe, Arch., Pl. 63) presents too many problems for it to be firmly associated with either "Median" or Achaemenian tombs. It has been assigned by most scholars to the Achaemenian period, and seen variously as intended for an open-air place of Zoroastrian worship, a rock-cut tomb, an ossuary, or a place of exposure. Latterly it has been tentatively interpreted as a tomb begun just after the downfall of the Achaemenians by some Persian prince or noble, see R. Boucharlat, "Le monument rupestre de Qadamgah (Fars): essai d'interprétation", Ir. Ant. XIV, 1979, 153–66 with Pls. I–II, q.v. for a bibliography of the site.

[276] Herzfeld, AHI, 32 with Pl. Va; Iran in the Ancient East, 206 ff. with Abb. 317, Taf. 35–38; Stein, Old Routes, 45 ff. with photograph; Vanden Berghe, Arch., 58 with Pl. 86b; von Gall, AA 1966, 27–8 with Abb. 22; Stronach, Pasargadae, 304 with Pls 191–3.

precipitous cliff in a narrow fertile valley. Below it the rock is smoothed away sheer, but the cliff can be climbed with difficulty up to that point. Its facade is only shallowly recessed, and the relatively large entrance to the tomb chamber is set between engaged pillars, as at the Achaemenian tombs, two on each side. These pillars have as usual Iranian-type bases (here a narrow torus upon two square plinths), but Hellenistic capitals, of debased Ionic type. Above them the rock is carved to look like a wooden roof; and over this is a rectangular panel of smoothed rock, surrounded by a neatly cut frame and surmounted by a row of seven stepped battlements, such as were to be seen at Persepolis. Behind this elaborate exterior is a large rectangular chamber occupying the whole width of the facade and quite empty. Above it a smaller chamber was later hollowed out, with a separate entrance to the left of the facade. The date of the original tomb has been debated; but there are indications (the framed panel, pillars with Ionic instead of Achaemenian bull capitals) which suggest the Hellenistic period.

Bull capitals are found on the facade of a much more modest Persid tomb, one of a group of five known as Akhur-i Rustam, "Rustam's stable".[277] These small, empty, tombs are set together irregularly low down in a cliff-face, some 8 km. to the south of Persepolis. Four have simple rectangular entrances, slightly recessed within a smoothed area; but the fifth has in shallow relief on each side of the entrance a little pillar with bull capital, set not directly on the shaft but on an Ionic *kymation*, and supporting carved rafters. It seems likely that this humble adaptation of an Achaemenian tomb facade was made in Hellenistic times and is to be seen as a piece of pious traditionalism, like the copying on his coins of Darius' pose by the *frataraka* Bagadat.

The transmission of the Avesta

All surviving manuscripts of the Avesta go back to an original text set down by a Persian priest or priests in the later Sasanian period. The alphabet evolved for this purpose was phonetically exact;[278] and a minute examination of the sounds of the Avestan language thus recorded has yielded evidence for some slight

[277] Herzfeld, AHI, 37–8 with Pl. Vb.; Vanden Berghe, o.c., p. 45 with Pl. 61 b–d; von Gall, art. cit., pp. 28, 38.

[278] Henning, "Mitteliranisch", 58; G. Morgenstierne, "Orthography and sound-system of the Avesta", Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap 12, 1942, 30–82; K. Hoffmann und J. Narten, Der Sasanidische Archetypus, Wiesbaden 1989, 23–33.

influence by spoken Old Persian.[279] This means that Avestan had been recited in Persis under the Achaemenians, and continued to be recited thereafter throughout the Seleucid and Parthian periods. There is nothing surprising in this, for it is reasonable to suppose that, wherever there were Zoroastrians, at least a basic minimum of devotional texts, both for private use and for priestly offices, was known by heart and regularly recited. But this natural assumption is difficult to verify for an oral body of literature, and positive proof for it is very welcome. Otherwise the only evidence in Greco-Roman times for the recital of Avestan (assuming this to be Pausanias' liturgical language "quite unintelligible to a Greek"[280]) comes from the great Lydian temples of Hypaipa and Hierocaesarea. The data considered above[281] concerning the shrine legends of Adur Gušnasp in Atropatene also attest, however, a knowledge of Avestan *yašts*.

In the recorded pronunciation of Avestan there have also been identified two words whose phonetics are neither normal Avestan nor Persian in character: *harax^{v}aitī-* (Vd.1.12) and *nəmax^{v}aitī-* (Y.33.7). Since the former is the Old Iranian name for Arachosia, it has been suggested that both words represent south-eastern Iranian dialect forms;[282] and on this basis a number of other forms representing some unknown dialect has likewise been attributed to the speech of Arachosia-Drangiana.[283]

From this a far-reaching theory has been evolved. It is supposed that these south-eastern Iranian elements were absorbed into the Persian pronunciation of Avestan at the time of the Achaemenians. Darius the Great, it is suggested, invited Arachosian priests to his court to counterbalance the power of the Median magi, giving them position and honour there side by side with the western priests; and these *aethrapati-* brought with them "the Avesta corpus", thus transplanting it to Persis from their native land.[284] Thereafter Persis, and specifically Stakhr, became the "centre for the oral Avesta-tradition" and indeed the only place where this was cultivated. The term "transplanted" (*verpflanzt*) implies the hypothesis that the Arachosians, having sent priests learned in Avesta to Persia, thereby lost their own knowledge of it, and ceased themselves to transmit or study the holy texts. This, in the light of

[279] Hoffmann-Narten, o.c., pp. 41 f., 67 f.
[280] See below, p. 236.
[281] P. 73.
[282] Hoffmann-Narten, o.c., p. 79.
[283] Ib., pp. 79–84.
[284] Ib., pp. 80–1, 86–7.

Arachosia-Drangiana's long and proud Zoroastrian tradition, is quite untenable. Indeed, it flies in the face of ordinary commonsense.[285]

The theory founders moreover on well-known facts. The Greeks, who were familiar with the ways of the Achaemenian court, knew the magi well, but only the magi, as the priests there of Zoroaster. Further, the priests of Sasanian Persia, who would clearly have been happy to assert that they inherited a unique Avesta-tradition, themselves made no such claim. Instead, they recognized that no canonical corpus of Avestan texts existed before their own period. Previously, they recorded[286], an Arsacid Valakhš had taken an important step by ordering the Zoroastrian communities of the Parthian empire "to preserve, in the state in which they had come down in (each) province, whatever had survived in purity of the Avesta and Zand". It was this, it seems, which subsequently inspired the Persian priest Tansar to prompt Ardašir I to have "all those scattered teachings" brought to the Sasanian court. Presumably, that is, the king summoned representatives of all who knew such texts by heart to come in person and recite them before Tansar. That priest then "assumed command, and selected those which were trustworthy, and left the rest out of the canon". This must mean that thereafter the chosen texts were all taught and memorized in at least one Persian priestly college, being thus transmitted orally in Persis for several generations before they were finally written down there. (Even then this does not of course imply that their oral transmission thenceforth ceased in other parts of the Zoroastrian community.) Among those who "brought" Avestan texts to Persis in this way are likely to have been priests from Drangiana/Seistan, an area which boasted (though evidently with gross exaggeration) that only there had such texts been remembered after Alexander's conquest.[287] Among the works which they contributed was evidently their version of *Yašt* 19, or at least those verses of it which have a clear connection with their land.[288] It is very likely that some of these eastern Iranian priests remained in Persis, honoured and well-rewarded as teachers because of their

[285] K. Hoffmann's theory is nevertheless adopted uncritically by Kellens in J. Kellens et E. Pirart, *Les textes vieil-avestiques*, 1, Wiesbaden 1988, 39–40.
[286] Denkard IV, ed. Madan, p. 412.5–14; tr. M. Shaki, "The Denkard account of the history of the Zoroastrian scriptures", Archív Orientální 49, 1981, 114–25; reproduced in Sources, p. 114 (10.3.4.2–3).
[287] See above, p. 16.
[288] See HZ I 274; and in detail, with references to his own earlier studies, G. Gnoli, ZTH 87–8, 129 ff.

knowledge of old traditions, and that it was through them that certain eastern Iranian pronunciations came to affect the Persian recital of Avestan. The supposition that such influence was exerted at this period, rather than earlier, is strengthened by the existence in Pahlavi of a group of religious terms which do not belong dialectally to Middle Persian, and which co-exist with genuine Middle Persian forms. These terms, identified as specifically "Zoroastrian Pahlavi", have long been likewise attributed to the otherwise unknown dialect of Seistan.[289]

In a Sogdian manuscript of the Sasanian period there is a phonetic transcription of the *ašem vohu*, made most probably by a Manichaean scribe from Zoroastrian oral recitation.[290] This contains peculiarities of diction which have been defined as belonging to Old Sogdian, that is, to a stage of this language not later than Old Persian, and hence hardly later than the Achaemenian period. Middle Sogdian phonetic characteristics also appear, testifying to a long purely oral tradition. This brief text thus provides a valuable scrap of direct evidence for the existence of channels of Avestan transmission other than either the Persian or Arachosian.

Summary

Even apart from the evidence for a continual tradition of Avestan recitation, the meagre data from Persis during Seleucid times show no breach there in religion or culture, although small indications (the striking of coins, use of the figure Nike to declare victoriousness, nominal divinization of rulers through their claim to be "of the gods") show that even the *fratarakas* became hellenized to some degree. Their coin devices present these dynasts as devout Zoroastrians; and a similar piety is attested for other Persian nobles of this time by the carved figures of the Persepolis door-jambs, and the rock-cut tombs which enabled purity laws to be kept. This evidence for continuity in religious beliefs and observances is no stronger, however, than that to be found in Greater Media and Atropatene. Persis was unique in her political rather than her religious heritage, which she shared with the whole Zoroastrian community.

[289] See Henning, Mitteliranisch, 99–100.

[290] I. Gershevitch, appendix to N. Sims-Williams, "The Sogdian manuscripts in the British Museum", IIJ 18, 1976, 75–82. (A facsimile of the ms. fragment is reproduced by N. Sims-Williams et J. Hamilton, Documents turco-sogdiens du IXᵉ–Xᵉ siècle de Touen-houang, Corpus Ins. Iranicarum, Pt. II, Vol. III, London 1990, Pl. 22, fragment 4 = BM Or. 8212 (83).)

CHAPTER SIX

IN THE INDO-IRANIAN BORDERLANDS: ARACHOSIA AND GANDHARA, WITH A NOTE ON THE KUH-I KHWAJA IN DRANGIANA

From Iranian settlement to Mauryan suzerainty

Of the eastern Iranian lands other than Bactria, only Arachosia and Gandhara have yielded some direct contemporary evidence concerning their Zoroastrian communities during the Seleucid period. Arachosia, known to the ancient Iranians who lived there as Harahvaiti,[1] was centred on the upland plain watered by the Argandab, in the south of modern Afghanistan. The first Iranian settlers there (who arrived perhaps from around 1000 B.C.) evidently named the Argandab itself Harahvaiti after the chief river of their mythology, believed to pour down from the great world-mountain and to be the source of all other earthly waters.[2] The actual Harahvaiti/Argandab rises in the high mountains of East-Central Afghanistan, and flows in a south-westerly direction to join the Helmand. That river then carries their confluent waters on to empty eventually into the Hamun lake in Seistan, the ancient Kąsaoya, early sanctified for Zoroastrians as the place where the Saošyant will one day be conceived.[3]

The name Harahvaiti was then evidently given by extension to a region watered by the river, probably more or less that known to the early Muslim geographers (by a deformation of the ancient name) as the plain of Rukhwad (or more commonly Rukhkhad or Rukhkhaj).[4] This area was dominated by a stronghold, presumably originally called by the Iranians the fort of Harahvaiti, then also

[1] For other forms of this name see R. Schmitt, "Arachosia", Elr. II 246–8.

[2] Cf. Skt. Sarasvati, the name given by early Indo-Aryan settlers to a river which watered an area important in their own early colonization; see further HZ I 71–2.

[3] Cf. HZ I 274, 293; II 279.

[4] See Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, 339, 346. The name Rukhkhad was also given still to a river, a tributary of the Argandab, which has been identified as that named in Yt. 19.66 as the Zarnumaiti, see D. Monchi-Zadeh, Topographisch-historische Studien zum iranischen Nationalepos, Abh. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes, XLI 2, Wiesbaden 1975, 120, 123, 126; W. Vogelsang, "Early historical

simply Harahvaiti; so that they ended by giving this one name to river, region and citadel. The stronghold has been identified as the "Old Town", some 3 km. to the west of modern Kandahar, which was destroyed by Nadir Shah in 1738. This was sheltered by the steep Qaitul ridge, on whose further side the Argandab flows.[5] The site, excavation has shown, had been occupied before the Iranians appeared; but the fertile, well-watered plain around seems to have attracted them to settle there in numbers, presumably in time pushing most of the indigenous peoples up into the surrounding hills;[6] and with this settlement Harahvaiti became part of a wide area in Eastern Iran and Afghanistan where Zoroastrianism early took root, and flourished well and long.[7]

The stronghold of Harahvaiti (Arachotoi to the Greeks) was well placed not only to dominate the surrounding region but also to control the ancient highways that passed through it, linking Iran with the Indian sub-continent[8] and joining together lands of early Iranian settlement. One of these highways led from Seistan up the Helmand and Argandab valleys, and branched at Kandahar, one way continuing east through the Sulaiman range to the lower Punjab, the other south-east to Hind (Sind). A third ran on up the higher reaches of the Argandab valley, and over a pass into that of the Kabul river. The Kabul valley too was part of an area where Iranians had settled early, calling it (in Old Persian rendering) Paruparaesana after its huge mountain range, the Hindukush, to the eastern Iranians the Upairisaena (Paropamisadai, Paropamisos respectively to the Greeks). The route through Paropamisadai

Arachosia in south-east Afghanistan", Ir. Ant. XX, 1985, 62 n. 19, 90. It survives also in the name of a small village, Arūkh, c. 55 km. north-east of Kandahar, see C. E. Bosworth, "Kandahar", EI 4 (1978), 536; W. Ball, "The Seven Qandahars, The name Q.ND.HAR in the Islamic Sources", SAS 4, 1988, 134.

[5] On the identification of the town Harahvati with "Old Kandahar" (Qandahar in Persian spelling), see with full documentation P. Bernard, "Un problème de toponymie antique dans l'Asie Centrale: les noms anciens de Qandahar", St. Ir. 3, 1974, 171–85; Ball, art. cit., pp. 131, 132–6.

[6] On the fertility of the area, from medieval to modern times, see Le Strange, l.c.; Bosworth, art. cit., p. 537.

[7] See the admirable researches of G. Gnoli (bibliography down to 1985 given in his own ZTH, p. xviii, with his De Zoroastre à Mani to be added). The present writer remains, however, one of those not persuaded that the evidence for the early date of Zoroastrianism in these regions amounts to proof that the prophet himself promulgated his religion somewhere there. For conflicting views on this matter see latterly Gnoli, "Avestan geography" and Boyce, "Avestan people", Elr. II, 44–7, 63–6, and further o.c. in n. 134, below.

[8] K. Fischer, "Zur Lage von Kandahar an Landverbindungen zwischen Iran und Indien", Bonner Jahrbücher 167, 1967, 129–232; Ball, art. cit., p. 138. For a bibliography of the excavations at Old Kandahar, 1946–1978, see Ball, Archaeological Gazetteer of Afghanistan, I, Paris 1982, 145–7.

was one of those linking Arachosia with Bactria. Another, longer, one passed round the western skirts of the high Afghan mountains through Herat (ancient Haraiva). Already in the Stone Age (fourth-second millennia B.C.) inhabitants of the Arachosian region had traded with north-west India, eastern Iran and the Central Asian steppes; and such trade seems to have continued after the Iranian immigrations.[9] Zoroastrian communities in these eastern Iranian lands would thus have had no great difficulty in maintaining contact with each other from the early days of settlement.

For the Achaemenians, who brought all these lands under their rule, Arachosia provided an important corridor of communication with their Indian satrapy of Gandhara (Avestan Vaekereta). The heartland of this region appears to have been the fertile plain of Peshawar; and under the Achaemenians its capital was Puṣkalavati, Pekelaotis to the Hellenes. This was by modern Charsada, some 50 km. to the north-east of Peshawar, on the ancient trade-route leading from Bactria down the Kabul valley to the Indus plain.[10] Achaemenian Gandhara included lands beyond the Indus, with another important city, namely Taxila, set further to the east on the same great trading highway, where many Persians came to settle.

For the Achaemenians Arachosia was also the gateway to their other Indian satrapy of Hind. It was accordingly, it seems, the seat of an important satrap, who probably governed also Drangiana (Seistan) and perhaps Sattagydia.[11] One of his palaces was presumably at Harahvaiti/Old Kandahar, where Achaemenian remains have been found; and the citadel there, and the town's defences, were probably both much enlarged at this time.[12]

When Alexander invaded Iran, the satrap of Drangiana-

[9] The existence of this ancient trade has been established by excavations at Mundigak and Deh Murasi Ghundai, for which see Ball, o.c., under these names. Achaemenian remains at Mundigak may indicate a Persian administrative centre there, see Ball, SAS 4, 135. The settlement of Pirak, some 250 km. to the south-east of Kandahar near the head of the Bolan Pass, imported lapis lazuli from the Bactrian mines of Badakhshan, presumably across Arachosia, throughout the period of its existence, estimated to be c. 1750–800 B.C.; see J. F. Jarrige and M. Santoni, Fouilles de Pirak, Fouilles du Pakistan 2, 2 vols, Paris 1979; Vogelsang, art. cit. in n. 4, p. 75.

[10] M. Wheeler, Chārsada, a metropolis of the North-West Frontier, London 1962, 1 ff.

[11] See Vogelsang, art. cit., p. 77 ff., for a detailed discussion.

[12] D. Whitehouse, "Excavations at Kandahar, 1974", Afghan Studies 1, 1978, 9–39; S. W. Helms, "Excavations at 'The City and the Famous Fortress of Kandahar . . .'," ib., 3, 1982, 1–24.

Arachosia was Barsaentes, one of the nobles who accompanied Darius on his flight from Ecbatana, and had a part in killing the king.[13] He then withdrew to Drangiana, and when Alexander appeared there, sought refuge with "the Indians on this side of the river Indus"; but they eventually delivered him to the Macedonian, who had him put to death.[14] From Drangiana Alexander marched up the valleys of the Helmand and Argandab, subdued Harahvaiti, and set a Macedonian governor over it, with whom he stationed a garrison of some 4600 men.[15] He also refounded the town of Harahvaiti as a *polis*, which came to be known as Alexandria-in-Arachosia, or, as reported in Parthian times by Isidore of Charax, Alexandropolis.[16] In Isidore's day it was still a flourishing city, "the metropolis of Arachosia", of which he said "it is Greek" (*esti de Hellenis*). Part of a Greek dedicatory epigram, carved on an alabaster statue-base, was discovered in the ruins of Old Kandahar. The inscription has been dated to between 300–275/50 B.C., and the statue-group concerned stood presumably in the sacred precinct of the Greek city;[17] but few other indications of its life have survived.

From Arachosia, left thus dominated by the conquering Hellenes, Alexander marched north up the Argandab valley to Paropamisadai, founding there another Alexandria (at Begram), and thence to Bactria; returning south-eastwards in due course to take Gandhara. There were evidently numbers of Iranians living there, the descendants presumably both of ancient settlers and of colonists of Achaemenian times; and now Hellenes in their turn settled among them and the indigenous Gandharans, establishing evidently their rule and way of life firmly there also. These Indo-Iranian borderlands were, however, very remote, in those days of slow travel, from the centres of Macedonian power; and sometime after 316 they were brought under his suzerainty by Chandragupta, founder of the expanding Mauryan empire.[18] He, it seems, was content with overlordship, and allowed them to function more or less as vassal-states, still under Macedonian governors. When therefore Seleucus, as conqueror of Iran, came to treat with Chandragupta in 303[19], it was in recognition of an existing state of affairs

[13] Arrian, III.21.1; Curtius, VI.vi.36.
[14] Arrian, III.25.8; cf. Curtius, l.c.
[15] Arrian, III.28.1; Curtius, VII.3.4–5.
[16] Parthian Stations, 19. Most recently, on the identification of Harahvaiti with Alexandria-in-Arachosia and Old Kandahar see Ball, SAS 4, 132–4.
[17] P. M. Fraser, "The son of Aristonax at Kandahar", Afghan Studies 2, 1979, 9–21.
[18] Cf. above, p. 22.
[19] Ibid.

that he formally ceded these regions to him;[20] and matters being thus amicably arranged, he appears to have gained acceptance of a clause in their treaty making provision for the continuance, in a measure at least, of Greek law and custom in these regions.[21] This concession was probably not difficult to obtain; for the general structure of the Mauryan empire was that of a central power uniting under its rule a number of smaller states, "to which it left a greater or less degree of autonomy according to place and circumstances".[22] Exactly where the Mauryan border ran is uncertain; but it seems clear from coin finds that the whole satrapy of Paropamisadai was now under Indian rule, and that Arachosia proper was entirely ceded, as far west as the confluence of the Argandab and Helmand.[23]

The Iranian Kambojas

Of the Iranians in these regions, living now under Macedonian government but Indian suzerainty, nothing is recorded during the reigns of Chandragupta and his successor, Bindusara. Collectively they had evidently been known to the Indians, from at least Achaemenian times, as "Kambojas".[24] No such name appears in any Iranian source; but the Indian materials, though meagre, suffice to identify the peoples so called as indeed Iranians, and Zoroastrians by faith. The earliest piece of evidence is a reference by the grammarian Yaska (who lived before the fourth century B.C.) to the Kambojas' use of the verb *śav* for to "go", which establishes that they spoke an Iranian tongue.[25] In the Mahabharata and in Pali literature they appear repeatedly in the characteristic Iranian roles of horsemen and breeders of notable horses;[26]

[20] See the masterly study by P. Bernard, Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum IV, 85–95. The date of this event has been much debated, see Bernard's bibliography, p. 85 nn. 3, 4, which shows classicists and orientalists broadly opposed; but he himself was the first to draw on the full range of evidence now available, textual, archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic. On the organization of the Mauryan empire see G. Fussman, "Pouvoir central et régions dans l'Inde ancienne: le problème de l'empire maurya", Annales, E.S.C., 37, 1982, 621–47; G. M. Bongard-Levin, Indija epoxi Maur'ev, Moscow 1973, with English summary.
[21] See Bernard, o.c., pp. 92–3 (on the *epigamia* clause).
[22] Fussman, art. cit., p. 641.
[23] I.e. the western Mauryan frontier was probably more or less along the line drawn by Foucher, La vieille route, I p. 197, fig. 35, see Bernard, o.c., pp. 90–1.
[24] On the Kambojas see, succinctly, E. Benveniste, JA 1958, 46–8.
[25] E. Kuhn, "Das Volk der Kamboja bei Yāska", Avesta, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian Studies in honour of P. B. Sanjana, Strassbourg 1904, 213–14; J. Wackernagel, "Indoiranica", KZ 60, 1933, 198–9.
[26] See J. Charpentier, "Der Name Kambyses (Ka^{n}bujiya)", Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, 2, 1923, 146; Kuhn, art. cit., p. 214.

and in a passage in a Buddhist *jātaka* it is remarked that, unlike Indians, the Kambojas held it a religious duty to kill insects, snakes, worms and frogs.[27] This alone suffices to show that they were Zoroastrians, acting in accord with precepts formulated in Vd. XIV.5–6. Those precepts have their basis in Zoroastrian dualism, which assigns such creatures, and others either noxious or repellent to man, to the Evil Spirit, terming them generally *khrafstra*. Their destruction was accordingly enjoined on believers; and its diligent pursuit has been noted by outside observers from the fifth century B.C. down to modern times.[28]

Together with this last piece of evidence there has to be considered the statement in the *Vendidad* (I.12) that Harahvaiti was afflicted by the Evil Spirit with the sin of *nasu-spaya*, literally "casting out corpses".[29] In the Pahlavi translation this is rendered as *nasā-nigānīh* "burial of corpses", a transgression that preoccupied the Sasanian authorities, who contended periodically over this practice with their non-Zoroastrian subjects. The sin of *nasu-spaya* is less easily defined; for placing a dead body directly on the ground, without use of any funerary structure, was not necessarily regarded as wrong in Zoroastrian orthopraxy. Indeed, in the *Vendidad* itself it is conceded (VI.51) that, if means are lacking for more costly procedures, a skeleton may be left to lie on bare ground; and exposure of a corpse in such a manner seems to have been practised on occasion even under the "orthodox" Sasanians.[30] The essential requirement was evidently, however, that the ground in question should be arid; the sin of *nasu-spaya* was to expose a corpse in this way in a fertile place, where it could contaminate water, earth, or plants.[31] Plainly, the guilt of such an action is more readily incurred in some regions than in others. Thus when the Parsis settled in Gujarat, which was at that time densely forested, they could not find barren places for their *dakhmas* and had to set these in verdant

[27] The Jataka, ed. V. Fausböll, VI, p. 208 ll. 27–30; cf. Kuhn, l.c.; Charpentier, art. cit., p. 145.

[28] Cf. HZ I 298–9; II 182–3; Sources, 125.

[29] See Benveniste, "Coutumes funéraires de l'Arachosie", A Locust's Leg, Studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh, ed. W. B. Henning and E. Yarshater, London 1962, 39–43.

[30] Agathias II.23, writing of Persian funerary customs in the 6th century A.C., speaks of dead bodies "scattered at random all over the plain"; but from his account it appears that such plains would have been large areas near a city—probably barren—set aside, presumably, for exposure of the dead. In II.31 he tells of some Greek travellers coming on a solitary naked corpse near a highway. They buried it, philanthropically, only to find the next morning that it had been exhumed again.

[31] See Benveniste, art. cit., citing (p. 42) as vital evidence Vd. VI.3.

jungle; whereas there are few places in Iran from which desert or rock cannot be reached fairly easily. Possibly the Zoroastrians of Harahvaiti (in the past an even more fertile and well-watered region than now) experienced difficulties similar to those of the Parsis, and were reproached by visiting priests from less favoured areas for not carrying their dead many miles to avoid committing *nasu-spaya*. Whether or not this is the true explanation of the *Vendidad* passage, it is plain that Harahvaiti is considered there to be a Zoroastrian land, which, though assailed thus by the Evil Spirit, had been created one of the best of countries by Ahura Mazda.

This was true also of Gandhara/Vaekereta (Vd. I.9); and there the Zoroastrian rite of exposure is attested at the time of Alexander, one of whose companions, Aristoboulos, is quoted as saying that in Taxila the dead were "thrown out to be devoured by vultures".[32] His observation suggests that Zoroastrians were then numerous in that "great and flourishing city", the descendants presumably of colonists of the Achaemenian period.[33]

Aśoka and the promulgation of his Dhamma

In early Buddhist works the Kambojas follow the Gandharans as fifteenth and sixteenth in a list of Sixteen Great Powers or Nations.[34] This list is held to be a mnemonic one, and is probably older than the texts in which it is found. In such texts the Kambojas are repeatedly linked not only with the Gandharans but also with the "Yonas". This was the Persian name for Ionians, and hence for Hellenes in general, which the Indians had taken over (creating from it in Sanskrit a back-formation, "Yavana"); and it is with the Yonas and Gandharans that the Kambojas appear in close association, as peoples of north-west India, in one of the edicts of the third Mauryan emperor, Piyadassi Aśoka (268–239?).[35] He had a remarkable number of edicts recorded on stone; and it is through these that something is known directly of the Iranians of Arachosia and Gandhara during his reign.

[32] Strabo XV.1.62.

[33] J. Marshall, Taxila, Cambridge 1951, I, 12–13, supposed this eastern Gandharan city to have been actually founded by the Persians; but although their impact there was strong, it is now known to predate the Achaemenian conquest.

[34] See T. W. Rhys Davids, CH India I, 172–3.

[35] There are small divergences still among scholars over Aśoka's dates. For the above see P. H. L. Eggermont, The chronology of Aśoka Moriya, Leiden 1956, as slightly revised in his "New notes on Aśoka and his successors", Persica II, 1965–1966, 27–70. Thapar, Aśoka, gives 269–232.

The first identification of one of Aśoka's edicts was made in 1837, and fragments from others were still being found in the 1980's.[36] The edicts divide by content into two broad categories: a large one containing general pronouncements, essentially on moral and social matters, the other more personal and confessional, with close regard to Buddhism (to which the king was converted early in his reign).[37] In the first category the chief group is formed by the major rock edicts (MRE), which were carved in sets on rocks in well-frequented places. Fourteen of these sets are known, of which eight are complete.[38] There are also six other major edicts engraved as a group on pillars (PE), or rather on free-standing columns, with on one pillar a seventh added.[39] It is probable that all these edicts were also carved on the walls of buildings, but only odd slabs survive.[40] Aśoka evidently sought to reach all his subjects with his proclamations, and so these were drawn up not in Sanskrit but in whatever colloquial tongue was used in local administration. The script was generally Brahmi, and the primary language Eastern Prakrit. (This was spoken in Magadha, the Mauryas' own kingdom, with its capital at Pataliputra, modern Patna.) The edicts were then translated, many into Western and North-Western Prakrit (Gandhari);[41] but the use of more localized scripts and languages was authorized, presumably indeed encouraged. So among the Kambojas the versions were in Aramaic, and were rendered in a way to be more readily comprehended by Zoroastrians; and this brings the whole matter within the scope of a history of the Iranian religion.

The texts of Aśoka's edicts appear to have been sent out from Magadha to local governors and officials, who were charged with their translation (where necessary) and engraving.[42] The act of

[36] See F. R. Allchin and K. R. Norman, Guide to the Aśokan inscriptions, SAS 1, 1985, 43–50; Norman, "A newly found fragment of an Aśokan inscription", SAS 4, 1988, 99–102.

[37] For the text, with French transl., of all inscriptions known down to 1943 (i.e. the vast majority) see J. Bloch, Les Inscriptions d'Asoka. Earlier, with Eng. transl., E. Hultzsch, The inscriptions of Asoka, Corpus Insc. Indicarum I, Oxford 1925. A less strictly literal English translation is provided by Thapar, o.c., pp. 250–66, from which the citations given below are taken, except where otherwise stated.

[38] At two of the 8 sites, Dhauli and Jaugaḍa in Kalinga, the 11th–13th MRE's are omitted, and 2 separate edicts added, not found elsewhere.

[39] I.e. on that originally standing at Topra, but removed to Delhi, hence referred to as Delhi-Topra.

[40] See Norman, SAS 4, 100–1, and below, p. 146 with n. 112.

[41] See Bloch, o.c., pp. 43–86; H. W. Bailey, "Gāndhārī", BSOAS XI, 1946, 764–97; L. Alsdorf, "Zu den Aśōka-Inschriften", Indologen-Tagung 1959, ed. E. Waldschmidt, Göttingen, 58–66.

[42] See Fussman, art. cit. in n. 20, p. 633 ff.

having royal proclamations carved on stone is thought to have been inspired by the example of the Achaemenians, whose works were evidently well-known to the Mauryas;[43] but few people, in those largely aliterate times, could have read the engraved texts, whose practical purpose would have been generally limited to the occasions when they were read aloud by an official for an assembled group. In one engraved edict Aśoka explicitly enjoins that this is to be done at specified intervals, and also, between these times, "even to a single person".[44] The carved inscriptions moreover silently proclaimed, by their visible presence, the greatness and paternal power of the king, reaching out through his vast domains.[45]

This power was largely devoted, on the evidence of his edicts, to promoting the welfare and stability of society through inculcating the observance of *Dhamma* (Skt. *Dharma*). This much-discussed word, usually rendered in the light of later usage as "law", had in Aśoka's application of it no juridical sense, but was rather a code of conduct that was both social and highly moral,[46] whose observance by every individual, the king was convinced, would bring about "the welfare of the whole world".[47] The details of his concept have received much scholarly consideration,[48] but in order to consider its likely impact on his Zoroastrian subjects a citation of some of his own most significant words must suffice. Thus the second pillar edict offers a brief general definition: "*Dhamma* is good. And what is *Dhamma*? It is having few faults and many good deeds, mercy, charity, truthfulness and purity".[49] What constitutes good deeds is expounded repeatedly in other edicts. "It is good to be obedient to one's mother and father, friends and relatives, to be generous to *brahmans* and *śramaṇas*, it is good . . . not only to spend little, but to own the minimum of property".[50] "*Dhamma* . . . includes regard for slaves and servants, respect for teachers . . .".[51] "In a family relatives must treat each other with respect".[52] "The Beloved of the Gods wishes that all beings should be unharmed, self-controlled, calm in

[43] For a bibliography on traces of Persian cultural influence in the Mauryan empire see F. Scialpi, "The ethics of Aśoka and the religious inspiration of the Achaemenids", EW, n.s. 34, 1984, 55–74.

[44] First Separate RE (Dhauli and Jaugaḍa), Bloch, o.c., p. 139; Thapar, o.c., p. 258.

[45] Cf. Fussman, art. cit., pp. 634–5.

[46] See Senart, Les inscriptions de Piyadasi, II, 308–19; and further below.

[47] MRE VI, Bloch, p. 108, Thapar, p. 253.

[48] See (with references) Thapar, o.c., pp. 137–81.

[49] Bloch, o.c., p. 162; Thapar, o.c., p. 262.

[50] MRE III, Bloch, pp. 96–7, Thapar, p. 251.

[51] MRE IX, Bloch, p. 115, Thapar, p. 254.

[52] Minor RE, Bloch, p. 151, Thapar, p. 259.

mind, and gentle".[53] Gentleness was to be extended beyond mankind to all other creatures, whose lives were to be spared whenever possible. Thus the first major rock edict runs: "The Beloved of the Gods, Piyadassi the king, has had this inscription on *Dhamma* engraved. Here no living thing, having been killed, is to be sacrificed . . . Formerly in the kitchens of the Beloved of the Gods, the king Piyadassi, many hundreds of thousands of living animals were killed daily for meat. But now, at the time of writing this inscription on *Dhamma*, only three animals are killed, two peacocks and a deer, and the deer not invariably. Even these three animals will not be killed in future."[54] Later the king declares: "I have conferred many benefits on man, animals, birds, and fish, even to saving their lives";[55] and in the fifth pillar edict he gives a list of the creatures whose killing he specifically forbade, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign. Among those creatures whose names are fully comprehensible are "parrots . . . swans . . . pigeons, bats, ants, tortoises, boneless fish, . . . skate, porcupines, squirrels, deer, lizards, domesticated animals, rhinoceroses, . . . and all quadrupeds which are of no utility and are not eaten".[56] For many of Aśoka's subjects his prohibitions against taking creature life must have made difficulties, indeed hardship; and for the Kambojas this part of his *Dhamma* presented a double religious problem. For them (as for the Brahmans of the time) blood sacrifice was at the centre of their solemn worship;[57] and they had moreover the religious duty to kill *khrafstras*, and regarded as such several of the creatures listed by the king (e.g. ants and lizards), while the general category of "all quadrupeds which are of no utility and are not eaten" included beasts of prey, which, as destroyers of the creatures of Vohu Manah, were the worst *khrafstras* of all.

Further, Aśoka's stress on asceticism and the merit of owning little property was not in accord with the principles of their own faith, which taught that good men should seek to prosper, enjoy life themselves, and help others to do so. Otherwise there seems little in these definitions which they could not readily reconcile with their own beliefs, and this, it is clear, was all that was officially asked of them and of others; for Aśoka, ruling over peoples with a great diversity of faiths, included in his *Dhamma* religious tolerance. This is set out most fully in his twelfth rock edict:[58] "The Beloved of the

[53] MRE XIII, Bloch, p. 129, Thapar, p. 256.
[54] Bloch, pp. 92–3, Thapar, p. 250.
[55] PE 2, Bloch, p. 162, Thapar, p. 262.
[56] Bloch, pp. 165–6, Thapar, p. 264.
[57] Cf. HZ I 343, s.v. sacrifice.
[58] Bloch, pp. 121–4, Thapar, p. 255.

Gods, the king Piyadassi, honours all sects and both ascetics and laymen, with gifts and various forms of recognition. But the Beloved of the Gods does not consider gifts or honour to be as important as the advancement of the essential doctrine of all beliefs (*pāṣaṃḍa-*.)[59] This progress of the essential doctrine takes many forms, but its basis is the control of one's speech, so as not to extol one's own belief or disparage another's on unsuitable occasions. . . . One should honour another man's belief, for by doing so one increases the influence of one's own belief and benefits that of the other man . . . This is the desire of the Beloved of the Gods, that all beliefs should be well-informed, and should teach that which is good". In accordance with these principles, Aśoka declares his own convictions plainly only in those edicts addressed specifically to his Buddhist co-religionists.[60] As emperor he shows impartiality, referring regularly and respectfully to Hindu *brahmans* as well as to Buddhist *śramanas*, giving the former indeed precedence; and in two inscriptions recording benefactions to the Ājīvikas,[61] an ascetic order which had enjoyed his father's patronage, but which was little respected by Buddhists generally.

The *Dhamma* of Aśoka's major edicts is accordingly not the specific *Dhamma* of Buddhism, but rather a general law, expressed in traditional Indian terms, by which he thought all men could and should live; and it was promulgated, not by Buddhist monks or other priests, but by the king's officials.[62] Thus in the fifth major rock edict he declares: "In the past there were no officers of *Dhamma*. It was I who first appointed them. . . . They are busy among those of all beliefs (*pāṣaṃḍa-*), establishing *Dhamma*, increasing the interest in *Dhamma*, and attending to the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to *Dhamma*, among the Yonas, the Kambojas, the Gandhārans, the Riṣṭhikas, the Pitinikas, and the other peoples of the west. . . . Everywhere throughout my empire the officers of *Dhamma* are busy in everything relating to

[59] Pāṣaṃḍa (praṣaṃḍa) is translated by Bloch and Thapar, and generally, as "secte, sect"; but the observations of E. Benveniste, JA 1964, 153, seem convincing: ". . . *pāṣaṃḍa* . . . in the Buddhist texts denotes 'heresy', but in the inscriptions it is applied to all forms of belief, including that of the king. Independently of the etymology (which remains uncertain), could one not consider the primary sense to be '(distinctive) belief, specific doctrine', and the derivative one that of 'heretical sect', which would have developed in a Buddhism that had become dogmatic and attached to its orthodoxy?".
[60] I.e. the minor inscriptions of Bhabra, Rummindei and Nigalisāgar.
[61] See Bloch, p. 156, Thapar, p. 260.
[62] See Senart, Inscriptions de Piyadasi, II 310; E. Lamotte, Histoire du bouddhisme indien, 255. Thapar, o.c., pp. 137–81, seeks to analyse the social, political and religious conditions in India which caused Aśoka to evolve his *Dhamma*.

Dhamma . . .".[63] The names of the first three peoples listed here are linked together grammatically in a way that emphasizes their close propinquity;[64] and further proof of the activity of Aśoka's officials among them is provided by the existence of inscribed versions of his edicts, or passages from them, in the languages of all three, the written one of the Kambojas being Aramaic. The fact that Aramaic versions were made indicates that the Kambojas enjoyed a measure of autonomy, and that they not only preserved their Iranian identity, but were governed in some measure by members of their own community, on whom was laid the responsibility of transmitting to them the king's words, and having these engraved on stone.

Versions of Aśoka's edicts in Gandhara and Arachosia

The best preserved Aśokan inscriptions in the north-west are in Gandhara, which possesses two of the eight copies of the major rock edicts, both carved near once busy roads and at a height to be easily legible. One set is by the village of Shāhbāzgaṛhī in the district of Peshawar, where formerly a road, branching off from the great highway up the Kabul valley, led through Swat to Inner Asia;[65] the other is near Mansehra in the district of Hazara, by the most direct route from Taxila to Kashmir.[66] The texts of both are translated into North-western Prakrit, though with no great thoroughness, since numerous Eastern Prakrit forms survive[67]; and both, alone of Aśoka's inscriptions, are in Kharoṣṭhi script. Since this script derived from Achaemenian chancellery Aramaic, its use is "a sign of the durable character of Iranian influences in the north-west".[68] Moreover, small Iranianisms occur in the language of these inscriptions, which had evidently survived as part of local bureaucratic usage. Thus "an epigraphic formula, repeated several times at Shāhbāzgaṛhī, contains the Old Persian word *dipi* 'inscription' in its original form and not in the Indian adaptation *lipi*, likewise the adjective *nipista*, *nipesita* (from Old Persian *nipišta-*) 'written', instead of the usual *likhita*".[69]

It was in Gandhara, at Taxila, which had become one of the four provincial capitals of the Mauryan empire, that the first fragment

[63] Bloch, pp. 103–05, Thapar, p. 252.
[64] Bloch, p. 103 n. The Yonas and Kambojas are mentioned again by the compound term *yonakaṃboja-*, in MRE XIII, Bloch, p. 130, Thapar, p. 256.
[65] Foucher, La vieille route, I 39 with fig. 8; Bloch, o.c., pp. 19–20.
[66] Ibid.
[67] See Alsdorf, art. cit. in n. 41, p. 61.
[68] Bloch, o.c., p. 86.
[69] Benveniste, JA 1964, 140.

was found, in 1915, of an Aramaic version of an Aśokan edict. This had been carved on a marble column, part of which had been reused in a later building; and only twelve broken lines survive. The script was immediately identified as Aramaic of the Achaemenian chancellery type[70]; but it was some years before the text was recognized as being from an Aśokan edict,[71] and before the Iranian words in it were isolated and discussed.[72] The first two to be explained were *hwnštwn* "good command" and *hwptysty* "good obedience"; *nštwn* is found (apparently as an Old Persian loan-word, < **ništawana*) in Biblical Aramaic, and *ptysty* was seen to represent Avestan *paiti.asti* "obedience", a word not previously recorded in any Middle Iranian language. Subsequently the discovery of another Aramaic inscription led to the identification of this Taxila fragment as a shortened rendering of the central passage of the major rock edict IV, which runs[73]: "Non-injury to creatures. Towards relatives, attention. Towards *brahmans* and *śramaṇas*, attention. Towards mother and father and elders, obedience. This, and many other kinds of *Dhamma* practice, has been promoted. And it will be promoted for ever by the Friend of the Gods, Priyadarśi, the king, this Dhamma practice." The identification of the text made it possible to establish that **huništōn* is used for *dhamma*, and **hupatyastī* for *susruśa* "obedience", while *śramaṇa* "ascetic" is translated by *'rzwš* (Av. *arəzuša-*) "upright", "righteous (person)", a word used by Zoroaster in his Gathas for himself and the just generally. Other Iranian words identified in the fragment were *dmydty* "creatures" (Av. *damiδāta-*), and a restored *hww[yšt]* "elder" (Av. *hvōišta-/huuōišta-*).[74] The expression "friend (beloved)

[70] L. D. Barnett and A. Cowley, JRAS 1915, 340–7.
[71] By E. Herzfeld, see apud J. Marshall, Epigraphia Indica 29, 1927/28, 251–3. For a critical bibliography of work on the inscription (including his own important studies) see H. Humbach, "The Aramaic Aśoka inscription from Taxila", German Scholars in India, Bombay 1976, II, 118–21.
[72] By F. C. Andreas, "Erklärung der aramäischen Inschrift von Taxila", from his Nachlass, ed. H. A. Winckler, Nachrichten d. Gesellschaft d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, 1932, I, 1–17.
[73] Bloch, o.c., pp. 98–9, Thapar, o.c., p. 251. The English rendering given above is essentially that of Humbach, art. cit. in n. 71, pp. 125–6. On the edict's identification and interpretation see H. Humbach, "Die aramäische Inschrift von Taxila", Abh. d. Akad d. Wiss. und d. Literatur zu Mainz, 1969, no. 1, 1–13; and in more detail in art. cit. in n. 71, pp. 124–30, with additional notes in MSS 26, 1969, 39–42.
[74] **hwwyšt*, as Humbach points out (MSS 26, 40) survives in Sogdian, meaning "chief, superior; teacher; elder". For forms and references see I. Gershevitch, Grammar of Manichean Sogdian, Oxford 1954, § § 230, 342; and add *γwyšt* and *γwyštk* from the Mugh documents, used as a civil or religious title, borne in one instance (documents Nov. 3 and 4). by an official presiding over a marriage, see V. A. Livšic, Juridičeskie dokumenty i pis'ma, Moscow 1962, 38–9.

of the gods", *devānaṃpriya-*, a fixed epithet which amounted to a royal title, is rendered by Aramaic *mr'n*, "our Lord", the form of address used for princely dignitaries in Aramaic papyri from Achaemenian Egypt.[75]

The next Aramaic inscription to be discovered, in 1932, was also fragmentary. It too was found in Gandhara, but close to its western frontier, near Pul-i Darunta in the Laghman district, at the northern end of the Jelalabad plain. The text, carved on a small, broken stone, consisted of eight incomplete lines. These were wholly in Aramaic script, but proved linguistically to be a mixture of Aramaic and North-western Prakrit. Brief and mutilated though the text was, it was brilliantly analysed as consisting of bilingual citations of Aśoka's words.[76]

Over twenty years later, in 1958, the first and only fully preserved Aramaic inscription was discovered, carved on a rock at the foot of a cliff in the Qaitul range that sheltered Alexandria-in-Arachosia (Old Kandahar). The highway from that city to Herat passed close by.[77] The inscription consisted of two texts, one of fourteen lines in Greek, the other, beneath it, of eight lines in Aramaic; and these proved to be independent but parallel renderings of passages from Aśoka's edicts, introduced by an allusion to the king's consecration ten years previously.[78] The text, which has been characterized as the concisest of abstracts of the major rock edicts, limited to a few cardinal points,[79] coincided in part with that of the Taxila fragment, for whose full interpretation it furnished the key. Because of the nature of their alphabets, the new Aramaic inscription (known to Iranists as Kandahar I), though spatially shorter than the Greek one, proved slightly longer in content; and it provided the first continual text for studying the Aramaic written at this period by eastern Iranian scribes. Comparison of it with the Aramaic of Achaemenian documents from Egypt led to the conclusion that "two centuries after the Great Kings, at the other end of the Iranian world, we find the same kind of phrases, the same system of titles, the same language similarly larded with Iranian words",[80] while calligraphically the shapes of the characters attested a linear evolution from Achaemenian chancellery script.[81] Evidently training in the scribal schools of Arachosia and Gandhara had continued uninterrupted under the rule of both Macedonian and Maurya. Yet there had been developments. Thus in Kandahar I the words "mother" and "father" are rendered, not by Aramaic *'mh*, *'bh*, but by the forms *'mwhy*, *'bwhy*, i.e. "his mother", "his father". Here, it has been observed, "*-why* is a petrified element which, in the state of development reached at the time in question, was deprived of its original value. What is written in Aramaic script *'bwhy* . . . and *'mwhy* . . . was read by the scribes of that period simply as Iranian *pit* 'father' and *māt* 'mother', without a pronoun."[82] The form *'bwhy* occurs also in the Taxila fragment, showing that this development was common to the Arachosia-Gandhara regions; and it and certain idiosyncratic uses of Aramaic words mark a stage in the progress towards the usages of late Parthian and Sasanian times, when the various Middle Iranian languages, by then written in distinctive scripts, had fossilized Aramaic forms surviving as ideograms among phonetically recorded Iranian words.[83] These ideograms differed somewhat between the different linguistic areas; and so it is of special interest to find in Kandahar I the Aramaic word *'p* "and" being followed by *zy*, "here apparently a purely expletive word, adding nothing to the sense".[84] This usage appears linked with the later Sogdian one of *'PZY* as an ideogram for "moreover, besides, and" [85], which is unknown in Western Middle Iranian. Such developments made it proper, it was suggested, to term the language of these third-century texts "Aramaeo-Iranian" rather than Aramaic, it being by then "merely a written medium of communication, which was exclusively employed by professional scribes, whose mother-tongue was one of the numerous Iranian dialects".[86] Aramaic had always, however, been only a written medium in Iran, whose use belonged to the scribal craft; and although some special term may be useful

[75] See E. Benveniste, JA 1964, 143.

[76] W. B. Henning, "The Aramaic inscription of Asoka found in Lampāka", BSOAS XIII, 1949, 80–8 (q.v. for a bibliography of the inscription).

[77] See D. Schlumberger, JA 1958, 1–2, 6; G. Fussman, "Notes sur la topographie de l'ancienne Kandahar", Arts Asiatiques XIII, 1966, 34, 43.

[78] On this inscription see D. Schlumberger, L. Robert, A. Dupont-Sommer, E. Benveniste, "Une bilingue gréco-araméenne d'Asoka", JA 1958, 1–48; G. Pugliese Caratelli and G. Levi della Vida, Un editto bilingue greco-aramaico di Aśoka, Rome 1958; G. Pugliese Caratelli and G. Garbini, A bilingual Graeco-Aramaic edict by Aśoka, Rome 1964.

[79] So L. Alsdorf, art. cit. in n. 41, p. 64. At first the text was analysed as representing passages from MRE VIII (i.e. the introductory dating formula, which, it is agreed, here provides no more than a *terminus post quem*), and IV, but Alsdorf points to echoes also of MRE I and VII, and further from VIII.

[80] Benveniste, art. cit., p. 43.

[81] Dupont-Sommer, JA 1966, 442–4.

[82] Humbach, art. cit. in n. 71, p. 129.

[83] See W. B. Henning, "Mitteliranisch".

[84] Dupont-Sommer, art. cit., p. 26.

[85] Benveniste apud Dupont-Sommer, l.c.; S. Shaked, JRAS 1969, 120.

[86] Humbach, art. cit. in n. 71, p. 118.

to mark this transitional stage of the Seleucid period, "Irano-Aramaic" would be more appropriate, for both script and language are still recognizably Aramaic, and the relatively few Iranian words and usages which occur fall far short of a deliberate attempt by the scribes to "free themselves from Aramaic and to write their own language".[87]

The vocabulary of this Irano-Aramaic was necessarily restricted, since from the time when they adopted Aramaic for writing the Iranians had used it for practical purposes only: administration, records, law, commerce, private letters. For the Kambojan scribes, generations later, the Aramaic which they thus employed was a wholly dead language, of alien structure, mechanically learnt in their schools. They had therefore no means of developing its potentialities to meet new linguistic demands such as were made by Aśoka's edicts, with their large moral content. In translating these they had therefore to draw relatively frequently on their own spoken tongue to supply appropriate terms. The eight lines of Kandahar I contain accordingly a number of Iranian words, several not previously recorded, but with known cognates.[88] In translation the complete text runs:[89] "Ten years having passed (?), it came about (?) that our lord the king Priyadraši became the establisher of the Truth. Since then evil has diminished for all men, and he has caused all misfortunes to disappear; and on all the earth there is peace and joy. And moreover, there is this concerning nourishment: for our lord the king only few (animals) are killed; on seeing that, all men have ceased (to kill animals); even those men who catch fish, those men are subject to a prohibition. At the same time, those who were without restraint, they have ceased to be

[87] Henning, op. cit., p. 24. Humbach had accordingly no real grounds (l.c.; MSS 26, 1969, 41 and MSS 30, 1972, 47) for challenging Henning's considered findings on the chronology of such developments. On Humbach's theory of an "Aramaeo-Iranian" see J. A. Delaunay, Kratylos XXI, 1976 [1977], 81: "a text in which the general structures of the language and vocabulary are Aramaic is . . . Aramaic and nothing else. Debased Aramaic without doubt, an artificial language . . . but Aramaic all the same." Cf. in the same vein J. Oelsner, OLZ 72, 1977, 515.

[88] These were first discussed by Benveniste, art. cit., pp. 36–43; see further Humbach's subsequent discussions of the Taxila inscription, cited above in n. 73. Pace G. Ito, "Iranological contributions of Aśokan inscriptions", Monumentum G. Morgenstierne, Acta Iranica 21, 1981, 310–15, the fact that there are cognate words in the "Kambojan" dialects and in Avestan (all eastern Iranian languages) by no means proves that "the Avestan language was current in ancient Afghanistan", nor does it contribute evidence for the hypothesis that Seistan was the homeland of Zoroaster. (Art. cit., p. 308 n. 1, Ito gives references to earlier articles of his on the Aramaic versions of Aśoka's inscriptions.)

[89] Dupont-Sommer, art. cit., p. 22.

without restraint. And there is obedience to mother and father and to elders, conformably with the duties which fate imposes on each. And for all pious men, there is no judgment. This [i.e. the practice of *Dhamma*] has been profitable for all men, and will be more profitable."

Among the Iranian words used here are *prbst* (*frabast) "unrestrained" and *ptyzbt* (*patizbāt) "prohibited". As in the Taxila inscription, *hwptysty* is used for "obedience", but otherwise there are different choices of words. Thus Kandahar I has *mzyšt-* (mazišt-) cognate with Avestan *mazišta*, for "elder", instead of the Taxila *hwwyšt-*; and, strikingly, instead of *hwnštwn* "good command" for the difficult concept of Aśoka's *Dhamma*, it uses the Aramaic word *qšyt'*, approximately "truth", representing evidently the concept of *aša*. Thus the Arachosian scribe interpreted Aśoka's basic moral law by a term of deep moral (as well as religious) significance for Zoroastrians.[90] Further, the effects of observing that law are described in markedly Zoroastrian ways, that is, as the diminution of evil and as the beginning, instead of "prosperity", of "peace (and) joy", *r'm šty* (rām šātī), two desiderata which recur again and again, together, in Zoroastrian texts.[91] Further, the individuals who help to bring about this happy state will not suffer judgment (i.e. damnation), a belief essential to Zoroastrian moral theology but wholly absent from Aśoka's thought.[92] The Mauryan king, as "establisher of the Truth", is thus presented as a *saošyant*, one who helps to bring about the salvation of the world; indeed, with his insistence on sparing creatures' lives he could even have been regarded by some Zoroastrians as a forerunner of the Saošyant, for during that Saviour's golden age men will cease to eat flesh and no blood will be shed.[93] This may then have reduced, for some at least in the community, the problems created for them by Aśoka's decrees of non-injury to animals. It is in fact conceivable that for some Kambojas Aśoka, providing in his prime good government, peace and religious toleration, appeared as a chosen instrument of Ahura Mazda's, just as the Achaemenian Cyrus had appeared as an anointed messiah of Yahweh's to Second Isaiah. Jews could not have regarded an Iranian king in this way, nor Kambojas an Indian one, had the two rulers concerned not been able to reconcile their personal beliefs (in Zoroastrianism and

[90] See ib., pp. 23–4, 34.

[91] See Dupont-Sommer and Benveniste, art. cit., pp. 34, 39–40.

[92] See Dupont-Sommer, ib., pp. 31–2, 34.

[93] E.g. GBd. XXXIV.1–3, ed. B. T. Anklesaria, pp. 282–4. On the later doctrine of the three Saošyants see below, p. 375 n 56.

Buddhism respectively) with toleration for the diverse religions of their multiracial subjects.[94]

The various existing Aramaic translations were presumably all made locally; but different choices of words between Kandahar I and Taxila do not necessarily indicate a lack of communication between the Iranian scribes of Arachosia and Gandhara. The Kambojas' exposure to Aśoka's propaganda may have led to a steadily deepening awareness among them of the nature of his conceptions, and so to a fuller adaptation of these to their own teachings and beliefs. A small but striking common element in these two Aramaic inscriptions is that both use, for the king's personal name, the North-Western Prakrit form Priyadraśi (*prydrś*), whereas the Greek version of the Kandahar bilingual has the Eastern Prakrit Piodassis (Πιοδασσης).[95] This suggests that the Iranian scribes of Arachosia worked more closely with their counterparts in Gandhara than with their Greek fellow-citizens. There was evidently much traffic at this time (administrative, commercial and other) up and down the ancient highway between Kandahar and Taxila; and so there was presumably no difficulty in communicating by letter, if not in person.

A few years later, in 1963, a block of stone was bought in Kandahar bazaar which came evidently from the ruins of the old city. This bore a fragmentary inscription, now known as Kandahar II, which proved to be an Indo-Aramaic bilingual of the same type as that from Pul-i Darunta.[96] Although only seven lines long, this contained more text than the latter, and through their similarities enabled it to be better understood. Kandahar II was likewise written entirely in Aramaic characters, of which an epigraphist has said: "Whilst the script of the Pul-i Darunteh inscription is formal and those of Kandahar I and Taxila take an intermediary course, the script of Kandahar II is cursive; it is a careless, somewhat hastily incised, inscription. Therefore we are faced with several difficulties in the reading, e.g. some forms of *dalet*, *waw*, *nun* and *resh* resemble each other. Although this script exhibits the first steps towards an eastern development of the Aramaic script, it is a

[94] On Cyrus' adherence to Zoroastrianism see (with further references) HZ II 41 ff.; G. Gnoli, De Zoroastre à Mani, 53 ff.; Boyce, "The religion of Cyrus the Great", Achaemenid History III, ed. A. Kuhrt and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Leiden 1985, 15–31.

[95] See Alsdorf, art. cit. in n. 41, p. 63.

[96] See E. Benveniste and A. Dupont-Sommer, "Une inscription indo-araméenne d'Asoka provenant de Kandahar (Afghanistan)", JA 1966, 437–65; S. Shaked, "Notes on the new Aśoka inscription from Kandahar", JRAS 1969, 118–22.

straightforward evolution from the standard Aramaic writing of the Persian period, and most of its traits can be attested in the Egyptian Aramaic inscriptions of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.".[97]

The text of the Kandahar bilingual was identified[98] as a rendering of part of the last section of Aśoka's seventh pillar edict, otherwise uniquely known from the Delhi-Topra column;[99] and this stresses some of the same social virtues as the passage from the fourth major rock edict translated in the Taxila and Kandahar I inscriptions. In translation, the Prakrit runs: "Whatever good deeds I have done, the world has consented to them and followed them. Thus obedience to mother and father, obedience to teachers, deference to those advanced in age, and regard for *brahmans* and *śramaṇas*, the poor and wretched, slaves and servants, have increased and will increase".[100] In the evidently fairly free Aramaic rendering the phrase "in obedience" accordingly occurs twice, as *bptystykn'*.[101] The final element, '*-kn'*, has yet to be explained; but *ptysty*, governed here by an Aramaic preposition, was instantly recognized as Iranian *patyasti*, occurring in Taxila and Kandahar I with the prefix *hu-*; and this word thus seems established as a living element in the third-century "Kambojan" languages. This then destroyed an earlier supposition that in using it these eastern Iranian scribes were drawing directly on Avestan vocabulary, i.e. that they were deliberately using their own scriptural terminology to render the ethical injunctions of Aśoka.

The text inscribed at Pul-i Darunta remains unidentified, and appears to be from an otherwise unknown edict of Aśoka's; but it and that of Kandahar II are set out in the same way, with a short section of Middle Indian (North-Western Prakrit) alternating with one of Aramaic, the two being linked by the word *shyty*. The precise meaning of this word is debated, but it appears more probably Iranian than Indian.[102] The technique of alternating the Prakrit text with its translation has been seen as one developed by Aśoka's

[97] J. Naveh apud S. Shaked, art. cit., p. 118.

[98] By Benveniste, art. cit., p. 447 ff.

[99] Cf. above, p. 132 with n. 39.

[100] Bloch, o.c., p. 171, Thapar, o.c., p. 266.

[101] *b-* rather than *l-* according to Shaked, art. cit., p. 119.

[102] On the basis of these two inscriptions only it was interpreted by C. Caillat, "La séquence SHYTY dans les inscriptions indo-araméennes d'Asoka", JA 1966, 467–70, as an Indian word. On it as probably an Iranian one, and its meaning and uses, see H. W. Bailey apud Shaked, art. cit., p. 122 n. 10; Shaked, ib., pp. 121–2; H, Humbach in G. D. Davary and H. Humbach, "Eine weitere aramäoiranische Inschrift der Periode des Aśoka aus Afghanistan", Abh. d. Akad. d. Wiss. u.d. Literatur zu Mainz, 1974, no. 1, 15.

propagandists for indoctrinating his *Dhamma*[103], but is so far attested only in these Indo-Iranian borderlands. It may therefore be significant that when eventually the Avesta was written down with its Middle Persian *zand* this was how the two texts were set out: first a portion of Avestan, then its Middle Persian translation. It is very probable that this was how various oral *zands* in the diverse Iranian languages had been memorised by priests over generations;[104] and it is conceivable that this technique influenced the manner of expounding (and recording) Aśoka's words by Zoroastrians for their co-religionists.[105]

Thereafter two small Aramaic inscriptions were found in Gandhara, again in the Laghman district, not far from Pul-i Darunta. These are referred to as Laghman I and II.[106] The first, six lines long, was chanced on by two ethnologists in 1969, carved on a vertical slab of rock near the top of a spur overhanging the left bank of the Laghman river. The present road up the valley passes beneath this spur, but the old highway from Taxila to Bactria ran here up the river's right bank, where the ground is level.[107] The second inscription, found in 1973 by a deliberate search of the same area, is in a similar position, cut on a rock half-way up another hill, which dominates the valley at that point. This inscription was ten lines long; and its contents, no less than its position, proved to be very like those of Laghman I; but for both inscriptions the letters are shallowly incised, and the rock has weathered, so that their decipherment and interpretation have presented problems, some perhaps intractable. Each begins with a sentence dating it by a year

[103] Benveniste, art. cit., p. 453.

[104] Thus words and phrases from an old Av. *zand* came to be incorporated in places in the original Av. text. The existence can rationally be postulated of Middle Iranian *zands* other than the MP one, which was made canonical under the Sasanians.

[105] If there were a parallel here, one would expect the Middle Indian text, as the original one, to come first, followed by its Aramaic "interpretation". Shaked, art. cit., pp. 121–2, argues for the likelihood of the opposite sequence; but the texts are too fragmentary for certainty.

[106] Laghman I was published by A. Dupont-Sommer, "Une nouvelle inscription araméenne d'Asoka trouvée dans la vallée du Laghman (Afghanistan)", CRAI 1970, 158–73, with plates; critical observations by H. Humbach, "Die aramäische Aśoka-Inschrift vom Laghman-Fluss", Indologen-Tagung 1971, ed. H. Härtel and V. Moeller, Wiesbaden 1973, 161–9. Laghman II was published by G. D. Davary and H. Humbach, op. cit. in n. 102. G. Ito, "Aśokan inscriptions, Laghman I and II", St. Ir. 8, 1979, 175–83, offered a number of imaginative reinterpretations; and G. D. Davary, "Epigraphische Forschungen in Afghanistan", St. Ir. 10, 1981, 55–6, gave revised readings of Laghman II, with references to observations made by various scholars since its first publication.

[107] See Foucher, La vieille route, I, p. 31 fig. 7 , p. 35.

of "Priyadraśi the king", the tenth in the case of Laghman I, the sixteenth in that of Laghman II, which has a full Irano-Aramaic dating formula: *B'LWL m'h ŠNT 16* "in the month Elul, year 16". Then follows in both a statement concerning the king's having forbidden the harming of fishes and other living creatures. What comes next is still obscure; but local place-names seem to occur, which has led to the suggestion that these inscriptions were way-marks, even though they would not have been actually legible from the plain below.[108] (Aśoka speaks of having had way-marks made, though no others are known.) In this part of the inscriptions the problematic word *shyty* occurs again. Both inscriptions have a proper name *Wāšu (*w'šw*) at the end, possibly as that of the official—Indian or Iranian ?—who authorised the engraving of the text; and Laghman II follows his with another name, *whšwprtbg*. This is plainly Iranian; and if its first element is Waxš-, i.e. the Oxus[109], this suggests cultural or family links with Bactria, not so far distant by the ancient highway running past the rock.

Such links might, of course, have been old, predating both Macedonian and Mauryan conquests, with a family name being handed down over generations; but that the Indian frontier was not a sealed one, and created no barrier to cultural contacts with the west, is proved by the Greek versions of Aśoka's edicts, two of which are now known. The first to be discovered, in 1958, was that inscribed above the Aramaic Kandahar I.[110] The relative position of the two texts indicates the continuing dominance of the Greeks at Alexandria-in-Arachosia; but the fact that they were carved together on the same rock, with equal care, and equally prominently, suggests also the continuing importance of the local Iranian community, and the respect shown them by the Hellenes; while the very different character of the two translations, and their total independence of each other, brings out with striking clarity the fundamental differences in the two cultures, and their stubborn separateness despite long contiguity.

The second find of a Greek inscription was made, like that of the Indo-Aramaic bilingual from Kandahar, in 1963, when an

[108] See Humbach in Davary and Humbach, art. cit. in n. 102, p. 16; G. Fussman, "Quelques problèmes asokéens", JA 1974, 381–5.

[109] Cf. below, pp. 179–80. P. Gignoux, St. Ir. 4, 1975, 137, proposed taking it to be Parthian *wxš* "pleasant, fair"; but this was part of an astonishing attempt by this scholar to interpret a Gandharan inscription of the mid 3rd century B.C. as being written "in a kind of mixed language", which "one could qualify as *Aramaeo-Parthian*" (his italics).

[110] For the basic bibliography see n. 78, above; and for additional works see W. Ball, Archaeological Gazetteer of Afghanistan I, p. 146, II pp. 365–6.

inscribed limestone block came to light in the ruins of Old Kandahar.[111] This bore a text in twenty-two long lines; but it was fragmentary, for the block was evidently one of a number, presumably from the wall of a building. The text represents a long section of the twelfth, and the beginning of the thirteenth, major rock edicts; and since these edicts were regularly carved as a corpus, it has been deduced that the building in question had a Greek translation of all fourteen of them inscribed on its walls.[112] There may also, it is pointed out, have been an accompanying Aramaic version.[113]

The surprise of classicists on studying these Greek texts, at that time the most easterly ones known, was at least as great as that of Iranists over the Aramaic ones. The Greek renderings also proved to be free, paraphrases or abridgements rather than close translations; and though at least once there is a slight distortion of the original meaning,[114] in general they present an elegant, thoughtful interpretation of Aśoka's precepts for Hellenes. The most immediately striking point is that the crucial word *dhamma* was rendered by *eusebia* "piety", which covers a different aspect of Aśoka's fundamental concept from that reflected by Aramaic *qsyt'*.[115] Another point of interest was that the expression *pāṣaṃḍa*, "doctrinal system, belief",[116] was interpreted by *diatribē* "philosophical school."[117] "Throughout Greek tradition" (it has been observed) "the brahmans had been philosophers in the eyes of the Greeks",[118] while on his side Aśoka noted that there were *brahmans*, i.e. professional priests, in all lands except among the Yonas.[119]—What is generally remarkable is that the language of these Arachosian translations was that current in the mid third century throughout the Hellenistic world; and that the translators drew for their vocabulary on contemporary literary usage, especially that of the philosophers

[111] Published by D. Schlumberger, "Une nouvelle inscription grecque d'Açoka", CRAI 1964, 126–34, with further commentary by L. Robert, pp. 134–40. For additional bibliography see Ball, l.c.

[112] Schlumberger, art. cit., pp. 129, 133–4. Benveniste, JA 1964, 141, argued, however, for an especial importance for the Greeks of MRE XII, with its express message of religious tolerance (cf. above, p. 135) and XIII, where they themselves and several Hellenic kings (see further below) are expressly named.

[113] Schlumberger, ib., p. 129.

[114] See Benveniste, art. cit., pp. 154–5.

[115] Schlumberger, JA 1958, 6; Benveniste, art. cit., p. 147; Alsdorf, art. cit. in n. 41, p. 65.

[116] Cf. above, n. 59.

[117] Schlumberger, CRAI 1964, 133; Benveniste, art. cit., p. 153.

[118] Robert, CRAI 1964, 136.

[119] MRE XIII, Bloch, o.c., p. 128, Thapar, o.c., p. 256.

and sophists; and also, where appropriate, on the political terminology of the time, employing phrases which were standard diplomatic ones, used both at the courts of kings and by cities which corresponded with them.[120] Moreover, the character of the carved letters, monumental and "severe", belonged to a lapidary style found in other parts of the Greek world at that time, and so provided further evidence that "the Hellenism of Arachosia . . . shared in the general life of Hellenism; it was not shut off without contacts in a hidden corner, to shrivel and grow ossified".[121]

From this it is evident that under the Mauryas communication with the west was unimpeded—a fact which is of no less interest for the history of Zoroastrianism than for that of Hellenism. It is true that the "Yonas" must have enjoyed a special position among the Mauryas' non-Indian subjects of the north-west, not only (it seems) as forming the recognized governing class, at least in Arachosia, but also as being of the same race and culture as the Seleucids, powerful neighbours with whom the Mauryas were on friendly terms. When Seleucus sent an ambassador to the court of Chandragupta, he chose Megasthenes, himself a Greek of Arachosia, who as such could be expected to have some knowledge of Indian ways and affairs; and subsequently Aśoka, in a famous passage in the thirteenth rock edict, claimed to have carried the victory of *Dhamma* far beyond his own frontiers "to where reigns the Yona king Aṃtiyoka, and further away than Aṃtiyoka, four kings, Turamaya, Aṃtikini, Maka and Alikasudara".[122] These kings have all been identified as Hellenes: the first three as the Seleucid Antiochus II (261–246), Ptolemy II of Egypt (285–247), and Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia (276–239). "Maka" is Magas of Cyrene, and "Alikasudara" is taken by some to be Alexander of Epirus, by others Alexander of Corinth.[123] The Greek translations of Arachosia show that among his own subjects Aśoka had men well equipped to act as his envoys (or interpreters for his envoys) to the courts of these kings, and to dispute there with philosophers of every school.[124]

Aśoka's Iranian subjects had no kindred beyond his borders who

[120] See Robert, JA 1958, 12 ff.; CRAI 1964, 136 ff.

[121] Robert, JA 1958, 12.

[122] Bloch, o.c., p. 130; Thapar, o.c., p. 256. (Bloch's text and translation are followed here.)

[123] The importance of the passage for both Aśokan and Macedonian chronology has led to its being much discussed. For references see P. H. L. Eggermont, "The date of Aśoka's rock edict XIII", Acta Or. XVIII, 1940, 103–23; "New notes on Aśoka and his successors", Persica II, 1965–1966, 58 n. 97.

[124] Cf. Robert, CRAI 1964, 138–9.

were in positions of power, and so, politically, their community was of less importance; but it is evident from the existence of the Aramaic inscriptions that they enjoyed their own measure of esteem;[125] and there is no reason to suppose that the frontiers which were so easily crossed by Hellenes (and other foreigners[126]) would have been closed to them. The history of Zoroastrianism in Atropatene at this time shows that the Zoroastrian love of going on pilgrimage flourished then as later; and so the strong probability is that seasonally, in periods of peace, Zoroastrians from Gandhara followed the highway south to Kandahar; and from there, joined by Arachosian pilgrims, travelled on into Iran, that is, to Drangiana, to perform their devotions at the sacred mountain by Lake Kąsaoya, in pious expectation of the child who would one day be born there to save the world. Indeed this particular pilgrimage probably gained in importance at this epoch, when unbelievers ruled over Zoroastrians and the Evil Spirit clearly had much power, so that the coming of the Saošyant would have been ardently looked for.[127]

The Kambojas and Buddhism

Although there is no evidence that Aśoka was himself active in propagating Buddhism, his own adherence to it clearly created a situation favourable to its expansion. The Third Buddhist Council was held at Pataliputra during his reign, and monks of repute were then chosen to go out to various regions to spread knowledge of the Buddha's teachings. One was assigned to Kashmir and Gandhara, another to the region of the Yonas.[128] How effective these first missions were, or how rapidly Buddhism established itself in those parts, is not known. (The remains of a Buddhist monastery with its stupa have been found in Old Kandahar, but have still to be fully excavated and thereby securely dated.[129]) The Aramaic versions of

[125] There is a reference in an inscription at Junāgadh in west India to a *yonārāja* named Tuṣāspa, a governor of Aśoka's, see D. C. Sircar, Select inscriptions bearing on Indian history and civilization, Calcutta 1942, p. 169, but there is no further evidence to shed light on this evidently distinguished man, characterized as a Hellene but with an apparently Iranian name.

[126] Among a number of special administrative boards at Pataliputra was one with the duty of looking after the foreigners there, see V. Smith, Oxford History of India, 2nd ed., 1921, 87–8; Thapar, o.c., pp. 113, 125.

[127] See further below, p. 375.

[128] Lamotte, Histoire du bouddhisme indien, 330–2.

[129] See G. Fussman, "Notes sur la topographie de l'ancienne Kandahar", Arts Asiatiques XIII, 1966, 37–8.

Aśokan edicts in Arachosia and Gandhara show that there were Zoroastrians in both regions linguistically fully equipped to debate with such missionaries; and it was there that Zoroastrianism first had to confront a proselytizing system of belief which, like itself, claimed to have a teaching for all the world. The message which each offered was very different, and the struggle between them was to last for centuries. It was in this north-west region that primitive Buddhism was gradually transformed into the Mahāyāna; and a number of scholars have thought it likely that Zoroastrianism, a salvation-faith with an ardent expectation of a redeeming saviour, made some contribution to this transformation, notably to the doctrine of the coming Buddha, the Maitreya.[130]

Reconquest by Hellenes

The Mauryan empire declined after Aśoka's death, and his successors were unable to keep possession of its outlying regions. At the beginning of the second century Bactrian Greeks under Demetrius I (c. 200–185 B.C.) began to penetrate south of the Hindukush, and succeeded in acquiring the Indo-Iranian border territories, including Gandhara and Arachosia.[131] The Hellenes of those regions thus came once more under the rule of fellow-Hellenes, while in the conquering forces (made up presumably of Greeks and Bactrians) the Kambojas would have met fellow-Iranians. How far the latter can be supposed to have been orthopractic Zoroastrians will be considered in the next chapter; but they were the descendants of men who had not only lived for generations under Greek rule, but had also fought alongside Greeks, now against Seleucid armies, now against Parthians, now against nomads of the steppes; and these experiences may have broken down cultural barriers between them more effectively than seems to have been the case between Kambojas and Hellenes in Arachosia and Gandhara.

Note on the Kuh-i Khwaja in Drangiana

Kuh-i Khwaja in Drangiana, "the basalt mountain that rises solitary and majestic out of the waters of the Hamun Lake",[132] was

[130] See with bibliography Lamotte, o.c., p. 783 ff.

[131] See below, p. 153.

[132] D. Faccena, "A new fragment of wall-painting from Ghāga Šahr" (Kūh-i Ḫvāǧa-Sīstān, Iran), EW 1981, 31, 83.

evidently a sacred place for Zoroastrians long before the faith was adopted by the magi of western Iran;[133] for the lake at its foot, given the Avestan name of Kąsaoya, was seen as that where Zoroaster's own seed is guarded by divine beings, and where one day the Saošyant will be conceived—hence presumably the name of the mountain, "Mountain of the Lord".[134] The Kuh-i Khwaja, it is generally agreed, appears in the Young Avesta as Mount Ušiδam; and as a "high place" by these holy waters it is likely to have attracted Zoroastrian pilgrims from far and wide already in the prehistoric period of the faith, and throughout Achaemenian times.[135]

Presumably for many generations these pilgrims simply went up the bare mountain to worship and pray on its summit, looking out over the sacred lake; but eventually a temple was built high up on its south-eastern flank, with below it what has been termed a palace. This was most probably the residence of the temple's high priest, who (given the sanctity of the place) is likely to have enjoyed wealth and authority to match that of the high priests of Zela and other great Zoroastrian shrines. Such structural developments appear to have taken place more slowly here, however, than in the west, and possibly neither temple nor palace was founded before the Parthian period.[136] A sizable town (whose ruins are known as Ghaga Shahr) grew up on the slopes below the palace; but in Seleucid times pilgrims, and those who came seasonally to supply and batten on them, may well simply have camped on the mountain-side and the plain around. In addition to those who may be presumed to have taken well-trodden pilgrim ways from Arachosia and Gandhara, others are likely to have come from Areia (Herat) and neighbouring Carmania (Kerman). Nor is it impossible that during peaceful times the devout still made their way here from further afield—Persis and Media to the west, possibly even

[133] Cf. HZ I 274.

[134] This is one reason why Gnoli considers this area to have been part of the original homeland of the *kavis*, see latterly his ZTH, 129 ff. For a detailed attempt to demonstrate otherwise see Boyce, Zoroastrianism: its antiquity and chronic vigour, Columbia Lectures 1985, ed. E. Yarshater, Ch. I (to be published).

[135] Cf. (speculatively) HZ II 278–9.

[136] G. Gullini, Architettura iranica dagli Achemenidi ai Sasanidi. Il "Palazzo" di Kuh-i Khwaja (Seistan), Turin 1964, argued for an Achaemenian origin for both palace and temple; but it is generally held that his conclusions in this respect were inadequately supported by evidence. See Schippmann, Feuerheiligtümer, 60–70; Faccena, art. cit., pp. 90–4. There were temples in Drangiana in Achaemenian times, but that at Dahan-i Ghulaman (cf. HZ II 128–30) cannot be regarded as Zoroastrian, and the reference in Curtius (above, pp. 4–5) is non-committal in this respect.

from parts of the western diaspora, and from Bactria and other lands to the north—maintaining a tradition established long before the coming of Alexander. Such gatherings would clearly have helped to strengthen community ties, transcending, even if briefly, the separation of the individual satrapies; and there seems no reason why the Macedonians should have objected to them, especially since the local satrap would presumably have extracted his share of profit at the main pilgrimage seasons.

As for the Zoroastrians of Drangiana, the existence of this great holy place doubtless contributed powerfully to the strength of their local tradition. Of this they were clearly immensely proud, claiming for it in due course a unique place in the history of the religion after the coming of Alexander.[137] The fame of the Kuh-i Khwaja itself caused it, it seems, to figure, as the Mons Victorialis, in the birth legends of Christ;[138] and still in early Islamic times, a Zoroastrian text records, the Zoroastrians who lived round about sent their virgin daughters each year, at the holy days of No Ruz and Mihragan, to bathe in the lake there, in the hope that the time had come for the Saošyant to be conceived.[139] Evidence from the Sasanian period for a contribution from Seistan to the establishment then of the Avestan canon, and to the study of the holy texts,[140] testifies to the strength of the Zoroastrian tradition in this region.

[137] Cf. above, p. 16.

[138] Below, pp. 451–3.

[139] Saddar Bundahěs, 35.6; Dhabhar, ed., Bombay 1909, tr. Rivayats, 528. Text given also by Darmesteter, Ét. ir., II 209. In it the mountain is called by the variant name "Kuh-i Khoda" (with the same meaning).

[140] See above, pp. 123–4.

CHAPTER SEVEN

IN EASTERN IRAN: THE TIME OF THE GREEK KINGDOMS (c. 250–50 B.C.)

The political and geographical horizon[1]

In the middle of the third century the north-eastern provinces of Iran, thinking themselves neglected by the Seleucid kings, who were more and more absorbed by Mediterranean affairs, seceded under the leadership of their Hellenic satraps: Andragoras in Parthyene, Diodotus in Bactria. As early as 239/238 the former succumbed to an invasion by nomad Parni, who, adopting the name of their new country, founded the Parthian monarchy, and within a century were to reunite under their hegemony the lands of the Iranian plateau. To the east, however, Diodotus survived and assumed the royal diadem, founding the kingdom conventionally designated as "Greco-Bactrian". Some time between 230 and 227 Seleucus II launched an expedition against the new eastern kingdoms, both in his eyes equally rebellious; although Diodotus' son and successor had made common cause with the Parthians, Seleucus gained some initial success, but was soon recalled to the west by an Attalid attack in Asia Minor. Diodotus II was eventually killed, possibly in an outburst of Greek patriotism, and was replaced by Euthydemus, who was born in Magnesia-on-the-Maeander (or perhaps only his forbears originated from there). His long reign secured the consolidation of the kingdom. In 208 he had to face a new Seleucid attempt at reconquest: Antiochus III, more successful than his father, succeeded in blockading Euthydemus in Bactra;

[1] The classical but markedly divergent reconstructions proposed by W. W. Tarn, GBI, and A. K. Narain, The Indo-Greeks, Oxford 1957, are now superseded (for the later period, 2nd-1st centuries B.C.) by O. Bopearachchi, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Catalogue des monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques, Paris 1991, whose chronology will be followed here. Some of the solutions he proposes had already been put forward by P. Bernard, Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum, IV: Les Monnaies hors trésors. Questions d'histoire gréco-bactrienne (Mém. DAFA 28), Paris 1985. For the 3rd century the problem of the relations between Eastern Iran and the Seleucids are reexamined by Will, Hist. pol., I–II, in the relevant sections.

but after two years of indecisive operations the Magnesian induced Antiochus to come to terms, by arguing that "considerable hordes of nomads were approaching, and this was not only a grave danger to both of them, but if they consented to admit them, the country would certainly relapse into barbarism"[2]. Antiochus recognized Euthydemus' royal title, against a formal submission; and this last Seleucid failure ushered in for Eastern Iran five hundred years of political independence. This was maintained through diverse vicissitudes; and down to the Sasanians, apart from some temporary encroachments by the Parthians, no conqueror from the Iranian plateau was to venture on any move to end it.

From the point of view of historical records, this breach with the West had the direst consequences. Thenceforth Central Asia escapes notice almost entirely in the accounts which continued after a fashion to throw light on the periphery of the classical world. The *Parthian History* of Apollodorus of Artemita (lost, but used by Strabo) and the *Philippic History* of Trogus Pompeus (perhaps likewise derived from Apollodorus' work) treat the Greco-Bactrian kingdom as an appendage of the Parthian Empire, an appendage which is almost entirely ignored in the dry résumé of Trogus which Justin has preserved for us. The gap has to be filled by numismatics, and, for a greater diversity of social groups, by archaeology—more actively pursued for these epochs in Central Asia than in Iran, but subject to all the risks of over-elaborate interpretation to which a lack of written material gives rise.[3]

The secession of Central Asia meant that regions which had known the early spread of Zoroastrianism were now politically cut off from their western brethren. When in the beginning of the second century Demetrius I, son of Euthydemus, followed by other dynasts emerging from Greek Bactria, penetrated south of the Hindukush and recovered the satrapies which Seleucus had surrendered, the Greco-Bactrians re-united, to their own advantage, virtually all the "Aryan lands" celebrated in the Young Avesta[4]. To the west, Margiana and Aria appear to have been held by

[2] Polybius XI.39.5. For these events cf. above, pp. 28, 30.

[3] In general, archaeological references will here be given to primary publications; but, as many Soviet books and journals are not easily accessible to Western readers, references to translations and review articles are made as often as possible. Names of sites published by Soviet excavators are kept in their Russian transcription. Plans of most sites in present-day Afghanistan (and of some individual monuments) can be found in W. Ball, Archaeological Gazetteer of Afghanistan, Paris 1982.

[4] HZ I 274–6; for the identification of countries south of the Hindukush add Gnoli, ZTH, 23–57. About the Raŋhā (the last name in the list of Vd.1),

Greco-Bactrians down to the middle of that century.[5] The political vicissitudes in Seistan—one of the "holy lands" of Zoroastrianism[6]—remain more obscure, because of the lack of numismatic evidence. In the north, Sogdiana with the Zarafshan valley was affected before long by the thrust of the Saka peoples; but the Greeks firmly held the line of the Hissar range to the north of the Oxus[7], keeping in their hands the five affluents which from here flow in a northeast-southwest direction (namely, following the course of the Oxus: the Kyzyl-su, the Vakhsh, the Kafirnigan, the Surkhan-darya with the large city of Termez at the confluence, and the Sherabad-darya)[8]. Lastly, Greco-Bactrians, expanding towards the south-east along the line of Alexander's conquests, established themselves more securely in the Panjab, and from there penetrated as far south as the Gujarat coast, pushing their raids into the Gangetic plain. The countries through which they passed on descending the Kabul valley, although Indian in civilization—if not always in language—had also left their mark in the missionary geography of *Vendidad* 1: Gandhara (Vaekereta), Buner (Varena), Panjab (Hapta Hendu);[9] and they had apparently kept something of their ancient legacy of Zoroastrianism, or had revived it when they were incorporated in the Achaemenian Empire.[10]

Bactria, remaining firmly under Greek control, still occupied a leading position within this group of lands, such as it had in fact held in the Achaemenian organization of the "upper satrapies"—an organization which in its turn doubtless merely maintained a political structure that had already existed before the

J. Kellens has argued convincingly in favour of a mythical interpretation, it being the river bounding the world ("Les bras de Miθra", in Mysteria Mithrae, ed. U. Bianchi, EPRO 80, Leiden 1979, 710–13).

[5] To the references given in n. 1, add P. Daffinà, L'Immigrazione dei Sakā nella Drangiana (IsMEO Reports and Memoirs 9), Roma 1967, 38–9; D. W. MacDowall and M. Ibrahim, Afghan Studies 2, 1979, 46.

[6] See above, pp. 16, 123–4, 149–51. For Narain, o.c., Seistan probably belonged to the Greco-Bactrian kingdom, while Daffinà remains uncommitted. At least under Eucratides the country was disputed (Justin XLI.6.3).

[7] Bernard, o.c., pp. 137–40, 166; È. V. Rtveladze, "La circulation monétaire au nord de l'Oxus à l'époque gréco-bactrienne", RN 26, 1984, 61–76.

[8] These valleys, which now form the southern part of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, are considered by Soviet archaeologists as "Northern Bactria", a denomination which reflects a linguistic and cultural situation documented at later periods, and which we shall follow here. It seems, however, that in the Greek period the administrative boundary between Bactria and Sogdiana was on the Oxus: see P. Bernard et H.-P. Francfort, Études de géographie historique sur la plaine d'Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan), Paris 1978, 68–9.

[9] Gnoli, ZTH, 47–8. For Vaekereta see earlier S. Lévi, JA 1925, 67–9, for Varena W. B. Henning, BSOAS XII, 1947, 52–3.

[10] HZ II 279–80.

Persian conquest.[11] It was probably the supremacy exercised by Bactria at various moments in its history which was the basis for the traditions, attested later both in Greco-Roman works[12] and in the Iranian national epic (as this has come down to us), that this was the homeland of Zoroaster, or at least (as far as the Iranian traditions are concerned) of the Kayanian dynasty[13]. We cannot be certain that these claims (like those with regard to Seistan) were current in Bactria at the period under consideration, though this seems probable. We shall meet the same problem again with reference to the cult of the river Oxus.

The assassination by his own son of the great king Eucratides (c. 171–145), who had reunited most of the Greek possessions on both sides of the Hindukush, marked a turning-point. The Parthians under Mithradates I had already seized part of his western territories. On the eastern fringe, the city of Aï Khanum was immediately abandoned by its Greek settlers; in what was left of Bactria Greek power collapsed in dynastic discords, leaving room for the domination of Saka tribes and the Yue-che[14]—the latter being the future founders of the Kushan empire. South of the Hindukush, Hellenic

[11] "In short, he [Apollodorus of Artemita] says that Bactria is the ornament of Ariana as a whole" (Strabo XI.11.1). On the antiquity of Bactrian supremacy see Gnoli, ZTH, 91–6, and the Soviet archaeologists' point of view expounded by E. E. Kuz'mina, "The 'Bactrian Mirage' and the Archaeological Reality", EW 26, 1976, 111–31. Some reservations have recently been expressed by P. Briant, L'Asie centrale et les royaumes proche-orientaux du premier millénaire, Paris 1984, 45–103.

[12] From the 2nd century A.C., Western tradition generally calls Zoroaster a "Bactrian", or even a "king of the Bactrians": so Kephalio, Theo, Justin, Arnobius, Ammianus Marcellinus. But all these accounts have their source in a corruption of a passage in Ctesias, where it is related how "Oxyartes" (in other mss. "Exaortes", "Xaortes", "Zaortes"), king of the Bactrians, was defeated and put to death by Semiramis during her legendary expedition (Frag. 1, ap. Diodorus, II.5–6; F. W. König, Die Persika des Ktesias von Knidos, Graz 1972, 128). Thus Jackson, Zoroaster, 154–7, 186–8; BCM I 8–10; König, l.c., footnote; Gnoli, ZTH, n. to p. 92. Nevertheless, the opinion prevails among Soviet scholars that the name "Zoroaster" was given by Ctesias, and that Diodorus (or his source) substituted "Oxyartes" because of Alexander's Bactrian adversary: see lastly B. A. Litvinskij and A. V. Sedov, Tepai-šax, 107. It appears extremely unlikely that Ctesias was able to gather at the Achaemenian court a tradition presenting Zoroaster as a king executed by Babylonians. A composite explanation which would make "Zoroaster" a gloss introduced by Ctesias himself does not carry more conviction (I. V. P'jankov, Srednjaja Azija v izvestijax antičnogo istorika Ktesija, Dushanbe 1975, 151–8).

[13] References in Jackson, Zoroaster, 199, 208–18. All these sources, none antedating Tabari, probably stem from the late Sasanian redaction of the *Khwadāy-nāmag* (F. Grenet, "Bactria (*Baxδiš*) in the Avesta and in Zoroastrian Tradition", EIr. III, 343–4).

[14] See lastly P. Bernard, "Les nomades conquérants de l'empire gréco-bactrien: réflexions sur leur identité ethnique et culturelle", CRAI 1987, 758–68.

kingdoms (known thereafter as "Indo-Greek" but possibly strengthened by the support of native Bactrians who had made common cause with the Greeks) lasted until c.70 B.C. in Arachosia and Kapisa (the Kabul region), and for two decades more in Gandhara and Taxila[15]; and it is in these regions, on coins of the last kings, that representations of the Olympian gods finally yield just a little of their monopoly in order to make room for Iranian Mithra.

Greeks and Iranians in Central Asia

The successful secession of the Greeks of Bactria, their long survival after the Parthian expansion had cut them off from their western bases, and their conquering dynamism, all force one to assume a certain measure of accord between them and their Iranian subjects; this has indeed been often affirmed.[16] There is no doubt that the Greek migrants were more numerous here than on the Iranian plateau, as is attested by the many foundations of towns with Greek-sounding names recorded in the geographers' lists;[17] but the flow of settlers must have decreased after 250, and the Greeks were never more than a tiny minority of this populous land of ancient irrigation. The indispensable intermediaries between the new conquerors and the mass of the native population were the landed gentry—masters of the fine cavalry which had inflicted so much harm on Alexander, but which in 208 stood by Euthydemus in his resistance to Antiochus III.[18] The Greek power unquestionably declared itself a foreign one, and the coin issues, while attesting numerous usurpations and dynastic quarrels, do not concede a place to a single petty king with an Iranian name; and since in general only those queens were depicted, it seems, who reinforced the Greek dynastic claims of son or husband, we do not know whether the Greco-Bactrians followed Alexander's and Seleucus' example in marrying into the Bactrian aristocracy. Nonetheless, this alien power provided its Iranian subjects with a share in profitable campaigns of conquest. As for internal affairs, it secured the defence of the sedentary world against the menace from

[15] The last Greek kingdom lingered in East Panjab until the beginning of the Christian era (see Bopearachchi, o.c. in n. 1).
[16] E.g. Tarn, GBI, 124–5.
[17] Listed conveniently in H.-P. Francfort, Les fortifications en Asie centrale de l'Âge du Bronze à l'époque kouchane, Paris 1979, 27.
[18] Polybius X.49.

the steppes[19], and concerned itself with expanding the area under cultivation[20]—in short, assumed functions which devolved upon a ruler according to the Zoroastrian ideal.

The excavations at Aï Khanum, a metropolis founded by either Alexander or Seleucus in eastern Bactria, on the bank of the Oxus, and rebuilt in a grander style by Eucratides, have not only provided data that are in a strict sense religious; they have also allowed us to perceive the general spirit governing contacts between the colonists and the local people.[21] It emerges that the influences exerted by the former on the latter, although manifold, were limited in the main to technical and cultural matters. It is true that in monumental architecture all that was kept from Greece was a veneer of pillars and decorative elements, while the building materials (mostly unbaked brick) and types of structural plans remained those of the local masons (who already had long experience of erecting imposing edifices); but in the linguistic, intellectual and artistic spheres the situation appears very different. Aramaic was retained for certain purposes, but Greek took precedence as the administrative language,[22] and this so effectively that, alone among the former Achaemenian satrapies, Bactria kept the Greek alphabet when later its own Iranian language came to be written down.[23] In the gymnasium the latest discoveries of Greek astronomy were taught, newly enriched by contact with Babylonian science; and this heritage was transmitted to India, where later the Sasanians had to go to seek it.[24] A papyrus discovered in the palace

[19] After a nomad attack in c. 290 B.C. the defences of the northern frontier were restored and reinforced by Antiochus I (Pliny VI.47–49). See also Euthydemus' words to Antiochus III at Bactra (above, p. 153).
[20] J.-C. Gardin et B. Lyonnet, "La prospection archéologique de la Bactriane orientale: premiers résultats", Mesopotamia 13–14, 1978–9, esp. pp. 137–9.
[21] 7 volumes of the final report *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum* (Mém. DAFA, Paris) have to date appeared under the direction of Paul Bernard. See also the illustrated annual reports published first by D. Schlumberger, then by Bernard, CRAI 1965–1980; and Bernard's synthetic article "Problèmes d'histoire coloniale grecque à travers l'urbanisme d'une cité hellénistique d'Asie centrale", in 150 Jahre Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Mainz 1979, 108–20.
[22] C. Rapin, "Les inscriptions économiques de la trésorerie hellénistique d'Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)", BCH 107-I, 1983, 315–72. Some officials in the Greek financial administration—not the highest ones, it must be admitted—bore Iranian names: F. Grenet, "L'Onomastique iranienne à Aï Khanoum", same volume, pp. 373–81.
[23] The preservation of the Babylonian calendar with Macedonian month-names is perhaps less significant, as the Arsacids themselves used this calendar in their official documents in Greek (Le Rider, Suse, 33–43).
[24] S. Veuve, "Cadrans solaires gréco-bactriens à Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)", BCH 106–I, 1982, 23–51; id., Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum, VI: Le Gymnase (Mém. DAFA 30), 1987, 86–91.

of Aï Khanum proves that the writings of the school of Aristotle were read there.[25] The prestigious creations of Greek art were reproduced and circulated in the most varied forms and materials. We have few indications—many fewer than in India—of a genuine curiosity on the part of the colonists with regard to the local culture; but it is known that, under Seleucus, Clearchus of Soli, the disciple of Aristotle, who, loyal to his master's teachings, inquired into Oriental religions, and in particular into that of the magi, stayed at Aï Khanum, where he left a copy of Delphic maxims.[26] Much better attested is the manifest desire of the Greeks to spread their own intellectual culture beyond their community, and the apparent receptivity of one stratum of the local population to this culture. A testimony to this, still at Aï Khanum, is provided by the huge size of the gymnasium there—the largest in the Greek world—and of the theatre, which could accommodate 6000 spectators; all the evidence suggests that such buildings greatly exceeded in capacity the needs of the colonial population. Hence one may assume a well-developed symbiosis between the conquering Greek minority and at least a part of the indigenous élite, bringing about the formation of an original civilization, to which (for us, making a rough analysis) it seems that the former contributed by its administrative techniques and intellectual brilliance, the latter by the control of the land and its inhabitants.

One modern author has gone so far to speak of the "birth of a

[25] C. Rapin, "Les textes littéraires grecs de la trésorerie d'Aï Khanoum", BCH 111–I, 1987, 225–66.

[26] L. Robert, CRAI 1968, 421–57; reproduced in Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum, I (Mém. DAFA 21), 1973, 211–37. The works of Clearchus have survived only through quotations. He is known in particular for having shown interest in oriental religions and having evolved a theory that the Magi had been the spiritual masters of the Gymnosophists (the Brahman ascetics), who in turn taught the Jews: see Robert, o.c., pp. 447–54, 229–35; also BCM I 18–19. An interesting piece of information transmitted by Diodorus (I.94.2) may be relevant here: "Thus it is recorded that among the Arians Zathraustes claimed that the Good Spirit gave him his laws". It is generally agreed that this information has not passed through the usual Western channels, but has been gathered directly from a good source (as "Zathraustes" is an independent rendering of Avestan *zaraθuštra*, and the words *ton agathon daimona prospoiēsasthai tous nomous* faithfully express the revelation of the divine "law" (*dāta*) by Spenta Mainyu or Vohu Manah). G. Gnoli (Ricerche storiche sul Sīstān antico, 57–63; ZTH, 136–46) ascribes the information to inquiries carried out in the aftermath of Alexander's conquest by either Megasthenes or Hecataeus of Abdera; but one might well consider instead Clearchus, who alone is expressedly recorded as having given precedence to Zoroaster in the transmission of revelation. (Gnoli's proposed correction of *Arianoi* into *Ariaspoi*—the name of a Seistanic tribe—is in line with this author's Seistan-centred conception of the origins of Zoroastrianism, but has only a slender basis in the mss.)

nation"[27], a definition which can be accepted if one bears in mind that this "nation" was socially limited. The process appears to have some analogy with that which was to take place in the same area during the eighth-ninth centuries A.C., in a comparable historical context: intensive urbanization, early emancipation of government from a remote central power, military dynamism against nomadic pressure (the Turks having by then replaced the Sakas). The hellenization of Iran was nowhere as successful as in Bactria, and, similarly, the Persian Muslim civilization was to crystallize in Khurasan and Transoxiana, whereas on the Iranian plateau the local and conquering populations appear in both cases to have maintained their respective particularism for a longer time.[28]

Yet the bulk of Bactria's inhabitants, particularly in the rural districts, was certainly hardly affected by the new cultural contacts. The circumstances of Aï Khanum's end shed some light in this respect. After the town had been abandoned by the Greeks, it was re-occupied by squatters from among the country people round about (the presence of nomadic newcomers, although documented, appears to have been short-lived and limited in numbers[29]). These squatters were capable of collective organization—they re-dug the channel which brought water into the town, and set up big demolition yards—,but they showed a total indifference to the attractions of Greek urban life, turning all Aï Khanum's monuments to use as quarries, workshops or farm-houses. A still more significant fact is they did not spare even the town's main temple, although it was devoted to syncretic cults which had a local component. Lastly, the burning of the palace can only be explained as symbolic of hostility towards the memory of dominance by the Greeks, all the indications being that the latter had cared little about these people, beyond making sure that they provided the work-force needed to fulfil the Hellenistic policy of engaging on vast undertakings.[30] On these grounds one may therefore suppose that it

[27] Will, Hist. pol., I 286.

[28] Cf. R. N. Frye, "Comparative Observations on Conversion to Islam in Iran and Central Asia", Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam 4, 1984, 81–8.

[29] B. Lyonnet, "Les nomades et la chute du royaume gréco-bactrien", forthcoming in Histoire et cultes de l'Asie centrale préislamique, ed. P. Bernard et F. Grenet, Paris.

[30] G. Fussman, "Le renouveau iranien dans l'empire kouchan", in Le Plateau iranien et l'Asie centrale, ed. J. Deshayes, Paris 1977, 313–22. For a gloomy picture of the fate of the indigenous rural populations in the Seleucid realm as a whole see P. Briant, "Colonisation hellénistique et populations indigènes. La phase d'installation", Klio 1978, 57–92.

was among these country people, ignored in the process of hellenization, that Zoroastrianism had the best chance of being maintained in its most traditional form.

The religious policy of the Greek kings according to their coinage[31]

In a rhetorical passage, Plutarch states that "thanks to Alexander, Bactria and the Caucasus (i.e. the Hindukush) learnt to venerate the gods of the Greeks".[32] That such was the Greco-Bactrian kings' intention is clearly shown by the images which they chose for their superb coins. During the two centuries which were to follow independence purely Greek types reigned, with no alien companions:[33] Zeus, Athene, Heracles, Apollo, Artemis, Poseidon, Hermes, Nike, to whom Eucratides the conqueror added the Dioscuri charging with lowered lance. The Tyches with turreted crowns, protectresses of various towns, are conjoined a little later into the Tyche of the realm, who wears the *polos* on her head and carries a cornucopia.[34] This type was to be taken over on Kushan coins and sculpture to represent the great goddess Aši (ARDOXŠO). Ares makes a tardy appearance,[35] and Hephaistos, god of fire, is to be found somewhat later on Indo-Scythian coins.[36] Although this is not attested on the coins, certain Near Eastern divinities who were popular in the Hellenistic world shared in Bactria the fortunes of the Greek gods. Proof of this is to be found for Sarapis[37] and for Anatolian Cybele[38]; but it is not possible to tell how far it was

[31] References to coin types are given here according to M. Mitchiner, Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage (the most complete catalogue now in existence, although its historical commentary is to be rejected). The only attempt at a general religious analysis of the coinage, by M.-T. Allouche-Le Page, L'art monétaire des royaumes bactriens, Paris 1956, is to be used with extreme caution.

[32] De Alexandri Magni Fortuna aut Virtute, 328 D (Moralia, ed. Loeb, IV, pp. 392–3).

[33] The only exceptions for this period are on the Indian side of the Greek possessions, where coins of the kings Agathocles and Pantaleon (c. 190–180 B.C.) show the first known depictions of Hindu deities, as well as some possibly Buddhist symbols; they are also the only ones which use the type of Dionysus, a choice which most probably alludes to the city of Dionysiopolis (near present-day Jalalabad), where Alexander's army encountered a local cult of a wine-god: see R. Audoin et P. Bernard, "Trésor de monnaies indiennes et indo-grecques d'Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan). II: Les monnaies indo-grecques", RN 16, 1974, 6–41.

[34] Mitchiner, vol. III, types 344–5, 386, 439–40; also R. Curiel et G. Fussman, Le Trésor monétaire de Qunduz (Mém. DAFA 20), Paris 1965, 67 with Pls. LII–LIII. On the Tyche of Begram in Kapisa see K. W. Dobbins, EW 20, 1970, 307–26.

[35] Type of the walking warrior: Mitchiner, II 303–4; III 378, 452.

[36] Mitchiner, VI 844 (Azes II).

[37] F. Grenet, St. Ir. 11, 1982, 155–7.

[38] Below, pp. 167, 171 with n. 86.

colonists who (thanks to the movement of populations in the Seleucid period) had come from places where these two were worshipped who were responsible for their introduction. Babylonian Nana (or Nanaia) had undoubtedly reached Central Asia before this; we shall be discussing her ease later, since it is indissolubly linked with that of Anahit.

These divine representations, which were multiplied both in the temples and on objects of daily use, must have had a considerable impact, reinforced by the absence in those regions of an indigenous religious iconography. Their influence on Zoroastrian imagery should have been even more lasting there than in western Iran, and their destinies can indeed be traced down to Sogdian funerary caskets of the seventh century A.C. It is significant that all the divinities who appear on the Greco-Bactrian coins are, without exception, attested long after the downfall of Greek power by their iconographic types, if not by their own names.[39]

This leads us to the crucial question: how did the peoples of eastern Iran perceive these images from a foreign pantheon? Of their attitude we know nothing with certainty except at the final stage, that is, in the second century A.C., when it was at last decided to put names in the local language to the divinities shown on the coins of the Kushan kings. Almost all these then bear the names of Zoroastrian *yazatas*. The landmarks are lacking for us to be able to trace the process of identification, but it seems not to have been completely achieved even at this late moment: thus Heracles was to remain ERAKILO, distinct from Verethraghna (ORLAGNO), to whom, however, he had been assimilated for some two hundred years in the Iranian West,[40] while certain *yazatas'* names were to provide labels for beings who clearly belonged essentially to the Greek religion (e.g. OANINDO-Nike). Thus it would be plainly too schematic to infer a direct and simple distribution of classical iconographic types among the beings of the Avestan pantheon, even if the general tendency was in this direction.

Is it possible to catch a glimpse of this process already under way

[39] See HZ IV. Neither Dionysus nor the Dioscuri are found again on Kushan coins, but Dionysus is depicted on jewels from the royal necropolis of Tillja-tepe (V. Sarianidi, Bactrian Gold, Leningrad 1985, 50–2 with ill. pp. 132–5) and on later silver plates (Dalton, Treasure of the Oxus, nr. 196, Pl. XXVII); on the Dioscuri in Gandharan art see G. Gnoli, EW 14, 1963. 29–37.

[40] See above, pp. 62–5, 93–4 and below, pp. 323–4, 330. All the evidence on Heracles in Central Asia is gathered by P. Bernard et C.-P. Jullien, "Haltères votives de lutteurs dans le Gandhara", St. Ir. 11, 1982, 43–4; also G. A. Pugačenkova, "Gerakl v Baktrii", VDI 1977/2, 77–92.

in certain details of the divine representations on Greco-Bactrian coins? Some of the evidence which has been adduced in support of this possibility is not convincing, but some deserves further consideration. Certain bronze coins of Demetrius I (c.200–190 B.C.) show an Artemis Huntress with her head surrounded by a nimbus of long rays; and in this has been seen the influence of Anahit, more precisely of the cult statue of that goddess which had existed at Bactra from the time of Artaxerxes II.[41] This identification rests chiefly on the description in Yt.5.126–8, in which there was thought to be mention of "eight rays"; but in fact it is a question there of a headdress in "eight tiers"[42]. It is to the Mesopotamian type of Ishtar-Nana that the Anahits of Western Iran owe their rays,[43] and this may have been the case also with the Bactrian cult statue. But even this modified hypothesis is not indispensable for interpreting the Artemis of Demetrius: her rays could just as well be owed to a development proper to the character of the Greek goddess herself, who in the Hellenistic epoch was assimilated more and more to the moon-goddess Selene, through symmetry with her twin brother Apollo-Helios.

The latter is represented on the coins of king Plato (an ephemeral successor to Eucratides). Radiate and driving a quadriga, he conforms to his Hellenistic image. Yet the composition has already evolved towards the heraldic type which was to remain common to Indian Surya and Iranian Mithra represented in his solar aspect: the god is shown frontally, in a chariot schematically indicated by a hand-rail, with the horses separating symmetrically.[44] On a second issue of the same king another representation of Apollo, standing,

[41] Mitchiner, I 109. The identification with the "Anāhitā of Bactra" was upheld by Tarn, GBI, 29, 115; K. V. Trever, Pamjatniki greko-baktrijskogo iskusstva, Moscow-Leningrad 1940, 21; A. Foucher, La vieille route, II 266; Allouche-Le Page, o.c. in n. 31, pp. 112–14. It is expounded with some reservations by Narain, o.c. in n. 1, p. 19, and rejected by G. A. Pugačenkova in Kruglikova-Pugačenkova, Dil'berdžin II, 100–1. Clemen (Nachrichten, 133 sq.), followed by C. Colpe ("Altiranische uud Zoroastrische Mythologie", in Wörterbuch der Mythologie, ed. H. W. Haussig, IV, Stuttgart 1982, 280), wrongly attributed to Eucratides coins of the post-Greek chieftain Sapadbizes bearing the legend "Nana" with the image of a lion. An alleged type of the "radiated Heracles" has been dismissed by P. Bernard (JdS 1979, 244–5).

[42] The first translation of *aŝta-kaožda*, suggested *ad sensum* by Darmesteter (ZA II 396 n. 160), has been accepted by almost all scholars dealing with the iconography of the goddess. The correct one is given by H. W. Bailey, Dictionary of Khotan Saka, s.v. *¹kuṣḍa* "mansion, palace" (the homophon *²kuṣḍa* < **kaožda-* "hole" would give a less satisfactory meaning).

[43] See HZ II 204; and below, p. 227.

[44] Mitchiner, I 197–8. The rich posterity of this iconographic pattern had already been stressed by E. Herzfeld, AMI 2, 1930, 131.

sceptre in hand and clad in tunic and long cloak, prefigures very closely the youthful Mithra of the Kushan coins.[45]

Clearer in its syncretic intention is the evolution which under the following kings affected the type of Zeus. From the reign of Heliocles I (c.145–130) he too received rays,[46] an attribute which is not customary for the Olympian, and which in the rare cases when it is accorded him indicates assimilation to a non-Greek solar god[47]. More significant changes appear under Amyntas and Hermaeus, two of the last Greek kings of Arachosia-Kapisa-Gandhara (c.95–70): an Iranian horseman's cap, the *tiara*—to be adapted as the "Phrygian cap" in the iconography of western Mithra—appears on the head of "Zeus" enthroned.[48] It can be seen in detail, with tip bent forward, back edge covering the nape, and side-flaps falling over the cheeks, on the bronze coins whose obverse shows the bust of the god, bearded and radiate: his ethnic connection is now clearly proclaimed.[49] These are the very first representations known of Mithra, earlier by several decades than those created by the sculptors of Nimrud Dagh at the other end of the Iranian world, with rays springing similarly from a high cap.[50]

The flexibility of religious policy attested by these coins may be

[45] Mitchiner, I 199; see A. D. H. Bivar, "Mithraic Images of Bactria: are they related to Roman Mithraism?", in Mysteria Mithrae, o.c. in n. 4, esp. pp. 742–3 with Pl. III. It has been alleged that the solar and lunar divinities on coins of the Indo-Greek king Telephus (Taxila, c. 70 B.C.) were already Mithra and Māh, who were to be depicted similarly standing together on Kushan coins: Tarn, GBI, 333 n. 4; Allouche-Le Page, o.c. in n. 31, p. 121. But the seemingly female appearance of the lunar divinity suggests that she is Artemis-Selene rather than the Iranian moon-god.

[46] Mitchiner, II 285–6 (Heliocles I), 288–93 (Heliocles II, not distinguished from his namesake in this catalogue), 273, 275–7 (Antialcidas); III 355–64 (Archebius), 385 (Amyntas). The modified Zeus appears on coins bearing Indian legends (issued for the regions south of the Hindukush) as well as on those with Greek legends (minted, it is supposed, especially for commercial or tributary relations with lost Bactria).

[47] A. B. Cook, Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion, I, Cambridge 1914 (repr. New York 1964), 194, who was also the first to stress the significance of this detail on the Greek coinage of Eastern Iran (note at page cited). Also E. I. Newell, ANS Notes and Monographs 82, 1938, 89–92; Bivar, art. cit. in n. 45.

[48] Mitchiner, III 409–17. This type was continued at Taxila by the Pamirian Saka intruder Maues, c. 90–75 B.C. (Mitchiner, V 701, 712–13), then by the Greeks Telephus and Hippostratus, c. 75–50 B.C. (Mitchiner, III 452–3, 449–50). On most of these issues the god makes a benedictory gesture with his right hand (a design which Newell, o.c., wrongly interpreted as a compass indicating Mithra's function of "measurer of time by years"); on those of Hippostratus he holds a ribboned crown or a ring. Both motives are later found with the Kushan Mithra.

[49] Mitchiner, III 396–7, 416–7.

[50] Below, pp. 323, 324–6.

partly explained through what is known of the kings who issued them. Heliocles, son of Eucratides, was the last Greek to reign in Bactra. His successors were to maintain to the south of the Hindukush a kingdom reduced to defending itself against the Sakas, who exerted pressure from both the Pamir and Seistan. Faced by these Iranian adversaries, they might have felt the need to call on the loyalty of their own Iranian or Iranianized subjects, who were probably numerous in the western provinces of their realm. In the eyes of these people, the representation of a clearly recognizable Mithra should have given a new resonance to the titles of "victorious" and "saviour" with which Amyntas and Hermaeus adorned themselves. Moreover, one should not exclude the possibility that these late kings adhered sincerely to some of the local cults : at the same epoch Heliodorus, ambassador of Antialcidas to an Indian king, proclaimed in an inscription his affiliation to the sect of Vishnu.[51]

The fact that Mithra was finally to emerge with the traits of Zeus enthroned goes against what is known for western Iran, where Zeus is regularly assimilated to Ahura Mazda, while Mithra has for his regular counterparts the youthful Apollo or Helios. In the third-fourth centuries A.C. the Kushano-Sasanian coins were again to show a Mithra (MIIRO) enthroned, bearded, often furnished with rays, and with leaping flames indicating the royal *khvarenah*[52]: here he is the only male divinity represented investing the king, whereas in Sasanian Iran this role is divided between him and Ahura Mazda. Some scholars have wished to see in this a proof of the non-Zoroastrian character of the local religion, as remaining basically an Iranian polytheism with Mithra in supreme position.[53] It must be emphasized, however, that the development was not uniform : the youthful type of Mithra-Helios was also taking shape on the issues of king Plato (see above), and this was to be the one retained by the Kushans. Moreover, those attributes of Zeus which were given preference by the engravers of the last Bactrian Greeks were quite as suitable as Helios' quadriga for awakening Mithraic associations : Zeus carrying the symbols of martial victory (Nike, Athene, the palm); and Zeus brandishing a thunderbolt, which

[51] Narain, o.c. in n. 1, pp. 118–20.

[52] Bivar, art. cit., pp. 745–6 with Pls V–VII; M. Carter, "A Numismatic Reconstruction of Kushano-Sasanian History", ANS Notes and Monographs 39, 1985, 227–9 and 236–8, figs. 1, 10, 37, 38.

[53] Bivar, art. cit., pp. 741, 743, who proposes to see here a survival of the "Median religion"; similar remarks by J. Duchesne-Guillemin in the same volume, p. 750; but see below, p. 471 ff.

could evoke Mithra's *vazra*, at once club and bolt, "with its hundred bosses and hundred blades, a feller of men as he brandishes it . . . cast of yellow metal, strong and golden" (Yt. 10.96).[54] Lastly, this act of iconographic annexation by Mithra in the Iranian East was perhaps the reflection of a reluctance there to give Ahura Mazda a fixed plastic form, especially that of an alien god. An indication that this was so is to be found in the instability of images of Ahura Mazda on the Kushan coins, which have nothing in common with each other except a symbolism of sovereignty.[55]

It is difficult to decide between these different hypotheses, given the positive fact that Mithra was assimilated to the supreme god of the Greeks; but at least they demonstrate that one should guard against judging the structure of the native pantheon solely on the basis of what the conquerors chose to honour in it.

The archaeological evidence: the covered temples

Archaeology has only recently made its contribution to knowledge of Greco-Bactrian religious life, supplying information which has proved rather unexpected. Since 1968 six temples going back to the period have been excavated, completely or partially : none has the aspect of a Greek temple. The building material was local unbaked brick, the four covered temples which we shall consider first had flat roofs, and their ground plans followed designs which were either Iranian or derived from the Near East. The interpretation of the cults is in every case complex, even though in two instances we can put a name to the main divinity worshipped.

The chief temple of Aï Khanum stands in the lower town. Its courtyard is bounded on the western side by the edge of a natural terrace overlooking the palace, and on the others by rows of rooms; and on the east it opens by a covered porch on to the avenue separating it from the slopes of the acropolis[56]. The main structure,

[54] Tr. M. Boyce, Sources, 29 (slightly differently Gershevitch, AHM, 121). As in the case of Indra's *vajra* the martial and natural images are here conflated (Gershevitch, o.c., p. 33; Duchesne-Guillemin, Rel., 37).

[55] J. M. Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts of the Kushans, 82–3: MOZDOOANO "Mazda-Victory (?)": Kushan rider on a bicephalic horse; ŌOROMOZDO: standing bearded man with long mantle and possibly *polos* on his head, holding diadem and sceptre (or spear). "It is possible that this imagery had been subject to something of the same iconic hesitancy as was the Buddha's, and that the less exalted elements of the pantheon would be more congenial to the somewhat secular milieu of the coinage" (l.c.).

[56] P. Bernard, CRAI 1969, 327–55; 1970, 317–47; 1971, 414–31; 1974, 295–8. A synthesis on the temple's architecture is given in his comprehensive article "Les

isolated at the farther end of the courtyard, is a square building (20 by 20 m.). From its earliest phase, seemingly dating from the reign of Seleucus, only the remains of the plinth and of a mud-brick altar have been preserved under later masonry, and it is not even certain whether the shrine was covered at that stage. The building which has come down to us is a reconstruction, still belonging to the Seleucid period. The shrine was then set on a three-stepped podium that raises it 1.50 m. above the ground. An oblong vestibule runs the whole length of the building and opens at its centre into the cella, from which on each side a long passage gives access to a narrow sacristy. The outer walls are enlivened by a series of indented niches, which give the temple its accepted name (the "Temple à niches indentées", "Temple à redans" in the earlier publications). It has been convincingly established that this is a hybrid design[57]. The interior plan bears the marks of Neo-Babylonian temple architecture, which remained in favour in Mesopotamia down to the Parthian period. Designs like this could have reached the east through Seleucid unification; or perhaps they were brought there even earlier, if Achaemenian temples to Anahit (of which we know almost nothing[58]) had, like other manifestations of that goddess's cult, taken from the sphere of Babylonian religion what Iranian tradition could not supply; but, apart from the second temple at Aï Khanum (see below), and the later Heracles' temple at Masjed-i Solaiman[59], we still lack landmarks to show how much popularity this model enjoyed on the Iranian plateau. As for the stepped podium—different from a Greek-type *krepis* in that the steps were not meant to be ascended—that is a local peculiarity; it reproduces the look of the cultic terraces open to the sky which will be discussed below. Its appearance was modified, however, later on, when the steps were enclosed by vertical brickwork. From the very beginning, a modest chapel with two wooden columns *in antis* on Achaemenian-type bases stood on the southern side of the courtyard; it was eventually replaced by a new one built on the opposite side, with a *pronaos* wider than the *cella* (a feature of

traditions orientales dans l'architecture gréco-bactrienne", JA 1976, 266–73. Final publication of the objects by H.-P. Francfort, Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum, III: Le sanctuaire du temple à niches indentées, 2: Les objets (Mém. DAFA XXVII), Paris 1984. All the published information is conveniently put together by S. B. Downey, Mesopotamian Religious Architecture, Princeton 1988, 65–73. For a detailed discussion of the nature of the cult see F. Grenet, "Mithra au temple principal d'Aï Khanoum?", forthcoming in Bernard-Grenet (eds.), o.c. in n. 29.

[57] Bernard, Les traditions orientales . . .

[58] See HZ II 218–19, and above, pp. 90–1.

[59] Ghirshman, Terrasses sacrées, I, 90–1; II, plans IV and VIII.

possible Macedonian origin) and bases of Greek type.

To this same final phase, when a wish seems manifest to give a certain Hellenistic touch to the whole complex, belongs the cult-statue of the cella, a colossal acrolith in pure Greek tradition. It was violently destroyed when Greek power collapsed in the city, and only some of its stone parts have been recovered[60]: fragments of both hands, and a foot, which show the statue to have been two or three times life-size. As the foot wears a sandal adorned with the image of a thunderbolt, the god is clearly to be identified as a Zeus, who was probably seated on the solid baked-brick bench built along the back wall (for the cella was too shallow to provide a good view of a standing statue of such proportions). He held presumably a sceptre in his left hand (as the fingers were bent around some added object). But the existence of an outer chapel indicates that he was not the only divinity to be worshipped within the temple precinct.

Caution is needed in using the abundant material excavated in various parts of the temple, because some of it has proved to come from plunder taken from the palace by the post-Greek squatters; but it is hardly to be doubted that for the most part it represents the remains of furnishings and offerings accumulated in the sanctuary during its 150 years of existence. Apart from some cultic figurines made by local craftsmen (see further below), the two objects of greatest religious significance relate to female divinities modelled by the processes of Greek art, but on metal plaques intended most probably as cultic tokens (*semeia*), such as are known in Syria and Mesopotamia: one of them shows the face of a goddess on a lunar crescent[61], the other the procession of Cybele facing outward on her chariot drawn by lions[62]. The latter image at least, though closely inspired by north Syrian models, seems to have been made locally, as an identical fragment has been found in the Takht-i Sangin temple[63]; but nothing in these objects suggests an effort to adapt the iconography to Iranian concepts; in particular, the crescent moon is female, which is not the case with Iranian Māh.

Devotions were offered at several mud-brick altars built into the interior of the cella, and on top of the stepped plinth; other altars—or perhaps rather offering tables—stood in the courtyard. The numerous small pedestals of dressed stone which have been

[60] Bernard, CRAI 1969, 338–41.

[61] Francfort, o.c., pp. 57–8.

[62] Ib., pp. 93–104; also Bernard, CRAI 1970, 339–47.

[63] On which see below, pp. 173–9; the Takht-i Sangin fragment is described by I. R. Pichikyan, Arxeologičeskie otkrytija 1985 goda, Moscow 1987, 618.

found almost everywhere in the town, but most abundantly in the temple, have been identified as bases for *thymiateria*, little metal burners meant to receive offerings of incense, grain, liquids . . .[64]. Such objects had served as incense-burners in the ceremonial of the Achaemenian court[65]; and as liturgical accessories they were to be found throughout the whole religious world of Greece and the hellenized Near East, while Parthian Iran used them in the image-cult of *yazatas*. We find them employed again like this in Kushan Bactria[66], and thereafter they appear in Sogdian cultic scenes of the fifth-eight centuries A.C., always in connection with the depiction of a divinity[67]. Finally, objects very like those of Greek Bactria are shown occasionally in Buddhist scenes in Gandhara[68]. If we stress here the function of these *thymiateria*, and the variety of religious settings in which they are found, it is because they are sometimes confused with the Zoroastrian "fire-altar"[69]—a term which is itself an unfortunate one, being equivocal: the object concerned is better described (as by the Zoroastrians themselves) as a "fire-holder"[70]. The *thymiaterion* is a smaller version of an altar proper, that is, a contrivance acting as mediator between the worshipper and the divinity for whom an offering is intended; this it receives upon a fire kindled for the purpose, whereas the Zoroastrian receptacle holds the ever-burning divine fire which is itself an object of cult.

The ceremonies solemnised in the sanctuary were also, it seems, largely dependent on water (for ablutions, aspersions, or the watering of a sacred garden, as later at the temples of Panjikent?); for an open water-channel crossed the courtyard on the south side of the temple, and was maintained during all phases of reconstruction. More unusual, and likewise kept up throughout the active life

[64] Francfort, o.c., pp. 81–4.
[65] E. Schmidt, Persepolis I, Chicago 1953, Pls 98, 99, 121, 123.
[66] È. V. Rtveladze, "Les édifices funéraires de Bactriane septentrionale et leur rapport au zoroastrisme", in Cultes et monuments religieux, ed. Grenet, 36 with n. 9, Pl. XXIII (ceramic specimens).
[67] V. G. Škoda in Xudožestvennye pamjatniki i problemy kul'tury Vostoka, ed. V. G. Lukonin, Leningrad 1985, 82–9.
[68] G. Verardi, "The Buddha's Dhūni", in Investigating Indian Art, ed. W. Lobo and M. Yaldiz, Berlin 1987, 369–83.
[69] Thus Ghirshman, Terrasses sacrées, I 22–6, deals with offerings on a *thymiaterion* (relief from the outer chapel at Bard-i Neshande) and prayer performed by Achaemenian kings in front of fire as with one and the same religious act. Bivar, art. cit. in n. 45, pp. 745–6, treats as "fire-altars" 2 distinct objects depicted on Kushano-Sasanian coins: a large fire-holder standing by itself, and a *thymiaterion* set in front of a cult-statue. Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts, 25, calls a "fire-altar" the *thymiaterion* upon which Kushan kings depicted on the obverse of their coins lay their offering to the divinity of the reverse. Etc. . .
[70] See HZ II 52.

of the temple, is the ritual that took place all along its rear (which faced north-west), at the foot of the plinth: pots of local, not Greek, make were buried in the ground, mouth downwards to let the liquid which they held flow out.[71] This is clearly a case of chthonic offerings.

Obviously the temple was a meeting-place for local worshippers, Greek colonists, and officials from the neighbouring palace—in fact, unbaked-clay statues of seemingly Greek donors were placed in the vestibule[72]. The chthonic ritual was not continued by the squatters who turned the temple into a farm-house (it has been argued that the cult was continued in the northern outer chapel[73], but this hypothesis lacks substantiation). In view of the markedly Oriental look of the building itself and the very specific character of the only observable manifestations of a cult, it seems difficult to consider the "Zeus" of the principal cult as a pure Greek importation[74]. The excavator cautiously hazarded the hypothesis of a Zeus-Oromasdes[75]; but this idea, prompted by the example of Nimrud Dagh in Commagene, is not in accordance with the local numismatic evidence, which, as we have seen, indicates Mithra as the god to whom Zeus was assimilated in eastern Iran. This assimilation is first documented by coins of Heliocles I, who had certainly sojourned in the Aï Khanum palace under his father Eucratides; the radiated Zeus on his coins is sometimes standing, sometimes enthroned with sceptre in hand, as is assumed to be the case with the Aï Khanum cult-statue.

The ritual burial of pots mouth downward does not appear to be attested in Greece or in the Near East; but it is in Central Asia, from the late Bronze Age (beginning of the 2nd millennium) down to the period considered here[76]. The examples so far reported

[71] Bernard, CRAI 1970, 327–30 (photograph printed upside down); 1971, 427, 429–30.
[72] Bernard, CRAI 1969, 344–5.
[73] Francfort, o.c. in n. 56, p. 125.
[74] Francfort, o.c., p. 122, assigns the setting up of the statue to the reign of Eucratides, and cautiously suggests seeing in this "an echo of the Olympian proselytism of [Antiochus IV] Epiphanes"; but nothing in the coinage of Eucratides suggests that he sought to imitate Antiochus' personal religious policy, and all the evidence from the temple points to stability in the forms of the cult, including those in the main building.
[75] Bernard, CRAI 1974, 298.
[76] These finds are listed by M. A. Itina, "Rekonstrukcija nekotoryx pervobytnyx obrjadov metodom analogij", in Ètnografija i arxeologija Srednej Azii, ed. A. B. Vinogradov and others, Moscow 1979, 15–19; and by G. I. Bogomolov, "K voprosy ob odnom iz domusul'manskix obrjadov Srednej Azii", Istorija Material'noj Kul'tury Uzbekistana, 19, Tashkent 1984, 266–75.

belong to the Andronovo culture in the steppe belt, to Chorasmia, and to the Syr-darya, but this may simply reflect the more intensive archaeological exploration of those northern regions. Such deposits occur sometimes in the vicinity of water channels (in Chorasmia), sometimes in a funerary context (e.g. among the famous pit burials at Sintašta in the southern Ural, which have been convincingly attributed to Indo-Iranian tribes, and where a pot was found placed mouth downward over a heap of bones from sacrificed animals[77]). What the pots had contained, if anything, is generally undetermined; but some recently reported in a deposit in the Tashkent area, which are dated from the 2nd-1st centuries B.C., preserved traces of a liquid, like those at the Aï Khanum temple[78].

An interesting aspect of the finds made at this temple is that for the first time this old Central Asian chthonic ritual was discovered in association with a cult place. It is certainly not by chance that all the pots were buried on one side only of the temple, the north-western, that is, the most shady (in fact, the shade of the acropolis lasts here for most of the day, the light coming only briefly at the end of the afternoon). It at once recalls both the rite of animal sacrifice (*paśubandha*) in Brahmanic India, in which blood is poured out for the powers of darkness in a hole dug on the west side of the sacrificial precinct[79], and the Iranian offerings of wolf's blood pounded with the "omomi" herb which, according to Plutarch, were cast out "for Hades and darkness" in a "sunless place"[80]. Such libations have no place in orthodox Zoroastrianism, which demands broad daylight for the "good sacrifice", and which has striven ceaselessly to eliminate, as "daēvic", rituals devoted to chthonic powers—even when those powers were endowed with a certain personality through being accepted as aspects of minor divinities[81]. The worshippers of the great *yazatas* were evidently themselves not guiltless of such practices, for in their respective

[77] V. F. Genning, "Mogil'nik Sintašta i problema rannix indoiranskix plemēn", SA 1977/4, 53–73 with fig. 8, tr. into Eng. as 'The cemetery at Sintashta and the early Indo-Iranian peoples', Journal of Indo-European Studies 7, 1979, 1–29; M. Boyce, "Priests, cattle and men", BSOAS L, 1987, esp. pp. 508–11.

[78] Bogomolov, art. cit., pp. 266–7 with drawing.

[79] HZ I 170–1.

[80] Ib.; and below, pp. 457–8, 520.

[81] Rapithwin, spirit of noon, retires underground in winter to bring warmth to roots and sources of water, but no offerings are made to him during this period, and he is celebrated only when he returns in spring (Boyce in Pratidānam, ed. J. C. Heesterman and others, The Hague 1969, 201–15; Stronghold, index s.v. Rapithwin). Zam is invoked in the Sīrōza as protectress of earth, mountains and *khvarenah*, yet her Yašt as it has come down to us makes no allusion to her first and primeval function.

hymns Mithra and Aredvi Sura Anahita allude to those who offer them "bad sacrifices"—nocturnal ones in Aredvi's case—and to the priests who aid them in this[82]. The finds at Aï Khanum's great temple show that this struggle had not been won in Bactria, and that in any case the Greeks, masters of the land, were indifferent to it.

It has been suggested that the chthonic offerings recorded by Herodotus and Plutarch among the Persians were specifically destined for Yama, keeping his pre-Zoroastrian quality of master of the underworld[83]; and we now know that in Bactria Yama was still officially recognised as a god in the Kushan period[84]. But if, as we have tried to demonstrate, the "Zeus" of Aï Khanum is really no other than the Mithra of local worship, incompletely Zoroastrianized if at all, the idea that the libations performed at the back of his temple were more directly intended for him cannot be excluded; Mithra figures as judge of souls in Pahlavi texts, and might well have acquired this function early in popular belief. Although such comparisons are inevitably very speculative in view of the difference of times and cultural contexts, one cannot pass over without mention the fact that buried containers for the blood of sacrificed animals have been identified in a few Roman mithraea[85].

The symbol of the moon goddess on the crescent, which appears to have been part of the decoration of the Aï Khanum temple (see above), would also not be unexpected in a Mithraic context. As for Cybele, the occurrence of her icon in the Oxus temple as well casts doubt on its direct relevance to the cult at either place, despite the fact that she too was to be frequently associated with the western Mithraic Mysteries[86].

A second temple, of similar dimensions, stood in the northern suburb of Aï Khanum, at a short distance beyond the gate.[87] Its

[82] HZ I 171; also Gershevitch, AHM, 63, 126–7, 200–01 n. 45[3].

[83] See n. 79; add HZ II 167.

[84] F. Grenet, St. Ir. 13, 1984, 253–8.

[85] See especially M. J. Vermaseren and C. C. Van Essen, The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome, Leiden 1965, 142–7 with fig. 32. Cumont (TMMM, I 63; II 243–5) earlier compared similar blood-pits with the trenches used for receiving blood at sacrifices by Cappadocian magi (on which see below, pp. 295–6).

[86] Cybele is not documented later on in Central Asia. A contribution by her to the type of the "great goddess" of figurines from Parthian Margiana, argued by G. A. Pugačenkova ("Margianskaja boginja", SA 29–30, 1959, 124), does not seem very probable. But the image of Nana sitting on her lion—and no longer standing on it, as she appears to have done in Achaemenian times—could have been influenced by one Hellenistic type of Cybele: Francfort, o.c. in n. 56, p. 95 nn. 7, 8.

[87] Bernard, CRAI 1974, 287–9; 1976, 303–7; "Les traditions orientales . . ." (art. cit. in n. 56), 272–3; Downey, o.c. in n. 56, pp. 73–5.

central building, the only one excavated, also had a three-stepped plinth and was likewise decorated with indented niches. Its general lay-out too recalls that of the great temple, but here instead of the vestibule there is a parvis, open to the sky; and the place of worship consists of three cellas side by side, each provided with its own staircase leading up from the parvis. When extensions were made, the side-cellas and the parvis were flanked by sacristies. A complete lack of artefacts makes it impossible to tell what cults were practised here, but the presence of a triple cella could suggest a triad.

The two covered temples which remain to be considered are built on a plan different from that of the preceding ones, and destined to enjoy a greater popularity: this centres on the cella, which is entered through a porch or columned portico, being enclosed on the other three sides by a corridor or set of oblong rooms. This truly Iranian plan derives, it has been shown,[88] from domestic architecture : it reproduces the central part of the Greco-Bactrian great house. Such great houses may themselves have been no more than local versions of a general type of lordly dwelling of post-Achaemenian Iran; but outside Bactria they are still unknown to archaeology, and it is our two Bactrian temples which provide the first certain attestation of the transference of this plan to sacred buildings.[89]

The first of these two temples is at Dil'berdžin, the site of an important town on the northern edge of the Bactra oasis, 60 km. from that city.[90] Enlarged several times in the Kushan and Sasanian epochs (when we shall be returning to it again), this temple was, from the time of its foundation in the Greek period, an imposing edifice (22 by 16 m.), set in the centre of a rectangular courtyard enclosed by its own rampart (140 by 100 m.), which was subsequently incorporated into the circuit wall of the town. How the cella was first arranged within is not known; but there was probably, as at the later phases, a platform for the cult-statue (or statues). The only significant detail which has been preserved from

[88] See especially G. A. Pugačenkova, "K tipologii monnmental'nogo zodčestva drevnix stran sredneaziatskogo regiona", Ir. Ant. 17, 1982, 21–42 (with French summary); D. Schlumberger, M. Le Berre, G. Fussman, Surkh Kotal en Bactriane, I: Les temples (Mém. DAFA 25), Paris 1983, 98–9; D. Stronach, "On the evolution of the early Iranian fire temple", in Papers in honour of Professor Mary Boyce, Acta Ir. 25, Leiden 1985, 605–27.

[89] On the questions surrounding the date and function of the Susa "*āyadana*" and the Persepolis "*fratarāka* temple" see above, pp. 38 n. 22, 117–18.

[90] I. T. Kruglikova, Dil'berdžin, Xram Dioskurov, Moscow 1986 (with French summary); review by P. Bernard, Abstr. Ir. 10, 1987, nr. 189. For a short (and partly outdated) presentation in French see Kruglikova, CRAI 1977, 409–21, with illustrations.

the temple in its original state is a painting in the porch, which shows the Dioscuri standing one on each side of the entrance[91]. From this the excavation director deduced that the temple was dedicated to these beings, hence the name "Temple of the Dioscuri" by which it is known in publications. The argument is not convincing, however, for in Greek tradition Castor and Pollux are the guardians of doorways, and they could very well have had this, and only this, function here; or, alternatively, they could have been worshipped in the two small chapels which stood on either side of the entrance, as "associated" (*synnaioi*) to the main deity to whom the cella was consecrated—Zeus, or some major goddess? (The function of fire-chambers which the excavators have proposed for these chapels is not substantiated by any of the finds made in them, and is contradicted by the fact that they were painted[92].)

The only Greco-Bactrian temple where excavations are still being conducted is at Takht-i Sangin, an ancient, fairly small town on the Soviet bank of the Amu-darya (which flows here in a north-south direction), a little downstream from the confluence of that river with its right-bank tributary the Vakhsh, and hemmed in between river and mountain[93]. Some Muslim geographers of the ninth-tenth centuries considered this point to be the real beginning of the Jayhun (i.e. the Oxus, the Amu-darya), a concept which they may have inherited from the ancient Bactrians[94]; if this is so, it would explain the location here of a major shrine to the river-god, its dedication to him having received epigraphic confirmation (see below).

The temple itself lies in the middle of the inner fortification of the

[91] Kruglikova, in Kruglikova and others, Drevnjaja Baktrija I, 88–93 (with French summary). Here the author considers the possibility that the Dioscuri had been locally assimilated to the Aśvins, the solar twins of Indo-Iranian mythology, but this is not very convincing, as their type is purely Greek.

[92] These various points are discussed by Bernard, review quoted; also (for the possible functions of the Dioscuri) Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli, 39 NS 29, 1979, 124–5.

[93] B. A. Litvinskiy and I. R. Pichikyan, "Monuments of Art from the Sanctuary of Oxus (North Bactria)", AASH 28, 1983, 25–83 [repr. in From Hecataeus to al-Ḫuwārizmī, ed. J. Harmatta, Budapest, 1984, same pagination]; at present the fullest and best illustrated publication of the finds, but for the complete plan of the temple see I. Pichikyan, "The Oxus Temple Composition in the Context of Architectural Comparison", International Association for the Study of the Cultures of Central Asia (UNESCO), Information Bulletin 12, 1987, 42–55. Further details in I. R. Pichikyan, "Otkrytie temenosa xrama Oksa", VDI 1989/4, 113–16. (The present account has also benefited from complementary information kindly supplied orally by the excavators.)

[94] Bernard-Francfort, o.c. in n. 8, p. 28 (discussing accounts by Istakhri and Ibn Hawqal).

town, a rectangular enclosure (237 by 165 m.) built of stone; this use of stone, very rare in Bactria, has given the place its name (the "Stone Terrace"). Further excavation is needed to confirm whether this central stronghold was entirely occupied by the temple together with its outer courtyard and other dependencies (as is the case at Dil'berdžin, and later at Surkh Kotal); but exploration of the main building has now progressed far enough for its chronology and plan to be established. It remained in continuous use until at least the reign of the Kushan king Huvishka (second half of the second century A.C.), and despite various alterations—mainly partitioning and narrowing—the main structural elements were kept unchanged from its foundation in the early Seleucid period. This date is indicated by the large size of the square mud-bricks (50 by 50 cm.) with which the massive, 3-m. thick walls were built, as well as by the type of the Ionic capitals which once surmounted the stone columns. These capitals, combined with bases shaped according to one of the Achaemenian types, find their closest parallels at the Athena temple at Priene and at the Artemis temple at Sardis, whose reconstruction was initiated by Alexander[95]. Such direct and costly architectural borrowings at the early stage of the Greek presence in Bactria can hardly be ascribed to local initiative; and it is tempting to suppose that Seleucus' son and co-regent Antiochus, who must have made much capital out of his own half-Bactrian ancestry when he was sent by his father to rally the upper satrapies[96], actively contributed to the construction (or perhaps rather reconstruction) of this national sanctuary.

The temple building is set within a square (51 by 51 m.), and its design presents the first recorded combination of features which, individually or as a whole, were to be found subsequently in a number of eastern Iranian temples: a main room containing four pillars (here columns) set in a square; an eastern aspect; a large entrance portico (here, of eight columns in two rows); two wings flanking this portico (see the plan which follows the maps at the front of this volume).

At Takht-i Sangin the wings, which project sideways beyond the main structure, are part of the original building.[97] They consist of

[95] Pichikyan, "The Oxus Temple Composition . . .", p. 45 with nn. 7–8.
[96] Above, pp. 11, 24.
[97] The walls are sash-joined (the plan published by Pichikyan, art. cit., fig. 1, is slightly misleading in this respect, as it marks the difference in height between the main square structure and the 2 sideways-projecting wings according to a graphic convention which is normally used to indicate a break in the masonry). Establishing the detailed inner chronology of the monument is complicated by the fact that, except in the fire-chambers, the floors were carefully kept clean during its whole period of use, so that no traces remain of successive layers of occupation.

two strictly symmetrical sets of rooms, one of them square (c.5.3 by 5.3 m.). The square rooms, in the state in which they were found by the excavators, had undoubtedly been used as fire-chambers for a long time: each had at its centre a square fire-holder built of mud bricks, and in the corners four smaller ones, all of them enlarged by repeated coats of clay plaster; the surfaces of the fire-holders and of the walls were baked to a reddish colour, and a thick layer of ashes covered the floors. The question is whether this function, which is clearly documented only for the last, Kushan, phase, had been that of the square rooms from the outset. The positive answer of the excavators is based on two arguments: first, the size of the bricks in the core of the central fire-holders, which is similar to those in the original walls of the temple; second, and perhaps more cogent, the care shown by the builder—whose original plan was apparently never altered in this part of the temple—to secure the isolation of the square rooms from the outer world: each has one narrow doorway which leads directly into the central portico, and another which leads into a smaller antechamber between it and the forecourt. From this antechamber there is a doorway to the front of the building; but this outer doorway is not aligned with the inner one connecting it with the square room, so that even if both doors stood open no casual gaze would light upon the sacred fire, and the fire would be protected also from gusts of wind.

Each wing contains also a relatively large rectangular room, to be reached only from the antechamber; and in front of this a small square chamber projects forward beyond the facade. Two monumental bases[98] stood before these little chambers, which are accessible only from the forecourt. Each base is square (2.8 by 2.8 m.) with moulded sides, built of separate stones bearing individual Greek letters; and they appear to have replaced earlier ones which had been made of clay or mud-brick. A third, smaller stone base stood inside the portico, by the entrance to the cella. In the forecourt, flanking the way to the entry-gate, were two pedestals which had supported colossal bronze statues; of them only the feet of one survive, showing it to have been two and a half times life-size[99].

[98] They have been published as "altars" by Pichikyan ("The Graeco-Bactrian Altars in the Temple of the Oxus", International Association for the Study of the Cultures of Central Asia, Information Bulletin 12, 1987, 56–65), but P. Bernard has reservations about this identification.
[99] Personal communication by the excavators.

From the back of the portico one passes by a wide opening directly into the tetrastyle cella (12 by 12 m.), named by the excavators the "White Hall" because its walls and floor were repeatedly coated with plaster. From the cella two other wide openings give into two side sacristies, the same length as it. From the left-hand sacristy a narrow doorway leads into a long corridor-like room running lengthwise behind the cella, while from the right-hand one a similar doorway leads into an L-shaped corridor room. The long arm of the whole "L" runs parallel with the first corridor room but outside it, its further wall being the back wall of the temple. These two rooms, accessible only through the sacristies, were obviously intended for storing the temple's possessions.

In fact the building yielded an extraordinary amount of material, the richest collection of objects ever found in an Iranian temple. From the first century B.C. they appear to have been gradually cast into the remotest corners of the corridors, or buried in deep trenches (*favissae*) dug in the floors or under the inner walls, first in the sacristies and corridors, and eventually in the cella itself[100]. Many of the pieces thus disposed of date from the Seleucid and Greco-Bactrian periods, but others, from Achaemenian times, predate the foundation of the temple as it is known to us[101], while the

[100] For topographical and stratigraphical details on these *favissae* see B. A. Litvinskij and I. R. Pichikyan, "Takht-i-Sangin - Kamennoe gorodišče (raskopki 1976–1978 gg.)", in Kul'tura i iskusstvo drevnego Khorezma, ed. M. I. Itina, Moscow 1981, 195–212.

[101] In the light of these discoveries it now seems very likely that the Oxus treasure (on which see HZ II 39, 147–8, 275–8) belonged originally to the Oxus temple at Takht-i Sangin, or perhaps to a still undiscovered Achaemenian predecessor in the vicinity. From the somewhat conflicting reports gathered by Russian travellers, the find-spot appears to have been just along the right bank of the river; N. A. Maev, a railway engineer who visited the area 3 years after the discovery, gives the name Takht-i Kuvad, which is a fortress 5 km. downstream from Takht-i Sangin; but he adds that it was at the exact confluence of the Amu-darya and Vakhsh, a topographical detail which applies only to Takht-i Sangin itself (see E.V. Zejmal', Amudar'inskij klad. Katalog vystavki, Leningrad 1979, 14–15; Pichikyan, "The Oxus Temple Composition . . ." (art. cit. in n. 93), 46 with n. 10). Compared with the Takht-i Sangin deposits, the finds of the Oxus treasure differ both by the larger proportion of precious metals and an earlier chronological terminus: no object in it can be certainly ascribed to the post-Achaemenian period, except for the coins, whose dates stretch down to the first third of the 2nd century B.C.; but it is not known if these were found in the same hiding-place as the rest of the Treasure. Some of the votive plaques carry the image of a horse, a sacrificial offering appropriate to a river-god (Dalton, Treasure of the Oxus, no. 99–100 with Pl. XI; on later traditions linking the Oxus with horses see J.-P. Drège et F. Grenet, "Un Temple de l'Oxus près de Takht-i Sangin, d'après un témoignage chinois du VIIIe siècle", St. Ir. 16, 1987, 117–21). A gold ring with the depiction of a winged, human-faced bull carries an Aramaic inscription *Wḫšw*, but this could be the personal name of the owner (ib., no. 102 with pl. XVI).

arts of later nomadic invaders and the Kushan empire are also represented. The set of finds includes, on the one hand, remains of animal sacrifices, chiefly horns of deer, bulls, sheep and goats; on the other, votive offerings, which were not necessarily appropriate in character to the cult being celebrated. Among these a large proportion of weapons is to be noted: pieces of armour, bows, arrows, spearheads, swords, and richly carved ivory scabbards, several of which bear motives belonging to the Heracles cycle[102]. The coins suggest, by the diversity of their origin, that some of those visiting the temple came from beyond the boundaries of Bactria[103].

One of the trenches held the remains of stucco or unfired clay portraits, which appear to have been those of past donors, disposed of by burial in consecrated ground. Two of them are Greek royal persons wearing the diadem; one cannot be identified[104], but the other is almost certainly Eucratides depicted as an ageing man[105]—an eloquent testimony to the continuity of royal patronage down to the end of Greek rule in Bactria. Another donor, called "the satrap" by the excavators, is bearded and wears a *tiara* with side-flaps[106]. The two traditions of worship, Greek and Iranian, met here: for this we have, for once, written proof, for the same trench yielded a bronze statuette set on an inscribed stone stand[107]: "As an ex-voto Atrosōkēs consecrates (this) to the Oxus (*Oxōi*)". The dedicator bears an Iranian name, one linked with fire and attested in Zoroastrian liturgical language: *ātṛ-saoka* "firebrand"[108]. But his dedication is in Greek, the script being datable to the middle of the second century B.C.; and the god Oxus is represented in the purely Greek guise of Marsyas, a kind of grotesque Silenus playing on the double flute.

Before examining the reasons for this apparently strange iconographic choice, we have first to consider for a moment the many

[102] Litvinskij-Pichikyan, art. cit. in n. 93, pp. 67–77 with figs. 9–10; on the youthful Heracles head, supposed—perhaps wrongly—to be a portrait of Alexander, see also Pichikyan, SA 1983/1, 80–90.

[103] E. V. Zejmal', Drevnie monety Tadžikistana, Dushanbe 1983, 294–5; see the remarks by G. Fussman, RN 28, 1986, 157.

[104] Litvinskij-Pichikyan, art. cit., p. 64 with fig. 6.

[105] Personal observation by P. Bernard (this object is still unpublished).

[106] Litvinskij-Pichikyan, art. cit., pp. 64–5 with fig. 7.

[107] B. A. Litvinskij, I. R. Pichikyan, J. G. Vinogradov, "Votiv Atrosoka iz xrama Oksa v severnoj Baktrii", VDI 1985/4, 84–110; review by P. Bernard, St. Ir. 16, 1987, 103–15.

[108] Air. Wb. 319 (from Vd. 8. 81–96); also E. Benveniste, JA 1936, 223 [repr. in Études Sogdiennes, Wiesbaden 1979, 150]; M. Boyce, BSOAS 1968, 66. There is no need to suppose with the excavators that the bearer of this name was a Zoroastrian priest: see Bernard's review.

questions raised by the temple as a whole. Incompletely published as it is, this monument is already of paramount importance for the history of Iranian religious architecture: in fact it presents the earliest clear example of temple-fires kept according to Zoroastrian regulations, i.e. carefully protected from pollution, (seemingly) ever-burning, and with the ashes being allowed to accumulate. According to one of the excavators, the actual fire-cult took place in the cella, to which torches were solemnly carried from the chambers at the time of the ceremonies; and he is inclined to extend this conclusion to all the other Iranian temples whose plan includes side-chambers in front of the main room[109]. But two of the examples he quotes (the Persepolis "*Frataraka* temple" and the Susa "*āyadana*") cannot even be certainly said to have been temples, let alone fire temples[110], while in another instance (Dil'berdžin) the side rooms are unlikely to have sheltered fires[111]. If the cella of the Takht-i Sangin temple were really the prototype of the later *čahār tāq*, one would expect the fire to have been enthroned in the centre between the four pillars: but no remains pointing to such an arrangement have been discovered. There is nothing either against the middle of the rear (west) wall, the spot where one would normally expect the cult-statue, if any, or a ceremonial fire-holder to stand. The only pedestal found in the cella stood near the northern end of this wall; made of stones and roughly square in shape (2.6 by 2.5 m., h. 30 cm.), it carries on its surface two round imprints (diam. 1 m.) which it would be tempting to connect with the twin fires in the front wings of the building; but instead of those of fire-holders, they may represent the traces of statue bases.

Therefore, until more complete publication, it is preferable not to apply too hastily the label "fire-temple" to the monument as a whole. At present there appear equal grounds for seeing it as an image sanctuary with accessory fire-chambers. Such a situation was to be found, much later, at the Temple I of Panjikent[112]; and it might well be the sort of combination Pausanias saw in the Anahit temples of Lydia, where it seems that the fire "chapels" (*oikēma*) were subsidiary ones while the cellas were devoted to the cult-

[109] Pichikyan, art. cit. in n. 93, pp. 51–2.
[110] Above, pp. 38 n. 22, 117–18.
[111] Above, pp. 172–3.
[112] V. G. Škoda, "Le culte du feu dans les sanctuaires de Pendžikent", in Cultes et monuments religieux, ed. Grenet, 63–72 with Pls XXXII-XXXIX. (The situation is different at Surkh Kotal, as here the original Temple A had been abandoned before the construction of the Kushano-Sasanian Temples B and D: see HZ IV.)

statues depicted on the coins[113]. At Takht-i Sangin the existence (through the portico) of easy communication between the fire-chambers and the cella suggests a ceremonial link of some sort between these various points of cultic activity; but, rather than a procession of embers to the cella—a detail unparalleled in the texts or in living Zoroastrian usage[114]—, this could suggest the fires receiving the regular ritual oblation of fat when animals were sacrificed to the Oxus; and this may indeed have been the main cultic purpose of their installation at his temple, with two fires lest either should be overwhelmed by the number of such obligatory offerings.[115]

The god Oxus

Various pieces of evidence attest the fact that the river Oxus, the present Amu Darya, was the object of a cult in the riverine countries. The Kushan coins were to present it with human traits, with for legend its Iranian name OAXŠO (**Wakhš(u)*, presumably from the root *waxš-* "grow, leap"), which still today is borne by the valley of its upper course (the Wakhān) and by the large affluent which joins it at Takht-i Sangin (the Vakhsh). Traditions from the time of the Arab conquest record the existence of a temple on an island near this confluence: it was most probably the distant successor of the Hellenistic sanctuary.[116] Still in the tenth century Biruni mentions the festival of the Oxus, incorporated in the Zoroastrian calendar of the Chorasmians: "(month) of Ispandārmājī (= Spandārmād). . . . The 10th is the feast called *Wakhš-angām*. Wakhš is the name of the angel who has watch over the water, and especially over the river Oxus".[117] In Hellenistic and pre-Hellenistic times one meets the river's name repeatedly as part of Bactrian personal names, functioning like that of a divinity: Oxybazos (**Wakhš(u)-wazdah-* "Strong through Oxus"), Oxydates

[113] Below, pp. 235–6.
[114] M. Boyce, JAOS 95, 1975, 464. (Pichikyan, art. cit. in n. 93, p. 52 with n. 35, referring to a votive plaque of the Oxus treasure, takes as a torch carried by the worshipper what is in fact the *baresman*: see Dalton, Treasure of the Oxus, no. 19–23 with Pl. XV).
[115] This concern is expressed in The Epistles of Manuščihr, I.VIII.3 (ed. B. N. Dhabhar, Bombay 1912, 38).
[116] Drège-Grenet, art. cit. in n. 101.
[117] The Chronology of Ancient Nations, tr. E. Sachau, 225. (For survivals in the modern folklore of Tajikistan see R. L. Nemenova, "Narodnye predstavlenija, svjazannye s rekoj Vaxš", in Ètnografija Tadžikistana, ed. B. A. Litvinskij, Dušanbe 1985, 98–106.)

(**Wakhš(u)-dāta-* "Given by Oxus"), Mithroaxos (**Mithra-Wakhš(u)-* "[Given by] Mithra and Oxus"), and probably Oxyartes (**Wakhš(u)-warta-* "Protected by Oxus").[118]

It undoubtedly appears that in Bactria the veneration which Zoroastrianism prescribes for the "creation" of water was concentrated chiefly on the divinized Oxus. On the Kushan coins he was to be the only *yazata* clearly linked with water, while neither Apąm Napat nor Anahit appear on them. The situation there was thus analogous to that attested by the Persepolis tablets, which refer to an official cult rendered—in one case by a magus—to local god-rivers in Pars.[119] In Sasanian times Zoroastrian assimilation of the cult of the Oxus was brought about, as we know, by identifying this river with the Vanhvi Daitya, the "Good River", on whose bank Zoroaster had received his revelation;[120] this assimilation may have been made at a much earlier date, but proof is lacking.

The iconography of the god Oxus underwent various changes. The Kushan coins were to show him as a bearded man with a long sceptre, very close to one of their types for Ahura Mazda, but carrying as a distinctive attribute a fish. But, as we have seen, the votive statuette from Takht-i Sangin gives him traits which are much less exalted, those namely of Marsyas. This little rustic god was already known in the role of a river god; but that is in Asia Minor, where he was closely associated with the river Maeander, to which the river Marsyas was tributary. The chief city on the Maeander, Magnesia, was famed for sending colonists to Seleucid Iran; and, as it happens, king Euthydemus is known to have been one of them. It thus becomes probable that the valley of the Oxus, or at least that part of it close to Takht-i Sangin, had been largely settled by "Magnetes", who, following a custom often attested, had transferred to the local god-river both the imagery of one from their native land[121] and certain details of his cult (as is shown by the presence of a great number of flutes among the offerings at the temple[122]). The fact that Atrosokes, either a Bactrian or of mixed

[118] Grenet, art. cit. in n. 22. (Here Oxyartes is interpreted as a *dvandva*: **Wakhš(u)-Arti- (or -Aria-)* "(Given by) Oxus and Aši (or Aša)"; but the other explanation, proposed by J. Markwart, Philologus, Supp. Bd. 10, 1905, 26, is perhaps preferable).

[119] HZ II 139–41.

[120] Grenet, art. cit. in n. 13; Drège-Grenet, art. cit.

[121] Bernard, o.c. in n. 1, p. 132; and review quoted in n. 107, pp. 103–15.

[122] It has been alleged that a stucco statuette found in the deposits represents Apollo, Marsyas' rival in the musical art, then his slayer: Drevnosti Tadžikistana, ed. E. V. Zejmal', Dushanbe, 1985, no. 204, photograph p. 74; but P. Bernard would identify it rather as an Eros archer.

Greek and Iranian blood, who bore a theophoric name that evoked the fire-cult, chose to honour the god Oxus under the aspect given him by the colonists, vividly attests the ascendancy gained by Greek forms of cult in the religious lives of hellenized Iranians.

Survival of a non-hellenized Zoroastrianism?

The sum of the evidence so far examined gives the religious life of Greek Bactria the appearance of an eclecticism, indeed a syncretism, whose outward manifestations—except for the temple architecture—were largely taken from Greece and from hellenized Asia Minor, while the pantheon made place for some *yazatas*, either pan-Iranian (Mithra) or local (Oxus). The contribution brought to this aggregate by strictly Zoroastrian concepts, and the part assigned to Zoroastrian priests in the service of the cult, are impossible to perceive, except (it seems) at Takht-i Sangin, while at the main temple of Aï Khanum the only observable cultic practice is rather "daevic" in character.

Is one then obliged to consider that the numismatic and archaeological evidence provides a complete picture of the religious reality? The lack of texts, and the almost exclusively urban nature of the excavations, tend to give prominence to the most official and striking manifestations, those which emanated from groups most affected by the policy of hellenization. To take but one example, what should we know of the survival of Zoroastrianism in Asia Minor if there too we were reduced to this range of sources, and were deprived of the writings of eye-witnesses, of Strabo and Pausanias? The illumination which we have for eastern Iran would doubtless be very different if the investigations of Clearchus, for whom "barbaric" beliefs had an intrinsic interest, had been preserved for us.

There are, however, indications which, taken together, could suggest the existence of a traditional Zoroastrianism. These include several personal names attested at Aï Khanum which may be held to reflect faithfully local onomastic usage (since they are those of minor officials, not of nobles, for whom a Persian origin can never be ruled out). Among them is one which invokes a purely Zoroastrian being; Oumanos, Vohu Manah, for whom there is no evidence anywhere of a syncretic association with a Greek god.[123]

Moreover, to continue at Aï Khanum, there is a third sanctuary

[123] Grenet, art. cit. in n. 22, p. 376.

there, unfortunately only partly explored,[124] which contrasts sharply with the two covered ones discussed above. It is set at the city's highest point, on the very top of the huge acropolis, which itself, at 70 m., dominates the lower town and seems to have been occupied chiefly by military installations. The sanctuary consists of a square courtyard with at its centre a podium, open to the sky, itself also square (16 by 16 m. at its base). This was made of unbaked brick, in six stepped tiers, with a seventh, proportionately more reduced tier (about 5 × 5 m.?) forming a platform where rites were enacted, 3 m. above ground level. The complex was exactly oriented towards the east, with a stairway of baked brick leading up to the middle of its west face. The only evidence for dating comes from the shape and size of the bricks, which place the structure in the Greek period.

The central podium invokes diverse comparisons. On the regional level it bears close resemblances to a podium of rammed earth, of the Achaemenian period, excavated at Pačmak-tepe in the Surkhan-darya valley; this, with three tiers and dimensions comparable to the Aï Khanum one (21 m. square, 2.60 m. high), was oriented towards the south-east and bore some light superstructure, perhaps just an enclosing wall to give shelter from the prevailing winds.[125] As we have indicated, it was this type of tiered podium which inspired the shape of the stepped plinths of the covered temples at Aï Khanum. In appearance, these open-air structures can be compared with the stepped monumental altar which stood on the eastern terrace of Nimrud Dagh, similarly facing the rising sun.[126] The excavator of the Pačmak-tepe monument thought it had served as a place for fire-ceremonies enacted in the open air. This supposition rests on two postulates: one, that in historic times the cult of fire was an irreducible element of the Iranian religious life to which these monuments belong, the other, that this cult included public ceremonies during which the fire had to be visible as far away as possible. The first proposition is too restrictive: thus blood sacrifice offered at a sacred place under the open sky has remained to this day a liturgical act essential to the Zoroastrianism of Iran, quite independent of any fire or image cult.

[124] Short description (not illustrated) by Bernard, CRAI 1976, 306–7. The following account is drawn partly from unpublished material.

[125] Š. R. Pidaev, ONU 1973/11, 77–82; the same, in Drevnjaja Baktrija, ed. V. M. Masson, Leningrad 1974, 33–8; Bernard, "Les traditions orientales . . .", (art. cit. in n. 56), 271.

[126] See below, p. 322. (The apparent likeness to the podiums set on the "Sacred Terraces" of Elymais is, on the other hand, probably misleading, as these belong to the Semitic religious sphere, see above, p. 45–7.)

The second has been proved wrong by the latest archaeological discoveries: it has been shown that all fire-temples whose function and lay-out are definitely known were enclosed places, where contemplation of the sacred fire was restricted to those taking part in the ceremonies concerned; and the *čahār tāq* of the Sasanian period, open to every wind that blew, where the fire was supposed to have been exposed for the veneration of multitudes, is now held to be a figment of archaeological imagination.[127] The "little heaps of ashes" indicated "here and there" on the podium of Pačmak-tepe, even if it is admitted that they were connected with that monument's function,[128] do not authorize one to make a sacred fire out of them, since the Zoroastrian ritual of sacrifice—at least, in modern times, that of the *yasna*—requires the presence of fire, brought in a portable container.

In fact such podiums call to mind rather the observations of Herodotus (I.131–132) and Strabo on the animal sacrifice which "the Persians, the Medes and several other peoples" (Strabo XV.3.15) offered in the open air, with a predilection for high places.[129] They could have functioned as sacrificial platforms (raised above the impurities which might have contaminated the soil), where priests could solemnize the chief rites.[130] What stood in the vicinity of the Pačmak-tepe podium is not known, but at Aï Khanum there were apparently various buildings around and outside the courtyard. As these have not been excavated, and as the podium itself has yielded no artifacts, it is not possible to push these interpretations further. One may note, however, that the position given to this sanctuary—at the site's highest point, facing the rising sun and the mountains, and with a view of the confluence of the Oxus and the Kokcha river which flows down from Badakhshan—would accord admirably with the Zoroastrian concern to venerate the natural "creations".[131]

A second monument of the Greek period, which also appears to

[127] Boyce, "On the Zoroastrian Temple Cult of Fire", JAOS 95, 1975, 463–5. The last survey of the evidence, with negative conclusions, is given by R. Boucharlat, "*Chahar taq* et temple du feu sasanide", in De l'Indus aux Balkans. Recueil à la mémoire de Jean Deshayes, Paris 1985, 461–78.

[128] Those which have been observed on the Aï Khanum podium come from fire-places which postdate the abandonment of the structure.

[129] See HZ II 179–81 (also for the comparison with the usages of present-day Zoroastrians). This interpretation is also favoured by Bernard (l.c.), who in a subsequent article has suggested that this sanctuary had been used chiefly by native soldiers of the garrison stationed on the acropolis: "Problèmes d'histoire coloniale grecque . . ." (art. cit. in n. 21), 111, 119.

[130] See HZ I 166–7, 322.

[131] Cf. the setting of the temple on the Kuh-i Khwaja, above, p. 150.

be cultic and to belong to the local tradition, is known today by the name Džiga-tepe, and is to be found 5 km. to the east of the town of Dil'berdžin.[132] A circular wall, some 150 m. in diameter, originally enclosed, it seems, an open area, surmounted at its centre by a building; but since excavation here has not reached below a subsequent reoccupation of the site, an interpretation can be based on no more than the appearance of the partly excavated enclosing wall. This, pierced by some thirty gates set between towers, and adorned by a multitude of false arrow-slits without functional purpose, was evidently not originally planned for military use (even though later, perhaps during the troubled period which followed the downfall of the Greek power, the gates were blocked up to turn it into a defensive redoubt). The circular plan was itself an archaism, for, though widely used in Central Asia down to the Greek conquest, it was then abandoned in favour of the quadrangular one for towns and fortresses. All this seems to indicate that this was an imposing temple serving a whole region (the ancient village which has been identified beside the enclosure would not by itself have warranted a cultic place of such size); and this temple doubtless attracted different worshippers from those to whom the great "Temple of the Dioscuri" appealed, built at the same time within its own rampart at Dil'berdžin. The data discovered by excavation do not justify further speculation.[133]

Popular manifestations of religion: the figurines

Throughout the Iranian sphere—and indeed far beyond it—our chief means of access to popular devotional life is a series of cultic figurines produced by local craftsmen, made usually of terracotta. They have come to light mostly by the sale of antiquities or chance discoveries; but increasingly often there are some indications of

[132] G. A. Pugačenkova in Drevnjaja Baktrija II, ed. I. T. Kruglikova, 63–94 (with French summary). [The accepted chronology of the monument has been questioned after a coin of Bahrām IV (388–399 A.C.) was reported in a trial-pit dug to the lowest level: I. T. Kruglikova, Kratkie Soobščenija 180, 1984, 51. One can, nevertheless, question whether this coin is correctly stratified, as all the other coins and the ceramics point to a date in the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C.: see Š. R. Pidaev, in Drevnjaja Baktrija III, ed. I. T. Kruglikova, Moscow 1984, 112–24.]

[133] G. A. Pugačenkova, art. cit., pp. 88–92, supposes that the monument was intended for an astrological cult, arguing that the numerous towers of the circuit wall could be used as horizon dividers by an observer standing on top of the central structure. This is based upon a somewhat far-fetched comparison with the Choresmian mausoleum of Koj-Krylgan-kala, whose astrological functions are themselves questionable (see below). The towers at Džiga-tepe are irregularly spaced, which does not favour the hypothesis of a Bactrian Stonehenge.

their archaeological context, which makes it possible to reason more securely about the chronology of the types and the way in which these objects were used.

In Central Asia, where these figurines have been particularly well studied, the first examples from historic times which can be certainly dated are those from Aï Khanum, found in various parts of the site.[134] Greek influence is little apparent in the style, and the technique is Oriental (the moulded figurines are solid, with the backs not worked, being made to be seen from the front only). The oldest group in the female series consists of naked figurines of markedly sexual character, stiffly posed. They are doubtless to be linked with ivory dolls of similar aspect, whose arms are sometimes articulated. Nowhere in Eastern Iran are these nude types very widely distributed, and they eventually give way to a dignified figure which may be characterized as "matronly". In Bactria and Chorasmia her dress tends towards the Oriental (skirt falling in folds, an ample cloak or a tunic knotted at the waist), in Margiana more towards the Greek; her headdress and ornaments are exaggerated to a greater or less degree, but a certain unity is conferred by the strictly frontal pose (standing, or sometimes seated), and the fixed position of the hands, the left resting on the groin, the right laid on the bosom, which suggests descent from one of the types of the naked goddess, the goddess who presses her breast.[135] Various attributes appear which do not modify the basic type, such as a ring or plaited crown held in the left hand, and in the right a cup, vase, or fruit, a little later a mirror.[136]

[134] Those found in the main temple are not necessarily votive deposits, and could as well be linked with the habitations of squatters: Francfort, o.c. in n. 56, pp. 15–17, 40–1. Those from the other parts of the site, which present a broader range of types, are published by O. Guillaume et A. Rougeulle, Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum, VII: Les petits objets (Mém. DAFA 31), 1987. For a broad selection of types representative of the various areas of Central Asia in the "antique" period (i.e. until 3rd–4th centuries A.C.), see the comprehensive volume Drevnejšie gosudarstva Kavkaza i Srednej Azii, ed. G. A. Košelenko (coll. "Arxeologija SSSR"), Moscow 1985, Pls XCVIII, CVI, CVIII-CIX, CXIII, CXXXVIII-CXLII, CLXIV. For an orientation for the scattered Soviet bibliography on the figurines see also Francfort, l.c.

[135] Although the gesture might remind one of the Hellenistic type of Aphrodite *pudica*, the descent from the local nude type is obvious in the series from Margiana: G. A. Pugačenkova, "Margianskaja boginja" (art. cit. in n. 86): compare figs. 1 and 5. A similar tendency to clothe the goddess is observed in Seleucid Mesopotamia: M. -T. Barrelet, Figurines et reliefs de terre cuite de la Mésopotamie antique, I, Paris 1968, 132.

[136] On the "goddess with a mirror" see F. Grenet, St. Ir. 11, 1982, 157–8 with Pl. XVI/2; "L'Athéna de Dil'berdžin", in Cultes et monuments religieux, ed. Grenet, 41–45 with Pls XXIV-XXV.

The masculine terracottas from Aï Khanum are of a very different aspect; they represent horsemen, roughly modelled in the round, with their horses standing under them, a type which was to be found everywhere in Central Asia at later epochs.[137]

The coexistence of these two categories of figurines draws eastern Iran into a cultural union known hitherto especially from finds made in Elymais, Mesopotamia, Syria and as far west as Cyprus.[138] This cultural union can now be seen to coincide broadly with the sphere of Achaemenian expansion: it is precisely from the Achaemenian epoch onwards, it seems, that on the western sites local types of fertility goddesses are joined by "Persian horsemen", wearing on their heads the characteristic *tiara*.[139] Plainly one cannot hope to account for this phenomenon unless one studies it over the whole area, not limiting one's analysis to regional developments.[140] The theories which make these statuettes—the horsemen and sometimes even the female figures—into symbols for the worshippers themselves, or indeed into mere knick-knacks, do not take into account the variety of settings in which they have been found: private houses, graves, and temples, where their use was indisputably votive.[141] The explanation most often considered is that the horseman is a general symbol for the sun "with swift horses", which could be identified locally with this or that particular solar divinity.[142] It is far from being the case, however, that all rider-gods of the western periphery of Iran were essentially solar divinities, nor does this theory take account of the markedly ethnic character so often presented by these male figures, even though their use

[137] See lastly K. J. Muxitdinov, "Baktrijskij vsadnik", in Skifo-sibirskoe kul'turnoe-istoričeskoe edinstvo, ed. A. I. Martynov, Kemerovo 1980, 212–27.

[138] Barrelet, o.c., pp. 122, 128–30 (with references to the original publications); H. E. Mathiesen, Ikaros. The Hellenistic Settlements, I: The Terracotta Figurines, Copenhagen 1982.

[139] The "Persian horsemen" found at Memphis in Egypt are a particular case, as these could be directly linked with the presence of an Achaemenian garrison: W. M. Flinders Petrie, Memphis I, London 1909, 17 with Pl. XL; M. I. Rostovtzeff, Yale Classical Studies 5, 1935, 188–9.

[140] Thus the link postulated by G. A. Pugačenkova ("O kul'tax Baktrii v svete arxeologii", VDI 1974/3, 127) with the "cult of the rider-ancestor on the steppes" and "shamanistic" concepts fails to account for the popularity of these types in western regions remote from the land of the Scythians.

[141] See P. Ackerman in Pope, Survey, I, 198–200, whose remarks on this specific point keep their value. In the western area of Iranian dominion the joint presence of both types used as votive offerings is documented in the Ninurta temple at Babylon (R. Koldewey, Das wiedererstehende Babylon[4], Leipzig 1925, 227–9; the level is probably Achaemenian, see Barrelet, l.c.); and on the "Sacred Terraces" of Elymais (Ghirshman, Terrasses sacrées, I 77–81; II, Pls CXI-CXV).

[142] Ackermann, o.c., p. 219.

extends far beyond purely Iranian localities. One is led accordingly to seek a more subtle explanation, and one that acknowledges the social background: the peoples of the Achaemenian empire may have come to confer on the male divinities whose help they sought the aspect which, for them, most directly evoked the idea of victorious might, namely that of the then rulers of their lands[143] (a little as, not long since, the sainted Ali and Hossein were represented in popular Iranian art in the guise of Qajar warriors). This then could be the explanation of the various avatars of the terracotta horseman of Achaemenian times, who reappears decked out in a Macedonian *kausia* in Seleucid Susa,[144] and in a tall Saka cap in post-Greek Central Asia.

Is it possible to put names to the divinities represented in Bactria by these two pan-Iranian types of figurines? Archaeologists working in the Iranian field customarily associate popular types of fertility goddesses with Anahit,[145] and those studying Central Asia have not escaped this tendency.[146] Yet the statuettes of Bactria (and also, at this epoch, of Margiana), though they sometimes represent attributes and details of dress very precisely, show few correspondences with the no less precise descriptions given of the cult-image of that goddess in *Yašt* 5: only occasionally is a girdle to be met with, a headdress or a cloak, and never all three together, while the cloak is never adorned. The presence of a cup is not enough to identify a water goddess, and why should a mirror indicate Anahit particularly? In general—and this is a point which must from now on be stressed—no Kushan coin, and no document written in Central Asia (setting aside late borrowings from Sasanian Iran) ever mentions Anahit as such.[147] What one encounters is, on the

[143] This is, in broad outline, the solution reached by Ernest Will about rider-gods depicted on stone reliefs in the hellenized Near East: Le Relief cultuel gréco-romain, 103–24.

[144] Those found in Elymais (see above, p. 44, 46 n. 68) were probably manufactured at Susa.

[145] Ackermann, o.c., pp. 211, 216–17.

[146] Since K. V. Trever, l.c. in n. 41, whose opinion has remained very influential among Soviet archaeologists (see, however, a recent refutation by L. A. Lelekov, "Voprosy interpretacii sredneaziatskoj koroplastiki èllinističeskogo vremeni", SA 1985/1, 55–60). S. Wikander also speculated much, but without any better grounds, about a long-lasting influence exerted by the Anahit temple founded at Bactra by Artaxerxes II: "Sur le fonds commun indo-iranien des épopées de la Perse et de l'Inde", La Nouvelle Clio 1–2, 1949–50, esp. pp. 318–19; followed by G. Dumézil, Mythe et épopée II[3], Paris 1982, 233–4.

[147] The only exceptions are the legend "Anahit the Lady" on a coin issued by the Sasanian Kušānšāh Hormizd II (British Museum; unpublished), and the Sogdian personal name *'n'xtβntk* "Servant of Anahit" (H. Humbach, "Die sogdischen Inschriftenfunde vom oberen Indus (Pakistan)", Allgemeine und Vergleich-

one hand, Babylonian Nana, who has kept her role of "Mistress of Animals" and perhaps also certain elements of her mystery-cult;[148] and on the other the ancient Iranian goddess Aši (ARDOXŠO on Kushan coins), protectress of fecundity and dispenser of earthly bounty. It seems clear that, despite the initiatives of the last Achaemenian kings, eastern Iran had largely escaped the religious evolution which, in the West, had brought about the promotion of "Anahit", and which resulted in the absorption of Nana in that composite figure and in the relative eclipse of Aši.[149]

Nor are any of Nana's clearly defined attributes to be found on the female figurines, whereas the Aši-Ardoxšo of the Kushan coins, despite her prestigious assimilation to Tyche carrying the cornucopia, keeps points of contact with the types of the terracottas (the pose enthroned in majesty, and the ring or crown held in her hand). If one takes into consideration also that the shrine of the craftsmen's quarter at Dal'verzintepe testifies to the highly popular character at the Kushan period of devotion to Ardoxšo[150], it seems likely that this *yazata* coincides with "the great Bactrian goddess" of the figurines, or at least with one group among their variants.[151] Their attributes are clearly in accord with material fortune; the mirror, which the goddess of the figurines perhaps borrowed from Aphrodite, can have various symbolic associations but, quite concretely, befits Aši in so far as she is surety for the beauty of the women in the dwelling (Yt. 17.10–11).[152]

It is riskier to speculate about the local identification of the horseman, for he presents no functional attributes. On the Kushan coins the only god portrayed as an Iranian rider is MOZDOOANO, probably Ahura Mazda; but for the terracotta figurines a popular image of Mithra cannot be excluded. Both divinities

ende Archäologie—Beiträge, 2, München 1980, index), the few occurrences of which belong to the 4th–5th centuries A. C., a period of seemingly strong Sasanian religious influence in Sogdiana.

[148] See HZ II 30.

[149] HZ I 72–3, II 203.

[150] See P. Bernard, BEFEO 68, 1980, 331–34 (in a review of Dal'verzintepe, ed. G. A. Pugačenkova and È. V. Rtveladze, Tashkent 1978). Also Pugačenkova, "Xram Baktrijskoj Bogini na Dal'verzin-tepe", in Drevnij Vostok i mirovaja kul'tura, ed. I. M. D'jakonov, Moscow 1981, 112–17. The goddess, who is depicted accompanied by a child, is almost certainly Ardoxšo.

[151] Similarly Pugačenkova, "Margianskaja boginja" (art. cit. in n. 86), 138; "O kul'tax Baktrii . . ." (art. cit. in n. 140), 129–30—but here the author attempts to link a variant to Anahit. V. N. Pilipko, "Ženskie kul'tovye statuetki s beregov srednej Amudar'i", SA 1977/1, 187–202, endeavours also to split the series into several goddesses, on somewhat loose criteria.

[152] Grenet, "L'Athéna de Dil'berdžin" (see n. 136), 43–4.

are associated with Aši in theogonies, the former as father, the latter as brother (Yt. 17.16); in the hymns Aši intervenes at Mithra's side, and the offerings devoted to the one and the other are said to be complementary (ib. 2).[153] Apart from the celebrations specifically enjoined by the Zoroastrian calendar, everyday devotions tended no doubt to be concentrated on two divinities with well-marked personalities, one male, the other female, who were felt to be especially close to humanity.

Funerary practices

The few graves and grave-complexes which date from this period, found mainly at Aï Khanum, show great diversity.[154]

In the centre of the town are two mausoleums in the pure Greek tradition: the earlier was for a certain Kineas, an officer or magistrate who had presided over the foundation of the city on commission from Alexander or Seleucus; the second was for an unknown citizen for whom the honour of heroization had been decreed. In both mausoleums members of the families were also interred. This tradition of *intra-muros* mausoleums was continued in Parthyene by the "philhellenic" Parthian kings (whose necropolis has, it seems, been found within the ramparts of their first capital, Parthaunisa[155]). It is not attested thereafter within the Iranian sphere[156], perhaps because it ran counter to the Zoroastrian concern to keep away from human habitations everything connected with death.

The necropolis properly so called of Aï Khanum lay in its northern suburb. Although the only mausoleum excavated there had belonged to a family of Greek colonists[157], it is hardly to be doubted that it was built on a model used also by the well-to-do section of the native population. It consists of a squat, but monumental, structure, with separate vaulted chambers set symmetrically on both sides of an axial corridor, and a flat roof edged with

[153] "She (Aši) brings . . . to him, and comes to the help of him . . . who worships Aši with libations [he will worship Mithra with libations]": Gershevitch, AHM, 217–18 n. 68², who however considers the mention of Mithra to be an ancient interpolation. According to the same author, Y.60.7 alludes to Mithra and Aši as associate benefactors of the worshipper's house (ib., pp. 228–9).

[154] Grenet, Pratiques funéraires, 66–78, 249–50.

[155] Ib., pp. 89–92, 215.

[156] The putative tomb of Shabuhr I, founder of Bishapur, was not built within the town but set in a cave in the neighbouring mountain: R. Ghirshman, Artibus Asiae 11, 1948, 292–310; Iran. Parthes et Sassanides, Paris 1962, 162–5.

[157] Bernard, CRAI 1972, 606–25.

stepped merlons in the eastern architectural tradition. The townspeople of Kushan Bactria were to remain faithful to this type of family mausoleum, and also to its way of use, which diverged considerably from the prescriptions of the Zoroastrian canon: the corpse, deposited with a few offerings, although isolated indeed from the earth by the tomb's masonry, was left to decompose slowly and naturally, without the aid of carnivores.[158] At Aï Khanum the funerary chambers were emptied when it was wished to clean them, and the bones were then collected in jars, sometimes inscribed with the dead person's name; but this pious measure is not attested thereafter. The basic problem which this way of disposing of the corpse poses when it comes to judging the orthodoxy of Bactrian Zoroastrianism will be more conveniently considered on the basis of materials from the Kushan epoch. Given the existing evidence, it is permissible to think that the practice had been preceded by a more rigorous one of excarnation by animals[159]; and one may ask oneself whether the hostility of the Greeks towards the "savagery" of the Zoroastrian rite, met at Bactra from the very moment of conquest, had not been the cause of this break with the past, leading the colonists and hellenized Bactrians to agree on a type of interment which was acceptable to the former, and which kept for the latter the virtue of preserving the purity of the natural "creations". Similar compromises over funerary prescriptions were to occur at other epochs, usually in urban settings and under the pressure of analogous circumstances: at the beginning of the present century the Zoroastrians of Shiraz, and occasionally those of Yazd, placed corpses in funerary chambers lined with stone slabs;[160] and from 1937 the Tehran community, under the influence

[158] The interpretation favoured by Soviet archaeologists, according to which the corpses laid in the Kushan mausoleums had been submitted to preliminary excarnation, is refuted by Bernard, review quoted in n. 150, pp. 24–7; also Grenet, Pratiques funéraires, 98–100, 323–4; id., Abstr. Ir. VII, 143; VIII, 119. A recent attempt by È. V. Rtveladze (art. cit. in n. 66), although carefully argued, fails to produce conclusive evidence against Bernard's criticisms.

[159] Above, pp. 6–8. (The present writer, who does not share his co-author's scepticism about the value of Onesicritus' witness nor of Porphyrius' information, had previously sought to interpret the careless burial of a mass of dismembered bones in the Aï Khanum theatre in the light of this textual evidence: Grenet, Pratiques funéraires, 73–5, 220, 231, 240; also Bernard, CRAI 1978, 439–41. Although this hypothesis cannot be definitely ruled out, it now seems more probable, in view of the stratigraphic evidence, that these bones were thrown here simultaneously, and testify to a massacre at the moment of the city's downfall, the corpses having been left to lie and subsequently gathered by the "squatters" merely for hygienic reasons).

[160] A. V. W. Jackson, Persia Past and Present, 337, 393–4; this information is elaborated on by Litvinskij-Sedov, Tepai-šax, 112.

of the modernizing movement, adopted the custom of having cement vaults.[161] Similar ways of disposing of the corpse, within mausoleums sometimes very like the Bactrian type, were to persist in western towns of the Parthian empire, where too Hellenistic influence had made itself felt.[162]

A possible legacy of the Greek period in the funerary rituals of the Bactrians is the "obol of Charon", placed in the corpse's mouth. This custom is not attested at Aï Khanum; but this may be by chance, for even in Greece it is known only from a minority of graves.[163]

In the south of Sogdiana, in the lower valley of the Kashkadarya, the town of Erkurgan (probably the Xenippa captured by Alexander)[164] has yielded, for the period of Greek domination or immediately thereafter, the poorly preserved remains of what had been a massive edifice of unbaked brick (34 × 24 m., h. 8 m.), topped by rectangular terraces which were seemingly crenellated and paved with stone slabs, and accessible by an external stairway. This the excavators interpret as a *dakhma*, an identification based on three observations: the isolated position of the monument to the north-west of the town, beyond the rampart; the presence of a few human bones and teeth on the small extent of surface where the original stone pavement could be traced; and the discovery, on another part of the terraces, of a vase in which excarnated bones had been collected—a usage destined to become general later throughout Central Asia, and which we shall come upon directly attested already in Chorasmia. The information so far published does not, however, rule out the possibility that these funerary remains post-date the period of the structure's functioning. Before a detailed publication has appeared, it is not possible to consider the Erkurgan monument more fully; but if the purpose postulated for it were to be confirmed, this would be the only piece of material evidence for Sogdian Zoroastrianism going back to antiquity. Still

[161] Boyce, Zoroastrians, 221.

[162] A systematic, richly illustrated comparison has been drawn by Litvinskij in Srednjaja Azija, Kavkaz i zarubežnyj Vostok, ed. B. A. Litvinskij, Moscow 1983, 81–123 with Pls XXI-XXXVIII; summarized in Litvinskij-Sedov, o.c., pp. 84–106.

[163] Above, pp. 66–7; F. Grenet, "Burial in Ancient Iran", EIr. IV 559–61. Nevertheless, in view of the chronological gap, B. A. Litvinskij considers that one might have here independent traditions: see lastly Litvinskij and Sedov, Kul'ty i ritualy Kušsanskoj Baktrii, Moscow 1984, 150–61.

[164] Above, p. 8 n. 31. On the monument see Grenet, Pratiques funéraires, 124–5, 229–31, 325; and especially Drevnejšic gosudarstva . . ., o.c. in n. 134, p. 282 with Pl. CXXIX/2. Forthcoming study by R. X. Sulejmanov, "L'architecture monumentale d'Erkurgan", in Bernard-Grenet (eds.), o.c. in n. 29.

towards this epoch of the Greek kingdoms the sedentary peoples of the oasis of Bukhara kept to the non-Zoroastrian rite of cremation.[165]

Beyond Greek domination: the kingdom of Chorasmia

Further to the north, on the lower Oxus, lay the irrigated plain of Chorasmia, once part of the Achaemenian Empire; and on the river's left bank, at Kalaly-gyr, a fortified palace has been found, decorated in the Persepolis style, which was without doubt the seat either of the satrap or of a local prince susceptible to Persian influence.[166] But even before the Macedonian conquest these links had been broken, and Chorasmia had either regained its independence or, more probably, had been drawn into the orbit of the Massagetae tribes of the lower Syr-darya (the Jaxartes). Whichever was the case, one Pharasmanes, who called himself "king of the Chorasmians", visited Alexander, who made no attempt to impose his authority on him;[167] and thereafter there is nothing to suggest that the Greco-Bactrians sought anything more than commercial relations in that direction.

Chorasmia is mentioned only once in the Avesta, at the very end of the list of countries which Mithra surveys (Yt. 10.14); but traditions set down later, in the Pahlavi books, agree, despite their divergences, in assigning to it the first seat of the Persian fire Farnbag, which the Sasanian clergy were to promote as the fire of priests, and hence as the most eminent of the three great fires of Iran.[168] The question of the part played by Chorasmia in the early history of Zoroastrianism is complex[169], and it is not very likely that archaeologists will manage to shed light on it. Nevertheless, they have found there the earliest instances known of interment in ossuaries, movable receptacles either reused or specially made for

[165] Grenet, o.c., p. 65 (site of Kzyl-Kyr).

[166] J. A. Rapoport and M. S. Lapirov-Skoblo, in Materialy Xorezmskoj Èkspedicii, 6, 1963, 141–56; Rapoport, Iz istorii religii drevnego Xorezma, Moscow 1971, 90.

[167] Arrian, Anab. IV.15.4–6.

[168] Ind.Bd. pp. 41, ll. 7–12 (ed. Justi), 63 (tr. West); GBd., ed. T.D. Anklesaria, pp. 124–5 (BTA, pp. 158–60).

[169] HZ I 4, 17, 275. Lastly Gnoli, ZTH, 84–110; H. Humbach, "About Gōpatšāh, his country, and the Khwārezmian hypothesis", in Papers in honour of Professor Mary Boyce, Acta Ir. 24, Leiden 1985, 327–34, who both convincingly refute the theory of the identification of Chorasmia and Airyanem Vaēǰah. The Pahl. tradition about the first seat of the Farnbāg fire is taken seriously by J. Duchesne-Guillemin, "La Religion des Achéménides", Historia 18, 1972, 64, while M. Boyce considers it forged in Sasanian times "to give the Persian fire a link with the early days of the faith" ("Ādur Farnbāg", EIr. II 474).

preserving an individual's bones, previously excarnated. At present the oldest in the series are those excavated at Tarym-kaj, dated to the fifth-fourth centuries B.C., and set on the western border of Chorasmia, at the boundary between nomadic and sedentary peoples.[170] Lack of ritual and iconographic details does not allow one to be positive about the religious attribution of these earliest ossuaries; but the concern to preserve the bones individually leads one to suppose stronger eschatological preoccupations than existed among the nomadic peoples, who practised simple exposure of corpses[171]; and some of the receptacles herald by their shape those which were to be found in Chorasmia at the Sasanian epoch, in a more certainly Zoroastrian setting. That Zoroastrian communities existed at the remote date in the extreme north of Central Asia is thus not wholly lacking in archaeological support.

Yet the most important funerary monument which has been found in ancient Chorasmia has unquestionably nothing to do with Zoroastrianism. This is the mausoleum-fortress of Koj-Krylgan-kala, situated on the east bank of the Oxus, which has been variously dated to from the fourth to the second centuries.[172] Its central part, a round tower dominating the middle of a circular enclosure, reproduces in its lower storey the plan of the Massagetae mausoleums of the Syr-darya; and, though its contents were pillaged in antiquity, it seems likely that it was intended for the burial of one of the kings of nomadic origin who appear to have ruled Chorasmia at that epoch.[173] Attempts to discern traces of a funeral pyre in the remains are not convincing; but the practice of cremation is attested at other sepulchres in the same region.[174] Presumably therefore Chorasmia grafted practices and beliefs brought in by these nomads on to its local religious stock, which was probably Zoroastrian.

[170] Grenet, o.c., pp. 214, 221 n. 4. On the possible use as *dakhmas* of some mausoleums on the lower Syr-darya, see ib., pp. 230, 243 n. 9.

[171] Massagetae (Herodotus I.216; Strabo XI.8.6); Hyrcanians (Cicero, Tusculanes, I.45.108); Caspians (Strabo XI.11.8); Oritae (Diodorus XVII.105).

[172] Koj-Krylgan-kala—pamjatnik kul'tury drevnego Xorezma IV v. do n.è.–IV v. n.è., ed. S. P. Tolstov and B. I. Vajnberg, Moscow 1967; Rapoport, o.c. in n. 166, 43–57; Grenet, Pratiques funéraires, 59–65, 213–15.

[173] The excavators have supposed that the upper storey of the tower was used for an astrological cult; but, although some fragments have been found which might belong to primitive astrolabes, their argument mainly proves that the monument was not initially designed as an observatory, this function—if fulfilled at all—being only secondary: M. G. Vorob'eva and M. M. Rožanska, in Tolstov-Vajnberg, o.c., pp. 251–64. Further, the existence of a well in the lower storey does not allow one to conclude that one half of it was "consecrated to Anāhita" (*pace* Rapoport, o.c., p. 52; id., in Tolstov–Vajnberg, p. 229).

[174] Grenet, l.c.

PART THREE

IN NON-IRANIAN LANDS OF THE FORMER ACHAEMENIAN EMPIRE

CHAPTER EIGHT

IN WESTERN ASIA MINOR: LYDIA WITH CARIA AND SOUTH-WEST PHRYGIA

Introductory

The non-Iranian land where Zoroastrian beliefs and observances are most fully attested after the downfall of the Achaemenians is western Asia Minor. A little of the evidence comes from Seleucid and Roman republican times, but most from the Roman imperial epoch, down to the fourth century A.C. From then there are a few texts, a number of inscriptions, and a good deal of numismatic material. Only a few coins exist from the Hellenistic era, but under Roman imperial rule most towns of any importance issued their own bronze coinage, regularly or at times of festivals and fairs. These diverse sources yield, as well as religious materials, a considerable quantity of Iranian personal names.[1] After the Macedonian conquest the fashion grew for Greek names; and there is evidence that a number of Iranians, priests as well as laymen, followed this trend. Yet still under the Roman Empire a notable scattering of Iranian names is to be found; and where these occur in clusters, or at places where there are indications of Iranian settlement under the Achaemenians, it is reasonable to take them as a sign of the continuing existence of Iranian families and communities, maintaining even then a conscious Iranian tradition in the strikingly multi-racial Anatolian society.[2] Isolated Iranian names have to be more cautiously considered, since at any period chance factors may have made a particular one generally popular; for instance, the fame of Mithradates of Pontus' exploits against Rome led to a number of boys being called after him in the Greek cities of Asia

[1] See, particularly, Robert, Noms indigènes.

[2] Parsi society offers a parallel down to the mid 19th century (when a conscious revival of Iranian names began). Before then, although many Parsis gave Hindu names to their children, some continued to use Iranian ones (though not necessarily in every generation), and these made their bearers instantly recognizable as Zoroastrians.—On the presence of Iranians in Asia Minor generally, under and after the Achaemenians, see F. Cumont, TMMM, I 7 ff.; E. Meyer, Ursprung, 86–91; Wikander, Feuerpriester, 80 ff.; L. Raditsa, "Iranians in Asia Minor", CHIr. III (i) 100–15.

Minor.[3] Further, the spread of the Mithraic Mysteries in Roman imperial times may have given increased popularity then to the name Mithra.

The survival of evidence as to how far the descendants of Achaemenian colonists maintained the Iranian religion depends, it seems, partly on chance, partly on what use they made of lasting forms of religious expression such as temples, votive inscriptions, or coin devices. In Lycia, where a strong Iranian presence is attested in the Achaemenian period, with Zoroastrian observance,[4] and where Iranian names still occur relatively abundantly in Greco-Roman times[5], there is no trace of Zoroastrianism after the Macedonian conquest. Hellespontine Phrygia, with the former Achaemenian satrapal capital of Dascylium, likewise yields nothing Zoroastrian after that event. By contrast, in the three regions with which the present chapter is concerned—Lydia, Caria and south-west Phrygia—there is relatively abundant evidence for the existence of the Iranian religion long after the end of Persian rule.

These regions differ greatly in their geography and early history, but had close physical and cultural links. Of them Lydia, a country a little smaller than Wales, lay between inland Phrygia and the Ionian coastal plain.[6] High mountain ranges crossed it from east to west—Temnus in the north, Tmolus and Messogis in the centre and south—and from these many streams ran down to form broad rivers. The four largest of these were, from north to south, the Caicus, which flowed past the fortress-city of Pergamum; the Hermus, which with its tributaries had the broadest and most fertile river-basin in all Asia Minor; the Cayster, commanded at its mouth by the great Ionian port of Ephesus; and lastly the Maeander, the longest of them all, near whose mouth stood Magnesia, another wealthy Ionian city, which in Hellenistic times was active in sending colonists to Iran. There was also a Magnesia in Lydia, originally a fortress on a spur of Mount Sipylus which commanded the lower Hermus plain, and which gave the name Magnesia-by-Sipylus to the city which grew up below it. The Ionian port for this

[3] Cumont, TMMM, I 46.

[4] Cf. HZ II 172–3, 206–8.

[5] P. Bernard, "Une pièce d'armure perse sur un monument lycien", Syria XLI, 1964, 209–11, who points out that by Roman imperial times (from when most of the evidence comes) these men of Iranian stock were completely assimilated into Lycian society, in which they continued to play an active and influential role, fulfilling diverse important civic functions. See also M. Launey, Armées hellenistiques, I, 571; Robert, Documents de l'Asie Mineure méridionale, 30 ff.

[6] For descriptions of Lydia see Head, BMC Lydia, xvii-xviii; Magie, RR, 35–7, 45–9.

area was Smyrna. Roads leading inland from Smyrna and Ephesus met at Sardis, the ancient capital of Lydia, which stood in the upper Hermus valley. Gold and electrum, washed down by its mountain streams, were part of Lydia's natural wealth. The wide river valleys and plains produced abundant crops, and many of the mountain slopes were forested. Even the one region which was volcanic and treeless—known to the Greeks as "Burnt Lydia"—was famous for growing vines. Lydia's other great resource was trade. An ancient road had linked Sardis with the Hittite capital of Boghazköy (near Ankara), along which trade passed between Lydia and lands further east. Under the Achaemenians this became part of the Royal Road which ran from their capital of Susa west to Sardis.[7] Along its entire length, Herodotus wrote, there were then "exceedingly good hostelries, and the whole of it passed through country that is inhabited and safe". This great highway evidently did much to open up Asia Minor for Iranian colonists, groups of them being found all along its course. Another ancient trade route which also served them in this way was the Southern Highway, which led from Sardis across southern Phrygia and southern Cappadocia, down through the Cilician Gates to Syria, and thence to Mesopotamia and beyond.[8] This route became of prime importance to the Seleucids, since it linked their Syrian capital of Antioch to Sardis, which for them, as for the Achaemenians, was the centre of their power in Asia Minor.

To the south the Maeander formed Lydia's boundary with Caria, which, bordered to the east by a smaller river, the Indus, lay in the south-west angle of Asia Minor, with a long coast-line and many ports.[9] Of these the most important was its capital, Halicarnassus. Inland it was only locally fertile, much of its territory consisting of rugged, pine-forested mountains which shut off the deep river-valleys from one another. Some of its rivers were tributaries of the Maeander, and their courses formed natural ways of communication with Lydia.

[7] On the Royal Road see Herodotus V.52–3. For the secondary literature on it, in which discrepancies in his account are discussed, see L. D. Dilleman, Haute Mésopotamie Orientale, Paris 1962, 147–55; Magie, RR, 786–9; S. F. Starr, "The Persian royal road in Turkey", Yearbook of the American Philosophical Society, 1962, 629–32 and "Mapping ancient roads in Anatolia", Antiquity 16, 1963, 162–9 (references which I owe to the kindness of my colleague, Professor A. D. H. Bivar).

[8] Termed by Ramsay, Geography, 35–43, the Eastern Highway. On it see also Magie, RR, 789–93.

[9] On Caria see Head, BMC Caria, xxv-xxvi; Magie, RR, 80–2, 37–8, 50–2; and in detail S. Hornblower, Mausolus, 4 ff.

To the east Lydia marched with south-west Phrygia, whose chief town was Celenae.[10] This stood on the western edge of the central Anatolian plateau, at a point where the Southern Highway climbed up on to it, coming from Sardis. A network of other ancient roads met here, bringing to Celenae armies and traders, travellers and Iranian colonists—for it was itself a beautiful and prosperous place, built on a wooded mountain slope above a fertile plain. It was famed also for its rivers, two of which gushed out within the town itself. One of these was the great Maeander, which, rushing down the mountain side, made the first of its celebrated bends on the plain below, receiving there as its first tributary the placid Orgas, which watered the cornfields and pastures. The other town river was the little Marsyas, which dashed down through Celenae to join the Maeander. This then, just a little further on, received another right-bank tributary, the Therma, gently flowing like the Orgas. These four rivers of Celenae were celebrated in antiquity, and are to be found on a coin of Roman imperial times associated with Iranian Anahit's cult there.[11] The Marsyas was said to take its name from the flute-playing Phrygian god who, according to legend, was killed and flayed by Apollo; his skin, it was claimed, hung in the cave from which the river gushed.[12] Marsyas was honoured at other places along the Maeander, and notably at Magnesia, whence, it seems, in Hellenistic times, his cult was carried by colonists to distant Bactria.[13]

Under the Achaemenians

Lydia was of great strategic as well as economic importance to the Achaemenians, who evidently colonized it strongly.[14] Strabo states that the Hyrcanian Plain, stretching along the Hermus'

[10] For a detailed description see G. Hirschfeld, Kelainai-Apameia-Kibotos, Abh. d. königlichen Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin, 1875. (I am indebted to M. Bernard for his kindness in lending me a copy of this work.) The vivid account of the town given by Ramsay, Cities, II 396 ff., is flawed by his adopting an error of W. J. Hamilton's concerning the course of the Maeander, see the study by P. Chuvin, "Le chant XIII: La Phrygie" (to appear in a joint work with M. Bernard). I am most grateful to M. Chuvin for allowing me to read this in typescript and to draw on his admirable analysis. For further bibliography on the city see Magie, RR, 784 n. 11, 983 n. 18.

[11] See below, pp. 244–5.

[12] Herodotus VII.26, and in more detail Strabo, Anabasis, I.2.8. Herodotus' name for the river Marsyas is Cataractes.

[13] See above, p. 180.

[14] See, notably, the separate studies by L. Robert (cited below by locality); and, in summary, P. Briant, Rois, tributs et paysans, 457–8.

north bank to the west of Sardis, was so called because Hyrcanians (from north-eastern Iran) had been settled there.[15] The town names Hyrcanis and Dareiou Kome ("Village of Darius") in this neighbourhood also indicate Iranian colonies; and Iranians are known to have held lands in the valley of the Caicus in north Lydia. Some of the colonists were presumably garrison-troops and ex-soldiers, given lands to farm. There were also Persian governors and administrators, some of whom settled permanently, founding families, in this rich and pleasant land. An indication of the feudal way in which such Iranian nobles lived is given by Xenophon in his account of a raid which he himself led against one of them, a certain Asidates, whose fortified manor-house was in the Caicus valley.[16] Asidates had armed retainers as well as many slaves; and when the Greeks attacked, a fire was lit to raise the alarm. This brought to his aid an Iranian neighbour leading his own body of retainers, and some official forces, who beat off the Greeks. This incident suggests that there were a number of Persians in that area (as presumably in other such fertile regions of Lydia), and that they kept in touch with one another, and with the local Persian administrators.

As to the religious lives of these Iranian expatriates, it appears that they held to their ancestral religion, which was part of their culture and imperial identity. Hence with each group of colonists and in each noble household the presence may be assumed of Zoroastrian priests, needed for essential rites and acts of worship. Such priests would clearly have had their differences in social standing, and presumably also in ethnic origins. The nobles' chaplains are likely to have been Persian and Median magi, among them men of learning and influence who would naturally have held themselves superior to village priests; while some of the latter were probably of Bactrian or Hyrcanian stock, their forefathers having come with the original settlers from eastern Iran. Despite such diversity, analogies with what is known later of the organisation of the Zoroastrian priesthood suggest that local priestly colleges must have evolved to arrange for the training and ordination of priests, the celebration of communal festivals, and general questions of discipline, dues and observances. In all this one would expect Persian influence to have prevailed under socially dominant Persian priests.

For the early Achaemenian period the religion has left no material traces, since down to the first half of the fifth century it still

[15] XIII.4.13.

[16] Anabasis, VII.viii.9–23, on which see L. Robert, Hellenica VI, 1948, 6 n. 2; CRAI 1975, 322; J. et L. Robert, Fouilles d'Amyzon, 116.

rejected temples and cult images. This is confirmed for western Asia Minor by Herodotus, himself a native of Halicarnassus in Caria: still in his day, he says, Persians worshipped in the open, preferably in high places.[17] The first Zoroastrian temple to be built in Asia Minor was probably one founded in Lydia in honour of Anahit, whose worship was greatly promoted, it seems, by Darius II and his queen Parysatis.[18] This temple's founder is said to have been "Cyrus", presumably, that is, their son, Cyrus the Younger, who was satrap of Lydia from 407 to 401;[19] and it stood some 32 km. to the north-west of Sardis, his official seat, at a place known as Hiera Kome, "Sacred Village". (This Greek name was given to a number of centres of habitation that grew up around shrines.[20])

The site of the Zoroastrian Hiera Kome was in the valley of the Hyllus, a large right-bank tributary of the Hermus which, lower down, formed the eastern boundary of the Hyrcanian Plain.[21] The Hyllus now bears the Turkish name of Kumçay, "River of Sand", because in summer its waters dry up over much of its course. By the site of Hiera Kome there is not a drop of moisture to be seen then in the wide river-bed, although villages on the further bank, having winter-fed sources of water, are luxuriantly green with trees, gardens and flourishing crops. The sanctuary itself, on the left bank, stood on a long low hill, where temple-remains of the Roman period are still to be seen; but the site has been extensively plundered for building materials, and most of the finds of inscribed stones have been made in the villages opposite, imbedded in

[17] I.131.

[18] See HZ II 201 ff.; and on Anahit add Boyce, "The Lady and the Scribe: some further reflections on Anāhīt and Tīr", A Green Leaf, Papers in honour of J.P. Asmussen, Acta Ir. 28, 1988, 277–82. *Pace* Gnoli, followed by Briant, o.c., pp. 458–9, there seem no good grounds for regarding the promotion of Anahit as politically motivated, cf. HZ II 30 n. 98.

[19] So M. P. Nilsson, commenting on Tacitus, Annals III.62, see apud Wikander, Feuerpriester, 85 n. 2, and cf. HZ II 201–2. Some scholars still argue for an identification of the temple's founder as Cyrus the Great, and it is very probable that in Greco-Roman times its priests allowed such an obviously useful confusion to develop. But it is unthinkable that the Carian Herodotus would not have heard of a famous temple founded by Cyrus the Great near Sardis, or that, hearing of it, he would nevertheless have stated that the Persians had no temples. This point appears to have been overlooked by Briant, o.c., p. 459 n. 182.

[20] For some other Hiera Kome's of western Asia Minor see Ramsay, Cities, 132 n. 3 with 584 n. 3; J. et L. Robert, Fouilles d'Amyzon, 100, and La Carie II 295; Debord, Aspects sociaux, 393 n. 97.—On the early form of the name of Cyrus' foundation, written thus in two words, see Robert, "Bull. ép.", REG 89, 1976, 542–3. For a sketch map of the region by H. Kiepert, showing Hiera Kome (Hierocaesarea) and Sardis, see apud Robert, BCH CVI 1982, 336 fig. 6.

[21] For a bibliography of the site see Robert, Hellenica VI, 1948, 28–9 with nn. The following description is taken from there, p. 29 ff.

various structures. It may at first sight seem strange that a place such as this, for so long annually without sight of water, should have been a shrine to a river-goddess; but there is mystery and drama in the change by which a dry bed of sand brims again yearly; and Iran itself provides a parallel with the shrine near Yazd of Banu-Pars, the "Lady of Pars" (a local cult-name for Anahit);[22] for that too is by a river-bed which is annually dry for many months, in its case a rocky channel which seasonally becomes filled with a torrent rushing off the bare mountains—again a majestic phenomenon that could be seen as declaring the power of a river-divinity.

The shrine to Banu-Pars is high in a mountain-valley; and the ridge by the Hyllus was also in its modest way a high place, well suited for traditional Zoroastrian worship; so it may have come to be regarded as sacred by Iranian colonists even before Anahit's new temple was built there. With his well-attested piety and liberality, Cyrus may safely be assumed to have endowed this temple with lands, like the Lydian temples of other religions; and even though he himself, in the few years of his governorship, could have done little to increase his initial benefactions, there is small doubt that royal patronage of Hiera Kome was continued by his mother, the Dowager-Queen Parysatis, who did all she could after his death to honour his memory.[23]

As a rebel prince who died young, Cyrus had not the reputation or standing of his elder brother, Artaxerxes II, who was Great King for nearly half a century (404–358); and it is to the latter that Berossus attributed the introduction of statues of "Aphrodite Anaitis", saying that he had them set up in various cities of his empire, including Sardis.[24] No temple to Anahit has yet been found, however, by excavators of the Lydian capital; and the likelihood is that Berossus used that city's name only as a point of reference, to indicate that Artaxerxes had founded an Anahit temple in its vicinity.[25] This supposition receives support from the fact that there was another great Anahit shrine near Sardis which for centuries rivalled that of Hiera Kome in fame and privilege. This was at Hypaipa, a small town 25½ km. to the south-west of Sardis, on a road that led round the flank of Mount Tmolus and down into the

[22] See Boyce, "Bībī Shahrbānū and the Lady of Pārs", BSOAS XXX, 1967, 30–44; Stronghold, 248–55; "Bānū-Pārs', Elr. III 717–18.

[23] Cf. HZ II 218.

[24] Bk. III frg. 65 (cf. HZ II 217).

[25] Cf. Adur Gušnasp, said to be "in" when apparently only near Ganzak in Atropatene (above, p. 75).

Cayster valley, and so to Ephesus.[26] Iranians are thought to have been settled there early in Achaemenian times to guard this important road, cultivating farms also in the fertile valley below.

Hypaipa was built on both sides of a deep ravine, which in summer was dry, but at other seasons received a torrent of water off the mountain-side above. Remains have been found of a great colonnaded temple (known from inscriptions of Greco-Roman times to have been dedicated to Anahit) that stood high above the ravine;[27] and this temple, which would have been visible to all who travelled the much-frequented road between Ephesus and Sardis, became famous, it seems, among Greeks. It was presumably because of it that Anahit (sometimes identified as the Persian Artemis) came to be called the "goddess of Tmolus", as is attested by a citation from the little-known poet Diogenes (held to have lived at the time of Artaxerxes II). His verses run: "I hear that . . . the Lydian, and the Bactrian maidens dwelling beside the Halys river, worship the goddess of Tmolus, Artemis, in her laurel-shaded grove the while they, 'mid plucking of triangles and pectides, thrum the magadis in responsive twanging, where also the flute, in Persian fashion, joins its welcome concord to the chorus."[28] (Down to modern times it has been customary for girls in traditional Zoroastrian centres of Iran to visit shrines in groups on holy days, and to sing and make music there, for merry-making is a part of all Zoroastrian festivals.[29]) This temple of Anahit may have helped to make Hypaipa itself widely known; and later Ovid (who died in 17 A.C.) wrote of the steep-sloped summit of Tmolus, with Sardis on one flank and "little Hypaipa" on the other.[30]

Three other temples to Anahit are known in Lydia, all, it is to be inferred from surviving data, founded under the Achaemenians; but since the data themselves come from Greco-Roman times, these

[26] For descriptions of the site see S. Reinach, Chroniques d'Orient, 146–67; L. Robert, "Types monétaires à Hypaipa de Lydie", RN XVIII, 1976, 25–8.

[27] See Reinach, o.c., pp. 146–7; G. Weber, REG V, 1892, 8–10.

[28] Athenaeus, Deipnosophists, XIV.636; cited by von Gutschmid, Kl.Schriften, III 264; Wikander, Feuerpriester, 84; Robert, art. cit., p. 30 n. 24; Fouilles d'Amyzon, 115 n. 147. For the Bactrian maidens by the Halys see, tentatively, below, p. 271.

[29] Cf. Boyce, Stronghold, 90–1. *Pace* Wikander, o.c., p. 85, there are no grounds for supposing that Diogenes was referring to temple priestesses. Antiochus I of Commagene appointed professional women musicians to play on feast days at the *hierothesia* which he established, see below, p. 341.

[30] Metamorphoses XI.150–2, cited by Reinach, o.c., p. 150; Robert, RN XVIII, 35 with n. 51. Hypaipa must also have had its importance as a staging post and garrison town; and the road leading to it passed out of Sardis by the "Hypaipa Gate", see Robert, l.c.

temples—at Sariçam, Gölmermere and Philadelphia—will be considered later.[31] Very probably they were established by noble Iranian families of Lydia, vying with one another to follow royal example and patronize the new cult; and, like the temples at Hiera Kome and Hypaipa, they were to flourish for centuries, providing imposing religious centres for the Zoroastrian community and livelihoods for a considerable body of priests.

In orthodoxy Anahit's cult, as that of a lesser *yazata*, was strictly subordinate to the worship of Ahura Mazda; and this worship, it seems, is attested in Sardis itself. There in 365 the satrap consecrated a statue of "Zeus Baradates", a name thought to be a semi-grecisized rendering of Ahuramazda *Baradata, the "Lawgiver".[32] This statue was evidently set within a shrine, for the satrap ordered "the attendant temple-priests who have the right to enter the sanctuary and who crown the god not to to take part in the mysteries of Sabazios, of those who carry the victims to be burnt, and of Angodistes and Ma". The prohibition gives some indication of the religious diversity in Achaemenian Sardis. The city's chief divinity then was Artemis, whose cult had, it seems, been brought there originally from Ephesus under Lydian kings. (A Sardian relief of about 400 B.C. shows her holding a deer, the cult animal of Ephesian Artemis.[33]) In Achaemenian times this goddess was still worshipped in Sardis in an uncovered precinct;[34] and a massive altar of the Hellenistic period, which stood there, was found to enclose an older one which has been dated on stylistic grounds to between 525 and 500.[35] This, it has been suggested, may be the "altar of Artemis" in Sardis of which Xenophon has Cyrus the Younger speak.[36] Also within the precinct were two Lydian inscriptions of the Achaemenian period, recording a contract between a priest and the Artemis-shrine.[37] This presumably Lydian priest, like his father before him, bore an Iranian name honouring

[31] See below, p. 216 f. (Sariçam), p. 215 f. (Philadelphia) and p. 218 (Gölmermere).

[32] Robert, "Une nouvelle inscription grecque de Sardes", CRAI, 1975, 306–31 (cited in HZ II 255–6). Against the attempt by P. Frei to see in "Zeus Baradates" a local or a Greek god see P. Briant, "Les iraniens d'Asie Mineure après la chute de l'empire achéménide", Dialogues d'histoire ancienne, 1985, 189 n. 13.

[33] See G. M. A. Hanfmann, Sardis, 91. In this book an assimilation at some stage between Anatolian Artemis and Anaitis Artemis is postulated or simply assumed, see pp. 104, 121, 129–30, and further Hanfmann, "The Sacrilege Inscription: The ethnic, linguistic, social and religious situation at Sardis at the end of the Persian era", BAI n.s. I, 1987, 5. No evidence for this is adduced, other than the statement by Berossus.

[34] See Hanfmann, o.c., p. 49 ff.

[35] Ib., pp. 51, 120–1.

[36] Anabasis, I.vi.7.

[37] W. E. Mierse apud Hanfmann, o.c., p. 104.

Mithra: "Mitridasta, son of Mitrata".[38] Whether in choosing these particular names this family was paying respect to the Zoroastrian divinity, or perhaps showing courtesy to Persian patrons, or merely following prevailing fashion, it is impossible to tell. The name "Mitrata" occurs again on a Lydo-Persian seal from Sardis,[39] and "Mithradates" is attested there, as well as "Mithres", repeatedly.[40]

A parallel to this use of Iranian names by the Sardian priests of Artemis is provided by priests of the mother-shrine at Ephesus, which is known to have enjoyed Persian patronage.[41] There the high priest, around 400 B.C., was called Megabyzos, a Greek rendering of Iranian *Bagabukhša, "Satisfying/serving the god",[42] the god in question being clearly Artemis. The name Megabyzos is recorded elsewhere in western Asia Minor as a personal one in the Hellenistic period;[43] but in Roman imperial times it is found in use at Ephesus as a generic title for Artemis' high priests.[44] This usage evidently goes back to the Achaemenian period, with, presumably, a long line of priests all bearing a family name that had become hereditary with the office.[45]—In general the adoption of Iranian names by Anatolian priests suggests amiable relations between them and the Persians, probably helped by generous benefactions to religious foundations by the latter. The occurrence of other Iranian names in the not very numerous Lydian inscriptions suggests that they were "relatively often used among the Lydians in various circumstances of life, in the capital just as in the country, which is without any doubt an indication how strong the Persian influence in Lydia must have been".[46]

[38] L. Zgusta, "Iranian names in Lydian inscriptions", Charisteria Orientalia praecipue ad Persiam pertinentia, Festschrift J. Rypka, ed. F. Tauer and others, Prague 1956, 398; R. Gusmani, "Onomastica iranica nei testi epicorici Lidi", Umanità e storia, Scritti in onore di A. Attisani II, Naples 1971, 5, 7–9; R. Schmitt, "Altiranische Mithranamen", Ét.mithriaques, 399–400; 408–9.

[39] Mierse, o.c., p. 105.

[40] Hanfmann, o.c., p. 127; Robert, BCH CVI, 1982, 364.

[41] Tacitus, Annals, III.64. In the 4th century B.C. the satrap Tissaphernes offered sacrifice at the shrine (Thucydides, 8.109); and when an Athenian fleet threatened Ephesus and he gathered an army for its defence, he is said to have done so with orders "for all to come to Ephesus, to the aid of Diana" (Xenophon, Hellenica, I.2.6.).

[42] Xenophon, Anabasis, V.iii.6–7. On the name see Benveniste, Titres et noms propres, 108–13, and on the first element cf. above, p. 112 n. 235.

[43] In the inscription of Priene (F. Hiller von Gaertringen, Inschriften von Priene, Berlin 1906, p. 5 no. 3, see Robert, Hellenica XI-XII, 1960, 458 no. 7); Thucydides, I.109.3.

[44] Strabo XIV.1.23, Appian V.9.

[45] Cf. the Parsi Meherji Ranas, who have been high priests at Navsari in Gujarat in unbroken succession since the first Meherji Rana was invested with that office at the time of Akbar, the name since then going with the position.

[46] Zgusta, art. cit. in n. 38, p. 400.

Apart from the inscriptional evidence for the worship of "Zeus Baradates", the only other testimony to a Zoroastrian presence in Achaemenian Sardis is that provided by the winged-circle motif, occurring on seals and gold plaques excavated there;[47] for though this emblem appears to represent "fortune" only, that is, *khvarenah*, it was an important part of the religio-political symbolism used by the Achaemenians.[48] An attempt to identify an ancient altar in Sardis as a Zoroastrian fire-holder appears ill-founded.[49]

The satrapal capital of Achaemenian Caria was Halicarnassus, and there are traces of Persian presence elsewhere on its coastal plain (including, repeatedly, the proper name Megabates).[50] In the fourth century Tissaphernes, satrap of Lydia, had an estate in inland Caria;[51] and the names Bagadates and Ariaramnes occur at that time in a family in the small town of Amyzon in north-west Caria.[52] No Zoroastrian traces survive, however; and culturally the most striking aspect of Carian life under the later Achaemenians was its rapid hellenization. During the last half-century of Persian rule the satraps, of the native family of the Hekatomids, governed virtually as independent dynasts. They enjoyed great wealth, which they were eager to display, and were ardent hellenizers. In about the mid fourth century one of them, possibly the famous Mausolus (377–353), built an imposing hilltop sanctuary at Amyzon to a divinity venerated there by the name of Artemis—probably, it is suggested, an ancient nature goddess, queen of the

[47] See Mierse apud Hanfmann, Sardis, 104, 105.

[48] See, with references, HZ II 100 ff., and above, p. 104.

[49] Mierse apud Hanfmann, o.c., p. 104, deduced that in the Persian period the altar of Cybele, standing in an open precinct in Sardis, was "transformed into a [Zoroastrian] fire altar", because it was then rebuilt, and the little stone lions which had apparently stood at its four corners, representing Cybele's cult animal, were immured within the new stonework (see ib., figs. 49, 52). But the rebuilt altar could not have been used as a Zoroastrian fire-holder (on whose form and function see HZ II 51–3) because 1) it stood in the open, unprotected, and 2) in the ashes on it were found earth, charred bone and horn (see Hanfmann, o.c., pp. 36–7), an impossibly polluting mixture for a Zoroastrian sacred fire.—A Zoroastrian "fire-altar" has also been seen in an object represented on an Ionian coin of perhaps c.400 B.C., and in a similar one on a coin of Myndus in Caria of the Hellenistic period, see Head, BMC Ionia, p. 324, and BMC Caria, p. 137 no. 33; Wikander, Feuerpriester, 86. This interpretation was based, however, on a comparison of this "pyramidal structure of three stages with a flight of steps on the right" with one of the open-air plinths at Pasargadae (cf. HZ II 52, 53); but although it—or rather the other one of the Pasargadae pair—may have been used to support a fire-holder set on it for ceremonial purposes, it could clearly not itself have been used, with its flat top, as a receptacle for fire, and it is difficult to see therefore how it could have acquired any iconographic significance in the fire-cult, such as would have led to its representation in this connection on coins.

[50] Hornblower, Mausolus, 26 with n. 155.

[51] Xenophon, Hellenica, III.2.12, see Hornblower, o.c., p. 7.

[52] See below, pp. 210–11.

forests which so thickly clothed the mountains round about. The sanctuary appears to have been built as a harmonious whole, with terraces, stairway, entrance-gate, temple, fountain, enclosing wall, and perhaps a theatre, all of white marble—a Carian shrine in Greek guise.[53]

Phrygian Celenae, with its trading links down the valleys of the Maeander and Hermus with Ionia, likewise underwent early hellenization; but, standing as it did on the Southern Highway, it also attracted Iranian interest and settlement. Xerxes led his great army by Celenae on his march to Greece;[54] and on his return after Salamis he rested there, and built a citadel and palace.[55] Later a second Achaemenian palace was built above the town, and a "paradesos" was made, a great walled park for hunting, through which the Maeander flowed. Here Cyrus the Younger pursued the chase and exercised his horses.[56] Presumably there was an Iranian quarter in the town, and Persian nobles were granted estates in the countryside around; for still in Roman imperial times Iranian names are attested there.[57] From that epoch too comes numismatic evidence for the existence of a temple to Anahit,[58] founded, it is reasonable to suppose, under the Achaemenians. A place of such dramatically appearing and abundant waters, and one favoured moreover by the younger Cyrus, was one where her worship appears destined to thrive.

Summary

The evidence, though sparse, thus suffices to show that southwest Anatolia under Achaemenian rule had, locally, a considerable Iranian population and underwent strong Iranian influence. Zoroastrianism, as the religion of the ruling power, clearly enjoyed a privileged position, and its adherents were able when they chose to found well-endowed temples in prominent places. Iranians would undoubtedly have been encouraged to visit these sanctuaries, thus fostering communal ties; and the erecting of sacred buildings which rivalled or eclipsed those of other local religions may well have been for many of them a source of pride and satisfaction. These temples,

[53] See L. Robert, "Le sanctuaire d'Artémis à Amyzon", CRAI 1953, 403–15; J. et L. Robert, Fouilles d'Amyzon.
[54] Herodotus, VII.26.
[55] Xenophon, Anabasis, I.2.9.
[56] Ib., I.2.7–8.
[57] Robert, Noms indigènes, 348–50; see below, p. 245.
[58] See below, pp. 244–5.

with their endowments and trained bodies of priests, must have been an important element in the long survival of Zoroastrianism in the region. Yet the innovation was probably in some respects detrimental, for it gave it a greater similarity in observance to other religions there, and so made some degree of gradual assimilation to them all the more possible.

Under the Macedonians

For the Iranians of western Anatolia, long settled in their adopted land, Alexander's conquest must have been as harsh a blow as for their kinsmen in Iran itself, displacing them as it did from the enviable position of the imperial people, and bringing death and sorrow to their community. Many Anatolian Iranians must have fallen at Granicus; but Lydia was at least spared devastation, for in the shock that followed the great battle Sardis surrendered without a blow. Its Persian military commander, Mithrenes, went out to meet the Macedonian,[59] and after submitting was confirmed in the honours due to his rank and accompanied Alexander on his subsequent campaigns. Other Iranians evidently behaved with equal pragmatism; and, however much individuals may have suffered, the expatriate community as a whole seems to have recovered and continued life much as before. The more fortunate nobles kept their estates and still enjoyed local esteem;[60] and since the villages and small towns of western Anatolia were in general ethnically constituted, most of the humbler Iranians presumably went on living largely as before, paying taxes to new masters but otherwise keeping their own traditional ways, like the Lydians, Carians, Phrygians and others around them. Among these, however, there were now Macedonian settlers, the new élite.

Like other Anatolians, Iranian villagers probably also went on speaking their own ancestral tongue among themselves for generations.[61] For the nobles, leading magi, and Iranian citizens of towns like Sardis or Celenae, matters were evidently different in this respect. Many of them probably knew some Greek even before the

[59] Arrian, Anabasis, I.17.3. On this act of Mithrenes, and his further career, see Briant, art. cit. in n. 32, p. 168.
[60] E.g., the case of Mardonios of Apollonia-Tripolis, below, p. 216.
[61] On the slow, though steady, spread of Greek among the rural population of western Asia Minor see Ramsay, Geography, 98–9; JHS X, 1889, 216. Although Lydian had died out in Lydia itself by the 2nd cent. A.C., it was then still spoken in Cibyra, along with Pisidian and Greek. Carian was by then dead, see Hornblower, Mausolus, 11, and cf. ib., pp. 343–4.

Macedonian conquest, and others clearly already had a fluent command of that language;[62] and now it seems gradually to have become the domestic speech of urban dwellers and the educated generally. Greek, not Aramaic, is the only recorded written language of the Iranians of western Anatolia in Greco-Roman times.

This development would have had no direct effect on the religious lives of Zoroastrians, since the sacred tongue, used in public and private worship, was Avestan, and would have continued to be so whatever the vernacular spoken by the local community. All the holy texts, still orally transmitted, were likewise in Avestan; but it is very possible that, as generations passed, a *zand*, that is, exegesis and commentary with perhaps some translation, developed in Greek (as later among the Parsis, another expatriate Zoroastrian community, there came to be partial *zands* in Sanskrit and Gujarati). It is also possible that, with the pressures of a dominant literary culture all around them, the priests in time wrote down some of this Greek *zand*. There is even reference in the second century A.C. to the use of a book in temple worship at Hypaipa, with the statement that what was read from it was in an unknown barbaric tongue, presumably, that is, Avestan. The complex questions which this raises will be considered later.[63]

The fact that cultured Iranians in these regions adopted Greek as their mother-tongue has some importance, however, for the general history of religions, for this brought them into easy communication with others around them, in an epoch which was to see far-reaching religious developments. Zoroastrians were now able here to make some of their leading doctrines more widely known, and so to contribute to those developments. Conversely, they became themselves more open to influence by other religions, and to attraction by different forms of worship.

Evidence of an Iranian family succumbing early to such attraction comes from Caria, in an inscription from the hilltop sanctuary of "Artemis" at Amyzon. This is dated to the fourth year of Philip Arrhidaeus (who succeeded his half-brother, Alexander, in 323), and is almost complete. The last five lines run: " . . . it has pleased the Amyzonians in open assembly, at the proposal of Asandros, that Bagadates, whom the oracle of Delphi had shown to him, should be the *neokoros* of Artemis, because he is devoted to the sanctuary; that citizenship of the city should be given to Bagadates and to his son Ariarames, exemption from all imposts, and pri-

[62] See below, p. 373.
[63] See below, pp. 236–8.

vileged places; and that they should share . . .".[64] Asandros was the Macedonian satrap of Caria, who thus had recourse to Apollo's oracle, as the supreme religious authority,[65] before putting his proposal—virtually a command—to the citizens of Amyzon, that they should appoint an Iranian as *neokoros* of their imposing shrine. This dignified position was that of lay warden, and entailed ensuring the upkeep of the temple, and supervising, under the authority of the high priest, the celebration of worship and maintenance of order. (The Zoroastrians seem to have taken over for some at least of their temples this custom of having a lay warden, the most famous instance being that of the Sasanians, hereditary wardens of Anahit's temple at Istakhr.) Bagadates was evidently a man of wealth and standing, prominent enough in Carian society to secure the interest of Asandros; and he must have been active in the affairs of the sanctuary already under the Hekatomids. It is suggested that he had probably first been drawn to the worship of this Artemis, goddess of mountain and forest, as a pious Zoroastrian, seeing in her a manifestation of the "Persian Artemis", that is, of Anahit.[66] Anahit was regularly "interpreted" in Anatolia as an Artemis rather than an Aphrodite, that is, as a fertility goddess, presumably because she was worshipped predominantly as a river-divinity, hence as a source of fecundity.[67] Bagadates could hardly have long reconciled his duties at the Amyzon shrine with even private devotions to Anahit; and his seems a clear case of a falling away from the faith. Iranian colonists were relatively few in Caria, so that there was not the support there of a large community of Zoroastrian fellow-worshippers. The seduction too of the lavishly endowed cult of Amyzon Artemis, with its beautiful setting and shrine, must have been considerable, and participation in it clearly brought striking social advantages.[68] The naming with Bagadates of his son, and the conferring of the same privileges on them both, suggests that the office of *neokoros* was intended to be hereditary in their family; and that this intention was fulfilled is shown by another inscription of soon after 203,[69] in which the temple *neokoros* is named as "Arieramnes", a descendant evidently of the "Aria-

[64] J. et L. Robert, Fouilles d'Amyzon, Inscription no. 2, pp. 97–8.
[65] Subsequently under the Seleucids (who claimed Apollo as their ancestor) this god was associated with "Artemis' at Amyzon, see ib., pp. 140–1.
[66] Ib., p. 116.
[67] Against suggestions that Anatolian Artemis was herself worshipped in Lydia as a goddess of water see Robert, RN XVIII, 1976, 46 n. 97.
[68] On his as an example of the integration of an Iranian noble into Hellenic society see Briant, art. cit. in n. 32, pp. 169–71.
[69] See J. et L. Robert, Fouilles d'Amyzon, pp. 195–6 (inscription no. 18).

rames" of the first inscription, who had flourished over a hundred years earlier.[70]

In Lydia and Phrygia the Zoroastrian temples, though still relatively new institutions in the long history of the faith, must have been of especial value to it now when it had lost imperial support, since through them, as public centres of worship, it could at least enjoy the same recognition and patronage as other religions in the land. Alexander himself, with money flowing in from other sources, and with western Anatolia submissive, had no cause to harry temples there; and he is in fact known to have confirmed the sanctuary privileges of the shrine of Sardian Artemis,[71] and to have extended those of Artemis of Ephesus.[72] Thereafter, succeeding conquerors continued his—and the Achaemenians'—policy of benevolence towards holy places; and far from suffering diminution of dignity or wealth, the great Lydian temples, of whatever dedication, had their former rights and privileges confirmed, and seem steadily to have increased their ownership of land through purchase, gifts and bequests.[73] "The line of development" (it has been observed) "was not one of reduction but of increase. . . . The accumulation of holdings by the medieval church affords a striking analogy".[74] The larger temples had considerable commercial interests, and acted not only as landowners but as banks, lending money or receiving it into safe-keeping; and thriving towns came into being around them, with mixed populations and interests. Gradually in Hellenistic times such towns followed the example of Greek cities by beginning to elect magistrates and hold civic meetings.[75] Such developments inevitably increased the pressures of cultural hellenization, and tended in time to diminish the authority of the temple and its high priest.[76]

Although these facts can be deduced for the history of temples generally in this region, evidence for individual shrines in the

[70] See J. et L. Robert, o.c., p. 196, cf. p. 113 n. 136 (on the name Ariaramnes and its recorded forms).
[71] Tacitus, Annals, III.61.
[72] Strabo XIV.1.23.
[73] See T. R. S. Broughton, "New evidence on temple-estates in Asia Minor", Studies in Roman economic and social history in honour of A. C. Johnson, ed. P. R. Coleman-Norton and others, Princeton University Press, 1951, 236–50; T. Zawadzki, "Quelques remarques sur l'étendue et l'accroissement des domaines des grands temples en Asie Mineure", EOS, Commentarii Polonorum Societatis Philologae, 46, 1952–1953, 83–96. Further references apud Magie, RR, II 1016–17, nn. 62, 63; and add Debord, Aspects sociaux.
[74] Broughton, art. cit., p. 247.
[75] Hansen, Attalids, 179; Magie, RR, 139–42.
[76] Debord, o.c., pp. 52–3, 168–9.

Hellenistic period is sporadic and sparse. One reason for this is that south-west Anatolia is much subject to earthquakes, so that few ancient buildings or monuments survive. Another is that the region had its share of the man-made devastation brought by the Successors' Wars and the dynastic struggles which followed. In 319 Antigonus seized Lydia from its Macedonian satrap; and when he fell at Ipsus it passed with most of Asia Minor to Lysimachus.[77] He deposited a large amount of the treasure he had gained in charge of Philataerus, son of Attalus, at Pergamum, the almost impregnable hill-fort near the mouth of the Caicus; and this was the foundation of the wealth of the Attalid dynasty.[78] In 282 Philataerus transferred his allegiance to Seleucus, fighting on his side at Corupedion; and when Seleucus was murdered he remained loyal to his son Antiochus I.[79]

During his time of rule in Asia Minor Antiochus pursued the general policy of founding new cities with Macedonian settlers, and reconstituting old ones in Greek form. After Corupedion Sardis, as the capital of the western third of the Seleucid Empire, grew thoroughly hellenized, while among Lydian places of Iranian settlement that received Macedonian colonists was Hyrcanis, whose inhabitants were presumably wholly or predominantly Iranian by origin.[80] Nor were they now wholly submerged, but seem to have come to terms with their new neighbours, for thereafter the townspeople there were known jointly as "Macedones Hyrcanioi".[81]

In Phrygia Antiochus himself refounded Celenae, renaming it, in honour of his Iranian mother, Apamea. It is thought that he may have named this particular foundation for her because of the number of Iranians there, and its temple to Anahit.[82] Celenae had successfully withstood siege by Alexander,[83] but had suffered the winter quartering on it of troops by Eumenes in 321,[84] and subsequently by Antigonus.[85] Now Antiochus abandoned the old citadel, and developed his new town on the gentler lower slopes.[86] The Iranian colonials were presumably incorporated into the citizenry

[77] Cf. above, pp. 18, 24.
[78] See in detail Hansen, Attalids.
[79] See ib., pp. 16–17.
[80] See above, p. 201, and Robert, Villes d'Asie Mineure, 90 n. 3.
[81] See Head, BMC Lydia, lxiv; Robert, Hellenica VII, 1948, 16 ff.
[82] So Robert, "Démodamas de Milet et la reine Apame", BCH CVIII, 1984, 471.
[83] Arrian XXIX; Curtius III.1.
[84] Plutarch, Eumenes, 8.
[85] Diodorus XVIII.52.1, XIX.69.2. For these events in the town's history see Hirschfeld, o.c. in n. 10, pp. 13–14.
[86] See Hirschfeld, ib., pp. 14, 21–2.

of the new *polis*, which does not appear to have been organized in "tribes" in the regular Greek manner;[87] and they evidently retained something of their former wealth and standing, since one among them, named Maiphernes, acted as mint master during this period.[88] (This highly responsible office was attainable only by leading citizens.) Maiphernes and his fellows were clearly well able themselves to support the Anahit temple; but evidence from the Roman period suggests that this was in fact one of Celenae-Apamea's chief shrines, which very possibly (through the city's link with Queen Apama) enjoyed under the Seleucids royal as well as civic and private patronage. (The Seleucids followed the Achaemenians in having a palace in the town, where eventually, in 189 B.C., the fateful Treaty of Apamea was signed.[89])

In Lydia Anahit's "Sacred Village", Hiera Kome, had evidently grown to be a sizeable town; and a damaged inscription, dated palaeographically to early in the third century, records the settling by royal regulation of a boundary dispute between it and the old town of Thyatira, some 19 km. to the north.[90] That such a dispute should have arisen suggests large acquisitions of land by Anahit's temple. Later Hiera Kome was ravaged at least twice in the course of local wars. The Ptolemids, with their naval power, had gained possession of much of the Carian and Ionian coasts, and this encouraged Eumenes of Pergamum, Philataerus' successor, to seek to throw off Seleucid suzerainty. In 263 he defeated Antiochus I in battle near Sardis, and thereafter ruled independently over the Caicus valley; but he, like others in western Anatolia, had to keep buying off the plundering Galatians. In 241 his successor, Attalus I (the first Pergamenid to take the title of king), confronted an army of these marauders and defeated them decisively, gaining much fame by his victory.[91] Subsequently he won battles against Antiochus Hierax, and a decade later against a combined Seleucid-Galatian force, making himself master thereby of Lydia, Phrygia and Lycaonia; but in 222 Achaius drove him back on Pergamum. Thereafter Attalus turned his attention westward, intervening actively (as an ardent philhellene) in the affairs of Greece; and in 211 he was included among the allies of Rome in a treaty against Macedon. (His son was later to claim that Attalus was first "of all the inhabitants of Asia and Greece" to become Rome's friend.[92])

[87] Jones, Cities, 70 with n. 65; Magie, RR, 136.
[88] Head, BMC Phrygia, p. 83 nos 83, 84; Robert, Noms indigènes, 349.
[89] Cf. above, p. 31.
[90] Keil-von Premerstein, DWA LIV, 1911, p. 13 inscription no. 18.
[91] For this and what follows cf. above, pp. 28–9.
[92] Polybius XXI.20.1–5; Hansen, o.c., p. 67.

Prusias I of Bithynia was related to Philip V of Macedon; and in 209 he attacked Attalus, the fighting between them continuing until 205. Four years later Philip himself landed on the Pergamene coast, and being unable to take Pergamum, marched inland seeking plunder, coming by way of Thyatira to Hiera Kome. From there he sent a message to Antiochus III's general in Lydia, asking urgently for supplies; but no adequate response was made, and town and temple must have suffered as the hungry army waited in vain.[93] Almost half a century later Prusias II of Bithynia was embroiled in fighting with Attalus II (159–138); and when he too failed to take Pergamum he withdrew, "attacking and despoiling on his retreat the temple of Artemis at Hiera Kome".[94] The wealth and importance of Anahit's shrine is shown by its being signalled out for mention in this way. By the time of this second raid Lydia, with Greater Phrygia and eastern Caria, was again under Attalid rule, part of the large territorial gains made by Pergamum under the Treaty of Apamea in reward for its support for Rome—gains whereby Eumenes II (197–160) became "the most powerful dynast in Asia Minor".[95] This aggrandizement was linked, however, with a measure of subservience to Rome.

The Attalids in their turn founded new cities, generally with a larger number of their citizens being drawn from the local population than had been usual in Seleucid foundations.[96] One such city was Philadelphia, established by Attalus II, probably near the old Lydian town of Calletebus, whose inhabitants it may have absorbed.[97] Philadelphia stood on the further side of the Tmolus range from Hypaipa, and commanded the valley of the Cogamis. This, the largest left-bank tributary of the Hermus, joined that river above Sardis, and its valley provided an important route linking those of the Hermus and Maeander. Philadelphia's earliest coins bear on the obverse a Macedonian shield, a declaration of the town's origins;[98] but records of Roman times show that its chief divinity was "Artemis Anaitis".[99] It is inconceivable that a new shrine to a Zoroastrian *yazata* should have been created in a Hellenistic city, almost two centuries after the end of Persian rule; and so it may be safely assumed that a temple to Anahit already

[93] Polybius XVI.1; Hansen, o.c., pp. 55–6; Will, Hist. pol., II 124–5.
[94] Polybius XXXII.15.11; Hansen, o.c., pp. 133–4; Will, o.c., pp. 381–2; Robert, Ét.anatoliennes, 111–18.
[95] Hansen, o.c., p. 94.
[96] Ib., p. 175 ff.
[97] Ramsay, Cities, 199–200; Jones, Cities, 54. On Philadelphia more generally Magie, RR 124–5, 982 n. 17.
[98] Head, BMC Lydia, p. 187 nos. 1–4 with Pl.XXI.1.
[99] See below, p. 240.

existed in this part of the Cogamis valley, and that the Hellenes whom Attalus settled there came to worship the Persian goddess as the chief local divinity. It can also be deduced that there were Iranians living here, in this well-watered and strategically important valley, and that they too were made citizens of the new Philadelphia. (A small piece of evidence for the excellent relations which could exist between Iranians and Hellenes at this time is provided by an inscription from the upper Maeander valley. This was in honour of a man bearing the Persian name of Mardonios, who evidently owned a large estate in that fertile region. His family was presumably philhellene, since his father was called Aristomachos; and the inscription gratefully records that Mardonios had given help to Macedonian settlers in the valley under both Seleucid and Attalid rule, receiving finally in recognition the citizenship of Apollonia-Tripolis, an Attalid foundation.[100])

On the opposite side of the Cogamis valley from Philadelphia rose the volcanic ranges of Burnt Lydia, with their many springs and torrents, including the headwaters of the Cogamis itself; and here a remarkable number of inscriptions of the Roman period have been found, attesting the veneration there of Anahit (amid that of Phrygian and Lydian divinities).[101] From this it has been deduced that there was a temple to the goddess somewhere in this region, serving as a centre for her cult; but no trace of such a sanctuary has yet been discovered.

There is clearly, however, a large element of chance in the discovery of the past existence of even a large temple; and only a single Attalid inscription (which, once found, almost became lost to sight again) identifies an evidently important Anahit sanctuary to the west of Sardis, on the Hyrcanian Plain. This temple was set on a bold ridge of hill which rises conspicuously near the modern village of Sariçam.[102] A Hellenistic town was built there, probably on the site of an older Achaemenian stronghold; and there was a fort at its higher end. One side of the ridge is steep, the other (which faces towards Magnesia and the noble mass of Mount Sipylus) is terraced and slopes gently down to the plain. Here the temple stood; and its presence has led to this place being identified as in all probability Hierolophos, the "Sacred Ridge", a town mentioned by Pliny as a member, in the Augustan period, of the

[100] Robert, BCH CVII, 1983, 498–505; and further on Apollonia-Tripolis, Ramsay, Cities, I 5–6, 192–5.
[101] See below, pp. 242–4.
[102] See Robert, Villes d'Asie Mineure, 86–90; "Le site antique de Sariçam", Hellenica VI, 1948, 56–69.

conventus of Pergamum.[103] Explorers of the site in the nineteenth century found various inscriptions there, including one on a stone that had probably been set in the temple's walls. This stone was eventually removed to Manisa (ancient Magnesia), where it was used for a domestic well-head.[104] The inscription on it contained the record of a grant made to the temple, most probably by Attalus III of Pergamum, who succeeded his uncle, the founder of Philadelphia, in 138 B.C.[105] The opening lines are: "I guarantee you the inviolability of the Persian Goddess in your city provided that your existing institution be thereby in no way changed". The king then speaks of this right of asylum having been received by the temple "from former rulers and from my ancestors", referring thus, it is held, to the Seleucids and his own Attalid predecessors. Seleucid kings had evidently fulfilled in their day the conqueror's duty of ratifying existing privileges, conferred in this case by an Achaemenian; and one small peculiarity of wording in the grant may indeed go back to the Persian period: in a similar grant to a Hellenic foundation, it has been pointed out,[106] the right of sanctuary would be given to the temple, but here it is confirmed to the goddess herself. Zoroastrian temples would not have been known to early Achaemenian chancellery usage, and the original grant, set down in Aramaic and probably preserved in the temple's archives, was perhaps formulated thus, according to an old scribal tradition.

Hierolophos is as if fashioned by nature for Zoroastrian worship: a "high place" rising dramatically from the plain, and yet readily accessible to priests and pilgrims; elevated itself, and with prospects all around of distant, loftier mountains, in particular Sipylus. The likelihood seems therefore that when Iranians settled in the Hyrcanian Plain they created a holy place for themselves on this ridge by making regular ascents there, to pray and sacrifice to Ahura Mazda and the *yazatas*; and that it was only when the temple cult of Anahit was introduced, and made rapidly popular through royal favour, that a consecrated building was erected there and dedicated specifically to this goddess.

Yet another temple to Anahit appears to have existed to the north of Sardis, by an important highway which led from there to

[103] Nat.Hist., V.126. The identification, proposed by K. Buresch, Aus Lydien, 27–8, was considered probable by Robert, Hellenica VI, 57, and has been accepted by others.
[104] See Radet, BCH 1887, 394. Robert, art. cit., pp. 57–8 and further CRAI 1975, 322 n. 55, has shown conclusively that it is wrong to assume that this stone came originally from Anahit's better-known shrine at Hiera Kome.
[105] C. B. Welles, Royal Correspondence, 273–6; OGIS 333.
[106] Welles, o.c., p. 275.

Pergamum. This passed a broad, marshy lake fed by floodings of the river Hermus, beyond which was a fertile plain. Here there rises an isolated hill of marble, quarried of old for building materials for Sardis, with at its foot the town of Gölmermere, "Marmara of the lake". Evidence for Anahit's worship here is furnished by a marble slab, now built into a doorway, on which is carved in large letters "Artemis Persike". This, it is thought, came from a temple to Anahit. In an Ephesian inscription which lists the towns and peoples of the Roman province of Asia there is mention, in the district of Sardis, of "the Julii, who were formerly called the Maebozani".[107] The earlier name is plainly Iranian, to be connected with the well-attested one of "Maibouzanes",[108] and the people who bore it are listed between the towns of Julia Gordis and Daldis. Since Gölmermere can be said to be so situated, it has been identified, on the strength of the Anahit inscription, as the town of these Maebozani/Julii.[109] They were the descendants, presumably, of Achaemenian colonists, who had very possibly been garrison troops there, since the marble hill makes a natural watchpost with wide views over the plain. It seems probable that here too the first Iranian settlers ascended the hill regularly to worship, and that later a temple to Anahit was built on that by then sacred place, materials for it being ready to hand. Gölmermere would have been a natural staging post for pilgrims taking the shortest way from Sardis to Hiera Kome, who could thus have paid their devotions to Anahit there also; while Hyrcanis with its Iranian citizens was less than 30 km. to the west, and other worshippers could have come from the broad Hyrcanian Plain beyond. Pilgrimage is a part of Zoroastrian tradition, and the Iranians of Lydia may be expected to have visited all their local temples and shrines on the appointed feast-days.

In Sardis itself—more or less at the centre of the network of Anahit's temples—there are few remains from the Macedonian period, and little is known of its religious life at that time. Alexander had ordered a temple to be built there to Zeus,[110] but it is not known if this was done. The city's chief divinity continued to be Anatolian Artemis, and a great temple to her was built within her old sacred precinct, in which, in 254, Antiochus II set a stele recording a sale of land to his queen, Laodice.[111] To this temple a chapel was added, and there a colossal statue was erected to "Zeus". The head survives, and a likeness has been traced between its features and those of the Seleucid prince Achaius, who ruled in Asia Minor, with Sardis as his capital, from 220 to 214 (and under whom the city had a Persian governor, one Aribazos).[112] The divine identity of this "Zeus" remains problematic: was he Olympian Zeus, whom Alexander had sought to honour, or Zeus Baradates, that is, seemingly, Ahura Mazda, who had long been worshipped in Sardis, or a syncretism of these Greek and Iranian divinities? Evidence is lacking to provide an answer.[113]

[107] C. Habicht, "New evidence on the province of Asia", JRS 65, 1975, 67, 73–4, who points out that this people's new name must have been obtained from one of the Julian emperors.

[108] For occurrences of this name see Justi, Namenbuch, 188; Robert, Noms indigènes, 516 n. 4; and for its probable etymology (**Mâh-baujana-* "Joy of the Moon") Benveniste, Titres et noms propres, 114.

[109] Robert, "Mermere antique et moderne: les carrières, les Iraniens", BCH CVI, 1982, 367–73, where (p. 372 n. 23) a bibliography is given for the "Artemis Persike" stone. (Doubt about the identification is expressed by N. V. Sekunda, "Achaemenid colonization in Lydia", Revue des Études Anciennes LXXXVII, 1985, 25.)

Summary

The general evidence for the Macedonian period thus shows the Iranians of western Anatolia living prosperously under both Seleucid and Attalid rule, integrated into the general community and suffering only as it suffered. The cult of Anahit is the only form of Zoroastrian worship clearly attested at this time (during which such evidence as there is about the Iranian religion concerns exclusively temples and temple-towns); and it plainly flourished, with this *yazata* accepted as one of the divinities of the land, who was worshipped by those of non-Iranian as well as Iranian stock. An interesting proof of this is provided by Pausanias, who records that when a Lydian named Adrastos fell fighting for the Greeks against the Macedonians in the Lamian War (in 322 B.C.) "a likeness of this Adrastos in bronze was dedicated in front of the sanctuary of Persian Artemis by the Lydians.[114] Conceivably one of Anahit's temples was chosen because of her aspect of goddess of war.[115]

How far absorption into the general religious life of the land

[110] Arrian I.17.5–6.

[111] Hanfmann, Sardis, 119.

[112] Hanfmann, o.c., pp. 119–20; and for Aribazos, Polybius VII. 17.9, VIII.21.9. On Achaeus cf. above, p. 29.

[113] On Zeus Baradates see further below, p. 248.

[114] VII.vi.7. Mierse (in Hanfmann, Sardis, 121) supposes that this statue was erected in the sacred precinct of Sardian Artemis in the city of Sardis itself. But cf. above, n. 33.

[115] Cf. HZ II 203.

affected Anahit's cult at this time remains a matter for speculation. The first aspect of Zoroastrian observance to be affected is likely to have been the purity laws; for it is difficult to see how these could have been strictly maintained once access to this *yazata's* shrines was permitted to non-Zoroastrians. In this respect, therefore, the situation in western Anatolia was probably exactly opposite to that in Iran itself, where the purity laws appear to have been extended and made more stringent at this epoch.[116] In western Anatolia society was ethnically mixed, the religious climate was tolerant, and there was no realistic hope of a foreseeable restoration of Iranian sovereignty. Evidence from the Roman period shows, moreover, that the chief priests of Anahit's temples were educated men, Greek-speaking, who (like other high priests of important shrines[117]) took an active part in public affairs. The tendency was thus, it seems, towards openness and easy intercourse with other citizens, rather than towards isolation and withdrawal.

There was evidently also, however, a characteristic Zoroastrian conservatism. This is attested later in the spheres of ritual and liturgical language; and there is no reason to suppose that there was pressure, external or within the community, to make changes in either. The unique rituals of the fire-cult, and the sonorous chanting of Avestan, were important elements in the mystery of the Iranian faith, while on the higher planes of doctrine and ethics it had great strengths. It was thus well constituted to retain its hold on those of Iranian stock, and even to draw in others, such as the Macedonians of Philadelphia; but gaining "outer" adherents of different national and religious backgrounds clearly carried the danger of diluting its own traditions.

Under Roman rule

Despite a number of rebuffs and slights, the Attalids maintained friendly and ever more subservient relations with Rome; and when Attalus III died in 133 he left almost all his wide domains by will to the republic. A revolt followed, led by Aristonicus, a claimant to the Pergamid throne; and Rome sought help from allies and client kings in Asia Minor to put this down. One who responded was Mithradates V of Pontus, whom the citizens of Hypaipa, among others, are reported to have resisted—for which they doubtless suffered in due course.[118] In 131 a Roman army arrived, and after

[116] Cf. above, p. 68.
[117] Cf. Debord, Aspects sociaux, 54.
[118] Jones, Cities, 61; and in general on Aristonicus' revolt, Hansen, Attalids, 150–9; CAH IX 103–5.

some ineffective fighting command was given to M. Perperna, who besieged Aristonicus in a town in the Caicus valley and took him prisoner there. While Perperna was settling affairs, the priests of Hiera Kome evidently sent a delegation to wait on him, and secured from him (yet another in the line of local conquerors) recognition of their temple's sanctuary rights.[119] Perperna died in 129, and there was more destructive fighting before the whole of the former Pergamid empire was subdued. Its territories were variously dealt with; but the entire region of our present concern—Lydia, Caria and south-west Phrygia—became part of the new Roman province of Asia.

The Roman republic dealt ruthlessly and greedily with its new possession. Punitive measures were taken against those who had supported Aristonicus; and thereafter the people of the province had to bear for a century "the grinding exactions, legal and illegal, of the Roman governors, tax-gatherers, and money-lenders."[120] When in 88 B.C. Mithradates the Great of Pontus, at war with Rome, led his army into south-west Anatolia, many cities there are said to have welcomed him as a deliverer; but three years later Sulla forced him to withdraw. Sulla then punished the province of Asia savagely, billeting his troops on its inhabitants with extravagant demands, and exacting a crushing indemnity which sank the region deep in debt. "Do you imagine" Cicero demanded rhetorically of his fellow-Romans, in speaking of the republic's dealings with the province, "that any temple in these lands has been regarded as holy, any city as worthy of respect, any private house as safe from attack?"[121]

In the following decade fighting was to the east of the province. In 77–76 P. Servilius Vatia led Roman forces to reduce southern Asia Minor, operating in Lycia and Pamphylia; and in 75 he conquered the Isauri of the northern face of the Taurus range, earning himself the cognomen of Isauricus.[122] It was under his son, P. Servilius Isauricus the younger, that matters took a happier turn for the province of Asia. In 46–44 he was governor there under Julius Caesar, and proved himself an able, active and upright administrator. Among the matters with which he concerned himself were the restoration of temples and the investigation of their rights of sanctuary, which were open to abuse in troubled times.[123] Hiera Kome was one of the shrines which had its sanctuary rights

[119] Tacitus, Annals, III.62.
[120] CAH IX 259–60.
[121] De imp. cn. Pompei 22.64; CAH IX 475.
[122] CAH IX 354–5; Magie, RR, 288–90.
[123] Robert, Hellenica VI, 1948, 38–42; Magie, RR, 416–17.

confirmed once more by him, and so too most probably was Hypaipa.[124] Records of Isauricus having statues set up again in various temples are testimony to the widespread looting and violence which the province had endured.

Isauricus' brief period of benign authority was not enough to blot out memories of years of Roman misrule; and when in 40 B.C. a Parthian army, having crossed Asia Minor without opposition, appeared within the borders of the province, resistance (with a few exceptions) was at best half-hearted. There may indeed have been a warm welcome for these Iranian soldiers from some of its inhabitants.[125] Their presence, however, was short-lived; for in 39 one of Mark Antony's generals, landing unexpectedly, surprised the Parthians and drove them eastward again. Thereafter Rome's grip on the province tightened ever more securely.

As ruling power, Rome took control mainly of taxation and administration of the law, leaving most other matters to the towns and tribal communities. For judicial purposes these were grouped in circuits or assize districts (*conventus juridicus*), which came in time to serve other purposes also.[126] In Lydia, Hierolophos, as we have seen, belonged to the *conventus* of Pergamum, as did Hiera Kome. Philadelphia in the Cogamis valley was in that of Sardis, and by the first century B.C. Hypaipa was included in the *conventus* of Ephesus. By the middle of that century the constitutions of Asia's towns seem to have become modelled on that of Rome, with the city council being "not, according to the usual Greek practice, an annually changing body selected by lot, but a permanent body, like the Roman senate, membership of which was a high honour".[127] Such a development would have accorded with the deep instinct among Iranians and others for hereditary dignities. To judge from later practice elsewhere in the Zoroastrian community,[128] the priests of Anahit's temples, belonging as they did to a hereditary sacred calling, are not likely to have put themselves forward to become

[124] Tacitus, Annals, III.62. For other temples see Robert, l.c., and L'Antiquité Classique XXXV, 1966, 406–7, 410 n. 1, 416 n. 1.

[125] On this campaign, directed by the Parthian prince Pacorus and led by a former Roman general, Q. Labienus, see CAH X 47 ff.; Debevoise, Political History of Parthia, 108 ff.

[126] A list of these districts is given by Pliny, Nat. Hist., V.105 ff.; and a marble slab bearing part of what was probably a complete register of them, set up, it is thought, by the Provincial Assembly of Asia, was found at Ephesus in 1969, see C. Habicht, JRS 65, 1975, 63–91.

[127] Jones, Cities, 61.

[128] I.e. among the Irani and Parsi communities, as attested from the 17th century A.C. onwards, see Boyce, Zoroastrians, 186.

members of these secular bodies, but presumably exercised their considerable influence less directly in city affairs.

There is evidence, however, that they were members of delegations sent by their respective towns to the Provincial Assembly of Asia. This came into being in the first century B.C., with for its prime purpose the maintenance of the cult of the "goddess Roma" (*Thea Romē, Dea Roma*); and it met annually to superintend a festival in her honour.[129] Roma as a goddess, with all the trappings of divinity—altars, statues, temples, festivals, sacrifices, priests—was, it has been said, "a product of the Greek mind",[130] a deification of the Roman state which had become heir to the eastern kings, with their ruler-cults, which it had overthrown.[131] The cult is attested from early in the second century B.C., but it was not until the end of the Attalid dynasty that it appeared in south-west Anatolia, where it was probably established simultaneously in a number of cities after the defeat of Aristonicus.[132] Among the places where it is attested are Ephesus, Sardis, and Celenae-Apamea; at Ephesus it was linked subsequently with a cult of P. Servilius Isauricus the younger, a development which underlines its evolution from the former ruler-cult.[133] Hiera Kome also had the cult of Roma, the evidence being an inscription set up there by one "Athenodorus son of Mithres", who describes himself as a former priest of Roma.[134] Such a "priest" would have been a layman, a leading citizen; and since (because of the cult's political importance) its priests were often made eponymous, i.e. events were dated by their term of office, the position attracted distinguished men, gratified to have their names thus perpetuated in their city's records.[135]

The cult of Roma, it has been said, "covered the entire range of political emotion: enthusiastic affection, servile flattery, gratitude, suspicion, naked fear. It was a cult based on political, rather than religious, experience".[136] Evidence that the high priests of Anahit's shrine at Hypaipa shared in the inescapable duty of maintaining it is provided by an inscribed stone from there. This records, in

[129] See in detail R. Mellor, The worship of the goddess Roma in the Greek world; id. "The goddess Roma", ANRW II.17.2, 950–1030. Also S. R. F. Price, Rituals and Power, 40–3.

[130] Mellor, Worship, p. 14.

[131] Ib., pp. 21–3.

[132] Ib., pp. 57, 70 ff.

[133] Ib., p. 58; Magie, RR, 446–7.

[134] Robert, Hellenica VI, 29 with n. 6, 50.

[135] Mellor, o.c., p. 183.

[136] Ib., p. 16.

Greek, that in the reign of Augustus Caesar (27 B.C. – 14 A.C.) one Theophronos had died young; and that the Provincial Assembly of Asia had honoured him because of the fame of his father and his ancestors. His father is named as Theophronos son of Theophronos son of Hermolaos son of Theophronos, hereditary priest of Anaitis Artemis, "celebrated for her manifestations (*epiphaneiai*)".[137] The interest of this inscription is manifold. It establishes that at Hypaipa "Anaitis" stood before its Greco-Anatolian interpretation "Artemis" in the cult-name of the goddess, declaring thus her Iranian identity. It indicates that her high priests held office in hereditary succession; and it shows that they were fully integrated into the cultural and political life of the province of Asia, the family being well-known to other members of its Assembly. That these priests all bore Greek names is not surprising. Of some thirty Jewish donors' names recorded in the synagogue at Sardis all but two are Greek or Latin ones;[138] and in Christian nomenclature of the period "all Olympus" it has been said, is to be found.[139] The family name of the Hypaipa high priests, Theophronos, "Godly-minded, devout', rare among Greeks themselves, seems to have been deliberately chosen as appropriate for men of their vocation;[140] but though in this inscription the general Greek word for "priest", *hiereus*, is given for them, two other inscriptions from Hypaipa show that Iranian priestly titles continued to be used there. One of these inscriptions, sadly fragmentary and of uncertain date, contains the words "the goddess" and "magoi";[141] and the other, also difficult to date, refers to "Apollonius the Archimagos".[142] This Greco-Iranian title is attested in Christian martyrologies of the fourth century,[143] and presumably renders Middle Persian *mowbed*, Parthian *magbad* "master of priests, high priest". Its use in Lydia, a remote area from the point of view

[137] OGIS 470; see S. Reinach, Chroniques d'Orient, 151–7; Robert, RN XVIII, 1976, 31–3 with, in n. 25, references to his own improvements on readings. This important inscription has on occasion been wrongly attributed to Sardis (so in HZ II 229), on which error see Robert, Hellenica VI, 58 n. 5.

[138] Hanfmann, Sardis, 184; Robert, Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes, 37 ff. Of the remaining two donors, one appears as "Samuel, also known as Julian".

[139] L. Jalabert, cited by Robert, Ét. ép. et phil., 211 n. 1. Priest-lists from western Anatolian shrines generally begin with indigenous names and continue with Greek ones, an indication of hellenization rather than of a change of priesthood, see Debord, Aspects sociaux, 51.

[140] So Robert, RN XVIII, 31.

[141] See Robert, ib., p. 32.

[142] G. Kaibel, Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta, Strasburg 1878, 537 no. 903a. On this inscription see further below, p. 251.

[143] For references see Wikander, Feuerpriester, 50 nn. 2, 3. (*Pace* Wikander, ib., p. 49, there are no grounds for identifying Hypaipa's *archimagos* as a "herbad".)

of Iranian Zoroastrianism, confirms the existence of Old Persian **magupati*, from which the two Middle Iranian forms descend. This title was presumably current in Anatolia as elsewhere under the Achaemenians, and persisted there in use, half-grecisized for elegance.

Another point of interest in the Theophronos inscription is the characterization of Anaitis Artemis as "celebrated for her manifestations". The word *epiphaneia*, first attested in the fourth century B.C., was much used in the Hellenistic period, either for the visible appearance of a god to a mortal, who might be waking or dreaming, or generally, for the miraculous interventions and evident help given by a divinity to his worshippers.[144] In the first category there were "cult-epiphanies", manifestations connected with a particular shrine; for example, an epiphany of Anatolian Artemis at Magnesia-on-the-Maeander in 221/220 led to a new temple being built to her there.[145] Numerous epiphanies of this goddess are recorded, and one of her epithets, locally, was *epiphanes*.[146] "Belief in this kind of divine revelation belongs to the basic forms of religious thought . . . and is common to all peoples",[147] being amply attested among Zoroastrians themselves;[148] but the stress on it in the Theophronos inscription, as the only characterization given there of Anaitis, is in accord with the emphasis laid on this aspect of communication with the divine in the Hellenistic age.

Inscriptions from both Hiera Kome and Hypaipa are regrettably few, for while the site of the former was plundered by local villagers for building materials, the latter was systematically pillaged in the nineteenth century for the same purpose when the new town of Ödemiş was founded nearby.[149] Moreover, Hiera Kome was among the places which suffered greatly in a devastating earthquake of 17 A.C.; and it is thought that it was because of help given to it then (as to other of Lydia's shattered cities) by Tiberius Caesar (14–37 A.C.) that the town changed its name in gratitude to Hierocaesarea.[150] A

[144] See F. Pfister, "Epiphanie", PW, Supp. Bd. IV, 1924, pp. 277–323, with abundant references.

[145] Ib., p. 298. On the earlier founding of games there in her honour, after one of her epiphanies, see above, p. 108.

[146] Ib., p. 299.

[147] Ib., p. 281.

[148] See, e.g. Boyce, Stronghold, 64, 65, 86–7, 88.

[149] See Robert, RN XVIII, 1976, 32 n. 31 (citing the account of the pillage given by D. Baltazzi). "Little Hypaipa" moreover grew and flourished in the Byzantine period, so that her inhabitants had probably already destroyed much evidence of the town's pre-Christian past.

[150] The identification of Hiera Kome with Hierocaesarea was first made by Imhoof-Blumer, see his Lyd. Stadtmünzen, 5–11. The old name still appears in

bust of this emperor has been found in the ruins of Hypaipa,[151] which doubtless also had tangible reasons to honour him.

In 23 A.C., Tacitus records,[152] Tiberius "while tightening his grasp on the solid power of the principate, vouchsafed to the senate a shadow of the past by submitting the claims of the provinces to the discussion of its members. For throughout the Greek cities there was a growing laxity, and impunity, in the creation of rights of asylum. . . . It was resolved, therefore, that the communities in question should send their charters and deputies to Rome. . . . It was an impressive spectacle which that day afforded, when the senate scrutinized the benefactions of its predecessors, the constitutions of the provinces, even the decrees of kings whose power antedated the arms of Rome, and the rites of the deities themselves, with full liberty as of old to confirm or change". Sanctuary rights were highly valued, not only for the prestige which their possession conferred on a shrine, but for direct economic reasons: they were often, it seems, linked with tax concessions, and the immunities which they offered allowed commerce to flourish and so were an important factor in a temple's prosperity, and that of the town in which it stood.[153] It was small wonder, therefore, that delegations thronged to Rome. Among the deputies from the province of Asia Tacitus lists first the Ephesians, who stressed that the ancient privileges of "Diana's" temple "had not been diminished under the Persian empire; later, they had been preserved by the Macedonians—last by ourselves". Others followed with their various claims to antiquity; and as fifth came Hierocaesarea, which, Tacitus says, "went deeper into the past; the community owned a Persian Diana with a temple dedicated in the reign of Cyrus; and there were references to Perperna, Isauricus, and many other commanders who had allowed the same sanctity not only to the temple but to the neighbourhood for two miles around". In the end this shrine was one of those allowed to retain their rights; and the happy discovery has been made there of the remains of one of the boundary stones, a broken block of marble with bold lettering proclaiming in Greek the "bound of the sacred asylum of Artemis".[154] It was probably at this juncture, it is thought, that the

the assize-town lists (drawn up under Augustus and Agrippa) given by Pliny and on the Ephesian stone, see Habicht, JRS 65, 80 n. 127. Further Magie, RR, 1019–20.

[151] See S. Reinach, Chroniques d'Orient, 153.

[152] Annals III.60–64.

[153] Cf Debord, Aspects sociaux, 24.

[154] Robert, Hellenica VI, 1948, 33 ff. with Pl. XXX.3.

citizens of Hierocaesarea set up a dedication to the "Goddess Senate Manifest", of which a fragment survives.[155] This is the only known instance of the epithet *epiphanes* being used for the divinized Roman State, whose power had thus been benevolently shown to the Asian town.

Because of ravages by nature and man the chief evidence concerning Anahit's cult at Hierocaesarea comes, however, not from monuments but coins; for whereas the local coinages of Asia Minor are usually "burdened with a throng of types as various as they are uninstructive",[156] those of this town nearly all bear designs which have some link with its patron divinity. A few issues belong to Hellenistic times, but the bulk of them are from the Roman imperial period.[157] Nothing certain is known of the iconography of Anahit's cult under the Achaemenians; but, given this cult's connection with that of Ishtar, it is to be expected that her images would then have been modelled on those of the Babylonian goddess. An image like Ishtar's appears in fact on a fourth-century Persian seal from Asia Minor, and it corresponds fairly well with the description of Anahit's statue introduced (presumably at that epoch) into *Yašt* 5.[158] The original cult statue at Hiera Kome was almost certainly plundered thereafter in local wars or during the early days of the Roman republic; and the iconography shown on one of the town's rare coins of the first century B.C. is wholly Greco-Anatolian in character. On the obverse is the bust of Artemis Huntress, bare-headed, with bow and quiver at her back, identified as the Zoroastrian divinity by the word PERSIKE beneath in Greek letters; on the reverse is the protome of a kneeling stag, the creature of Ephesian Artemis, with the letters HIER for Hiera Kome.[159] Since neither the river nor the planetary divinity whose concepts merge in that of "Anahit" had any association with deer or hunting, this iconography is wholly foreign to the Persian *yazata*;[160] and when, on later coins, she is shown full length she is seen to be attired fully in Greek fashion, with short tunic (the *chiton*) and high boots, and is often shooting with her bow at an unseen quarry. However, another early coin with the same obverse as the

[155] Ib., pp. 50–3 with Pl. VIII.3.

[156] Ib., p. 27.

[157] For these coins as a whole see Imhoof-Blumer, "Die Münzen von Hierakome und Hierocaesarea', Lyd. Stadt-münzen, 5–22; Head, BMC Lydia, 102–7.

[158] Vv.126–8, cf. above, p. 162, and for the Persian seal see HZ II 203–4. On the possibility of an Ishtar-like figure representing Anahit on a coin of Ariarathes III of Cappadocia see below, p. 267.

[159] See Imhoof-Blumer, o.c., pp. 5–6, 8 with Pl.I.1, 2; Head, o.c., Pl.XI.1.

[160] Cf. Wikander, Feuerpriester, 81, 83.

first, i.e. the bust of Artemis Huntress, reinforces the Persian character of the Hierocaesarean cult; for on its reverse is the head of a man wearing the *tiara*, with side-pieces and neck-flaps, generally identified as a magus in traditional costume.[161]

The cult-statue chosen for Anahit at Hypaipa was strikingly different. There the goddess, stiff and hieratic, faces the worshipper. She wears a long robe (the double *chiton*), girdled, the lower part following the narrow line of her limbs, for she stands with legs and feet close together. She is crowned with a tall headdress (the *kalathos*), from beneath which a veil falls down behind her almost to the ground; and her lower arms are stretched out sideways, parting the veil so that it frames her body.[162] This image belongs to a group of very similar cult-statues known in Hellenistic times from parts of Asia Minor and from Syria—that is, from roughly the area ruled by the Seleucids in the west before the Peace of Apamea.[163] Both male and female divinities were thus represented; but in western Asia Minor (where the images were concentrated in Lydia, Caria, Phrygia and Pamphylia) the type was associated most prominently with Artemis of Ephesus. Some argue that the Ephesian statue was a genuinely archaic one, which came to be imitated in other cults, while some hold that these images as a group represent an archaizing tendency of the period.[164] Where measurable, the statues appear a little less than lifesize; and they seem generally to have been made of wood (dark with oiling and polishing). With their stiff frontality, they were thus well adapted to the practice of carrying a cult-image out of its shrine on festival days to be seen by throngs of worshippers. [165]

Each cult-statue of this type is somehow distinguished, characteristically, from the others, that of the "Persian Artemis" by its

[161] See Imhoof-Blumer, o.c., pp. 7–11 with Pl.I.3; and cf. Head, o.c., p.lviii. For the *tiara* cf. HZ II 20.

[162] For representations (on coins of Roman imperial times) see Imhoof-Blumer, Kleinas. Münzen, Pl.VI.6; Head, o.c., Pl.XI; Robert, RN XVIII, 1976, Pl.I; R. Fleischer, Artemis von Ephesos, Pl. 75–6. That this cult image represented Anaitis Artemis was first recognized by S. Reinach, Chroniques d'Orient, 27 n. 8 with p. 37.

[163] For these statues see in brief Fleischer, o.c., pp. 391–3.

[164] For a summary of the discussion see Fleischer, o.c., pp. 389–91, and add Ernest Will, Le relief cultuel gréco-romain, 138 n. 1, 192–3, 265 (who is among those who see these images as archaistic). Fleischer, who argued for the genuine antiquity of the Ephesian image, held that the cult of "Persian Artemis" at Hypaipa, being represented by a statue of this type, must go back to pre-Achaemenian times, i.e. be no more than an "interpretatio Persica" of that of Anatolian Artemis. Against this see, trenchantly, Robert, art. cit., p. 37 n. 60.

[165] Fleischer, o.c., p. 386.

simplicity, with empty hands and no attributes, whereas Aphrodite of Aphrodisias in Caria is often shown with star and crescent above her extended arms. The statue of Ephesian Artemis frequently has what appear to be fillets hanging from each hand, and a frontal ornament—low on her breast or around her waist—of rows of what are generally taken to be fertility symbols. These have been variously interpreted as female breasts, or dates, grapes or eggs; but a convincing case has been made[166] for their being in fact the scrotums of sacrificial bulls, containing the testicles, symbol of the source of life. A great bull-sacrifice took place at Ephesus each spring; and it is suggested that these objects were then hung on Artemis' statue there, while the "fillets" depending from each hand may be the knotted cords that bound the sacrificial beasts. Occasionally these distinctive adjuncts of Ephesian Artemis are transferred to what is undoubtedly an image of Persian Anahit.

Although the cult-images of this group, with their rigid pose, have an ancient look, they are attired with clothes and ornaments of the Greco-Roman period. (Again, small details in these respects help to distinguish the various divinities; and these details might change slightly over the centuries, as the priests modified in trifling ways the manner in which they dressed their statues.[167]) Hypaipa's priests appear in general no less willing than those of Hierocaesarea to adapt to hellenization, and it may well be they of whom Pausanias spoke[168] when he said that "those Lydians . . . who have a sanctuary of Artemis Anaitis" claimed that their wooden image was the very one stolen by Orestes and Iphigenia from the Tauric land. (This claim was widely made at Asian "Artemis" shrines.) The use of such different cult-images at this period for the Persian goddess at her two chief Lydian sanctuaries is arresting; and the divergence perhaps marks a measure of ancient rivalry between them, both being probably Achaemenian royal foundations. It may, however, be due to nothing more significant than a difference of personal inclination among their priests, or chance in the current iconographic influences when new statues came to be made at their temples. It may be too that the Hypaipa priests were influenced by the fact that the hieratic statue corresponds far better than the "Huntress" one with the description of Anahit's image in *Yašt* 5; but why, if so, did this consideration not weigh with their brethren

[166] G. Seiterle, "Artemis—Die Grosse Göttin von Ephesos", AW X, 1979, 3–16.

[167] On such small changes in the dress of Anaitis Artemis' image at Hypaipa see Fleischer, o.c., pp. 185–6.

[168] III.xvi.8.

at Hierocaesarea? The puzzle is one not likely to be solved.

The earliest known representation of the Hypaipa statue appears on a coin issue of the Caystrianoi[169] (that is, the inhabitants of the lower Cayster valley), who at some time in the second or first century B.C. minted coins in common for circulation throughout their region.[170] The citizens of Hypaipa, it seems, chose Anahit's image to represent their town. Hypaipa's individual coin issues belong to Roman imperial times, when, with peace established and exploitation curtailed, prosperity returned to the province of Asia. Many of its towns, small as well as large, then struck their own bronze coins, often abundantly in the second and third centuries; and of those with known Anahit temples Hierocaesarea's numerous issues are the most striking, since, as we have seen, almost all make some allusion to Anahit and her cult—a sustained acknowledgement, it seems, of the town's origin as a "sacred village", and of the dominant part which her temple continued to play in its life. On them the goddess herself appears repeatedly, as Artemis Huntress, with or without attendant deer and occasionally accompanied by a hound. Sometimes she is overthrowing a stag; and on one coin she stands, holding bow and arrow, in a chariot drawn by two galloping stags.[171] In another issue her chariot is drawn instead by two horses[172], a substitution which may have been made, it is suggested, in deliberate allusion to the horse-drawn chariot of Aredvi Sura Anahita, vividly described in her Avestan *yašt*.[173]

This particular coin has other interesting features; for it shows Anahit turning to clasp the hand of the city Fortune behind her, while at the horses' heads, holding one by the bridle, is Perseus with his *harpe*. The legend of Perseus was popular, for a variety of reasons, at a number of places in Asia Minor;[174] but in association with a Persian cult it had an especial significance, since by a play on words, exploited already in the Achaemenian period, Perseus had been linked with the Persians and made into the ancestor of the Achaemenians themselves. There was even a legend, shaped presumably in Asia Minor, that he had gathered fire sent down from heaven and tended it in his palace, thus establishing its cult, to be maintained thereafter by his descendants, the Persians—a remarkable hellenization of the central Zoroastrian observance, which was

[169] Head, BMC Lydia, lx; RN 1885, Pl.I.5; Imhoof-Blumer, Rev. suisse num. 1896, 205.
[170] Head, BMC Lydia, xliii-xliv; Imhoof-Blumer, Lyd.Stadt-münzen, 78.
[171] Head, o.c., p. 107 no. 28.
[172] Ib., p. 105 no. 20.
[173] So Robert, RN XVIII, 1976, 42, citing Yt.5.11, 13.
[174] See Robert, BCH CI, 1977, 96–128.

clearly only literary and fanciful.[175] This coin of Hierocaesarea, bringing together "Persian Artemis" with her horses and Perseus, thus seems meant doubly to declare the Persian nature of the goddess' cult. Two other issues which set both figures together have Anahit as Artemis Huntress standing facing Perseus, each stretching out a hand to the other over an "altar", presumably a fire-holder, from which flames leap up.[176] (The obverses of all three issues have a Roman theme, the bust either of the deified Senate or of the reigning emperor.) Perseus also appears alone;[177] and one coin reverse shows simply fire burning in an altar-like holder.[178]

Otherwise, apart from the city Fortune (regularly represented, with turreted headdress, on urban issues throughout the region) and the goddess Roma (virtually obligatory, like Senate and Emperor), the only being other than Anahit to appear on Hierocaesarean coins is the god of the river Hyllus.[179] Since rivers were of prime importance for local prosperity, river-gods appear with great frequency on Anatolian coins;[180] and, though Anahit herself was by origin half a river-goddess, the divinity of the Hyllus is shown in conventional Greek guise as a man with bare torso, reclining, one hand holding a reed, the other resting on an over-turned vase from which water flows.[181]

Anahit's dominant position at Hierocaesarea is further attested by a coin on which her statue, with strung bow and arrow drawn from the quiver, appears within a columned temple-front.[182] Such a design is common on Greco-Roman coins, and regularly honours

[175] See Cumont, "Le Persée d'Amisos", RA 1905, 180–9; Robert, RN XVIII, 41 with nn. 74–6. On Perseus as the ancestor of the Persians see Herodotus VI. 54, VII. 61, 150; Arrian III.3.2. There is an interesting association of Perseus with Iranians at the town of Sebaste in S. W. Phrygia, founded by Augustus, who gathered in peoples from the surrounding district to be among its first citizens (Ramsay, Cities, II 582; Jones, Cities, 71–2). Sebaste looked across a lovely valley to the mountains of Burnt Lydia, and this valley had presumably attracted Iranian colonists in Achaemenian times, for 3 members of the town's senate in the 1st cent. still bore Iranian names: Mithradates [sic], Aribazos and Sisines (Ramsay, o.c., II 602–3, Robert, CRAI 1978, 284 n. 63; the spelling "Mithradates" in contrast to the usual Greco-Roman "Mithridates", is striking, cf. below, p. 281 n. 116). It was very possibly out of courtesy to these Iranians that Sebaste chose to set Perseus on its coins (see Head, BMC Phrygia, Pl.XLIII.11).
[176] Robert, ib., p. 41 n. 75, citing publications by Imhoof-Blumer and P. Lederer.
[177] Head, o.c., p. 105 no. 19 with Pl.XI.6.
[178] Ib., p. 102 no. 6.
[179] Alias the Glaukus. On the ancient names of the river see Imhoof-Blumer, Kleinas. Münzen, 173.
[180] See Imhoof-Blumer, "Fluss-und Meergötter".
[181] Ib., nos. 310–11 with Pl.X.15–16; Head, o.c., p. 105 no. 26 with Pl.XI.11; Robert, Hellenica VI, 30 n. 3.
[182] Head, o.c., p. 107 no. 27.

the chief local divinity. The Hierocaesarean coin gives Anahit's temple four columns, but this may have been a simplification, since "it was not necessary for purposes of identification to show the exact number of columns on the facade of a temple; it sufficed merely to indicate that there was a columned portico. The columns could be reduced so that the engraver could place in the facade the cult image, which actually stood in the interior of the temple. Equally commonly, the space between the central columns was widened to accommodate the image, which usually identified the shrine with no possible ambiguity; and the artist achieves this in a way which would suggest the age-old custom of epiphany, a god appearing in person before his worshippers."[183]

Among other devices which appear on coins of Hierocaesarea are the stag, and a bee within a laurel wreath.[184] The bee, like the stag, belonged to Ephesian Artemis, and was set on coins of a number of Anatolian towns. In later times at least Zoroastrian authorities classified the stinging bee as a *khrafstra*; and though honey was a permitted food for the laity, it was forbidden to priests maintaining strict ritual purity, and by some to all priests.[185] Such niceties of the developed purity laws appear to have been either unknown to the Zoroastrians of Asia Minor or abandoned by them[186]; but the bee itself may have been used here simply as a device (just as diverse other *khrafstras*, such as wolf and scorpion, were used on Sasanian seals). On one issue a creature more appropriate to the Persian goddess is shown, namely a zebu or humped cow. The cow is not only generally sacred to Zoroastrians, but is proper to Anahit as her sacrificial animal[187] (probably, that is, as the traditional offering to a river-goddess, with the cow, as representative of all beneficent creatures, being sacrificed to the water which sustains all animal life[188]).

One coin of Hierocaesarea, of the late second century, has on its reverse Artemis Huntress with hound, and the words: "Artemidorus, high [priest] (*arch*[*iereus*])"[189]. This title is apparently parallel in use to the Greco-Iranian one of *archimagos* recorded at Hypaipa; and again the high priest bears a Greek name, but one which, like Theophronos, was clearly chosen for its appropriateness.

[183] Price and Trell, Coins and their Cities, 19.
[184] Head, o.c., p. 104 no. 17 with Pl.XI.4.
[185] See Rivayats, ed. Unvala, I, p. 268.16–18, II, p. 10.12; tr. Dhabhar, pp. 266, 339.
[186] On the ritual use of honey by the magi of Cappadocia and Pontus see below, pp. 293–4, 296.
[187] This, it has been suggested, is why this relatively uncommon device appears here, see Robert, RN XVIII, 27 n. 2.
[188] See Nirangestan, ed. A. Waag, Leipzig 1941, 81; Boyce, BSOAS XXX, 1967, 42–3.
[189] Imhoof-Blumer, Kleinas. Münzen, I 173 no. 3; Hill, NC 1917, 21 with Pl.II.19; Robert, Hellenica VI, 51 n. 1. The coin is from the time of Commodus (176–192).

Although no major divinity but Anahit is honoured on the coins of Hierocaesarea, inscriptions there provide a little evidence for the worship of other gods in that doubtless by then multi-ethnic town. That erected by Athenodoros son of Mithres[190] (presumably an Iranian) was to Apollo Paian, "the Healer". A small, apparently domestic altar has been found devoted to Zeus Ktesios,[191] and an altar and *tholos* were dedicated to Dionysus by a priest of his cult.[192]

As for Hypaipa, its coins resemble those of Hierocaesarea in several respects, but there are two main divergences: the different cult-image of Anahit, and the fact that Hypaipa, already an old town with a mixed population when her temple was built there, followed general practice by setting representations of numerous divinities on its coins. Its own river-god, that of the Cayster, appears in conventional guise[193], as does its city Fortune; and in addition there are Apollo (frequently), Dionysus, Zeus, Heracles, Asclepius and others. It is a general question how far such representations reflected any realities of local worship; but the cult of Dionysus seems genuinely to have flourished in the town.[194]

Despite this diversity of types, the coin issues of Hypaipa are dominated by the hieratic image of Anahit; and, as at Hierocaesarea, she is the only divinity whose statue is shown (in this case repeatedly) within the central space of a temple facade, depicted impressionistically with either four or six columns.[195] The image is that of the earlier Caystrianoi coins except for small details, the most notable of which is that the long veil, then set beneath the headdress, now lies upon it.[196] Artemis Huntress with her stag appears on at least one issue of Hypaipa, of the time of Julia Domna (wife of Septimius Severus, 193–211);[197] but in this setting it may perhaps be Anatolian Artemis who is thus honoured. Other issues of Hypaipa of Julia Domna's time bear Anahit's hieratic image.[198]

[190] See above, p. 223.
[191] Robert, art. cit., pp. 52–3.
[192] Ib., pp. 53–4.
[193] Head, o.c., p. 109 n. 6 with Pl.XII.3; see Robert, RN XVIII, 28 n. 16.
[194] See S. Reinach, Chroniques d'Orient, 150.
[195] Head, op. cit., p. 111 no. 20 (with 4 columns), p. 119 nos. 61, 62 with Pl.XII.12, 13 (with 6 spiral columns); for this handsome coin of the time of Trajan (98–117) see also Price-Trell, Coins and their cities, 199 fig. 382.
[196] Fleischer, Artemis von Ephesos, 185–6; and for a possible representation of Anaitis Artemis on a gemstone from Florence ib., p. 36.
[197] Head, o.c., p. 115 no. 40.
[198] Ib., p. 114 no. 33–6, 38–9.

A design which Hypaipa shares with Hierocaesarea is that of Anahit in a horse-drawn biga. The coin in question shows her cult statue standing stiffly in the chariot, while one of the horses, twisting back its head, offers her a leafy branch.[199] This branch, it is suggested,[200] may be a symbol of Anahit as goddess of fertility. Leafy branches are associated with her worship in Armenia; and the fact that her hieratic image is regularly presented empty-handed might make it necessary to display a symbol in some such especial way.[201] Another possibility is that the branch is a palm of victory,[202] appropriate to Anahit in so far as she is also goddess of war. There might then be a link between this symbol and those Hypaipa coin-devices which show her together with Nike. On one such coin Nike appears driving a chariot in which Anahit's image stands.[203] On another, she is crowning the image with a wreath.[204] (Parallels from other places suggest that a wreath was shown offered in this way only to a town's chief divinity.[205])

At Hypaipa, as at Hierocaesarea, Anahit is also associated with the city Fortune. On one coin the two goddesses stand together, Tyche holding rudder and cornucopia.[206] On another Tyche stands before a seated Apollo, holding on her right palm Anahit's statue,[207] while on a third Tyche and Apollo appear to hold her statue between them.[208] On another coin it is Apollo alone who holds the statue, while on yet another it is he who crowns it.[209] This marked linking of Apollo and Anahit-Artemis in the setting of Anahit's own temple-town probably had Iranian overtones. It is true that Apollo's worship, independently of Anahit's, is attested elsewhere in the Cayster valley[210], and that Apollo and Artemis, as

[199] Robert, RN XVIII, 43–7 with Pl. II.6.
[200] Ib., pp. 46–7.
[201] Robert, though suggesting this, illustrates, art. cit., Pl.I.I, a coin from Hypaipa in which the goddess, exceptionally, holds some unidentifiable object in each hand, see ib., p. 47 n. 102. Cf. a coin from Clannuda (below, p. 246) where she holds some object in her right hand only.
[202] Robert, art. cit., p. 47, who suggests as yet another possibility that the branch might have a cultic significance, i.e. represent the *baresman*; but this seems less likely, because *baresman*-twigs are stripped of leaves before being tied together to form a bundle.
[203] Robert, art. cit., pp. 40 with n. 73, 55–6; RN XIX, 1977, 46–7.
[204] Head, o.c., p. 121 no. 72 with Pl.XII.14; Robert, RN XVIII, Pl.I.4.
[205] See Robert, art. cit., p. 43 n. 81.
[206] Head, o.c., p. 115 no. 40; Robert, art. cit., Pl.I.3.
[207] Imhoof-Blumer, Lyd. Stadtmünzen, pp. 80–I no. 12 with Pl.IV.8.
[208] References apud Robert, art. cit., p. 36 n. 55.
[209] See Robert, ibid.
[210] See Robert, art. cit., p. 36 n. 56.

brother and sister, are constantly associated in Greco-Anatolian worship and mythology; but from the time at least of Artaxerxes II a special link was forged between "Anahit" and Mithra, as the two lesser members of a triad dominated by Ahura Mazda, and this link may be visually affirmed by these devices on Hypaipa's coins, since Apollo was one of the standard "interpretations" of Mithra, as Artemis was of Anahit.

Another Hypaipa coin shows on the obverse a youthful figure, perhaps Dionysus (his local cult being thus acknowledged), holding Anahit's statue. Facing him is the reigning emperor, Septimius Severus, spear in left hand, in the right a bowl; and between them fire flames up from a conical "altar".[211] On another similar coin it is Tyche who stands opposite Septimius, carrying the statue.[212] There are moreover several coins which show on the reverse a temple facade with in the central space a similar conical "altar" with leaping flames.[213] Presenting fire in this way seems a declaration that it was cultically as important at Hypaipa as Anahit herself.[214] The shape of the fire-holder is not one known from elsewhere in the Zoroastrian world; but it may well have been made of solid stone, hollowed out to contain the deep bed of ash needed to sustain an ever-burning fire.[215]

That the fires depicted on the coins of Hypaipa and Hierocaesarea were ever-burning is established by Pausanias' invaluable account of these two sanctuaries,[216] written in the second century A.C. by a man thought himself to be a native of Lydia. Because of a grammatical defect, the opening sentence of this account is susceptible of two different interpretations. One, which disregards the faulty grammar, runs: "Those of the Lydians who are popularly called Persians have a temple at the city named Hierocaesarea and at Hypaipa." The other, by an emendation, goes: "The Lydians have a temple [of Artemis/of the goddess] who is called the Persian at the city . . .".[217] Either version, it is pointed out, can be defended on the basis of sense. The goddess was undoubtedly distinguished

[211] Head, o.c., p. 113 no. 29 with Pl.XII.7.
[212] Imhoof-Blumer, Lyd. Stadtmünzen, Pl.IV.9.
[213] Head, o.c., p. 110 nos. 10–12; 113 no. 13 with Pl. XII.8; p. 114 no. 37; p. 117 no. 49; p. 118 nos. 55–6.
[214] Cf. Imhoof-Blumer, o.c., p. 81 n. 14.
[215] Cf. the solid stone fire-holder of the former Ataš Bahram of Yazd (Boyce, "The fire-temples of Kerman", Acta Or. XXX, 1966, 57).
[216] V.27.5–6.
[217] The emendation, proposed by Buresch, Aus Lydien, 66, was accepted by Wikander, Feuerpriester, 83, and is discussed by Robert, RN XVIII, 29 with nn. 21–3.

by the epithet "Persian"; but colonists were also marked off for generations in similar fashion from the indigenous Lydians. Pausanias' account continues: "In each of these temples there is an inner chamber, and in this an altar upon which are some ashes of a colour unlike that of ordinary ashes. A magus enters the chamber, bringing dry wood which he places on the altar. After this he first puts a *tiara* upon his head and next intones an invocation to some god or other. The invocation is in a barbarian tongue, and quite unintelligible to a Greek. While intoning he peruses a book. This, without the application of a light, inevitably causes the wood to catch fire and break out into a bright flame." Essentially, this account accords well with the Zoroastrian rituals of maintaining a lesser sacred fire as these are still observed today. A great fire, an Ataš Bahram, king in its own temple, is continually kept burning brightly; but a lesser one—such as one might expect to find at an image shrine, dedicated to a *yazata*—is allowed to "sleep" under its cover of ashes between the five appointed times of daily prayer, when it receives the offerings of fuel and incense with recital of an Avestan liturgy. The dry wood, laid on the hot ashes, catches fire naturally after an interval, without any need of divine intervention. The ashes may vary a little in colour according to the wood used, but are not ordinarily remarkable in this.[218]

There are two points in Pausanias' description which indicate, however, that changes had taken place in local observance during the six centuries or so since the Lydian temples had been founded. One concerns the *tiara*. Zoroastrians, and especially their priests, were required to keep their heads always covered—a practice abandoned generally only in the present century. For a priest to enter the presence of a sacred fire bare-headed, and only then to put on the *tiara*, is therefore startlingly unorthopractic. Possibly, however, during many years of Greco-Roman rule the magi of Hypaipa and Hierocaesarea had given up the *tiara* for daily wear,

[218] F. G. has drawn my attention to the fact that in "Temple B" at Surkh Kotal (i.e. the fire temple added there in Kushano-Sasanian times) the excavators found that ashes associated with the fire-holder were different in colour and texture from those of the timbers of the building itself, which had been burnt down. The latter were of juniper wood, those from the sacred fire of vine and bamboo (D. Schlumberger, M. Le Berre et G. Fussman, Surkh Kotal en Baetriane, Paris 1983 (Mém. DAFA XXV) I, 42–3).—The wood of fruit or nut trees is used by preference for sacred fires by the Zoroastrians of Yazd, with the close-grained, slow-burning pomegranate favoured above all (Boyce, Stronghold, 75); but neither that of vine nor bamboo, although both grow in the region, is now so used there. On the presence of sacred fires in image shrines see above, pp. 178–9 and below, p. 288.

as cumberous and outlandish, and also the requirement always to cover the head.[219] Pausanias' account shows that they nevertheless still wore the *tiara* when it was ritually necessary, as when chanting Avesta before a sacred object; the *tiara's* side-flaps could then be used to prevent contaminating breath reaching the consecrated fire.

The second change is in the reported use by the priest of a book. At this time the Avestan script had not been evolved, and it is not known whether in Iran itself any serious attempt had yet been made to commit the holy texts to writing. The Greek script was, however, better adapted to this purpose than the Aramaic one (with its limited means of representing vowels); and it is very possible that, living in a predominantly literate society, the Greek-speaking priests of Lydia had come to write down some of their essential liturgical texts in the Avestan language but using the Greek alphabet. If so, they would have anticipated by many centuries the later practice of Irani and Parsi priests, who came to use the Arabic and Gujarati alphabets respectively for this purpose.[220] Books in these familiar, current alphabets are essentially aide-mémoires, easier than those in Avestan script for a working priest to refer to quickly when refreshing his knowledge of a particular passage, or checking some nicety of detail. Apart from tradition, there is a seemingly insurmountable obstacle to the use of service books during the actual celebration of rites: this is that nearly all observances join words with actions which require the use of both hands.[221] It would thus be impossible for a priest making the elaborate offering of wood to an Ataš Bahram[222] to read from a book while doing so. Yet this could be done during the simpler ritual for a lesser fire, which consists essentially of placing a single billet of wood on the glowing embers beneath their covering of ash, and offering incense to the flames when eventually these leap up.[223] No such practice is, however, known except, it seems, here in

[219] As we have seen (above, p. 98) even within Iran itself some Zoroastrians (probably noblemen) appear to have gone bare-headed during Hellenistic times.

[220] Service books in both scripts were printed in Bombay from the late 19th century, those in Arabic script being prepared there by Irani priests and conveyed back to their own community.

[221] There is no ritual during the reading of the Vd. during a night celebration of the *yasna*; but this reading seems to be a relatively late innovation, see Boyce, Zoroastrians, 156–7, 165, 206. This is now the only time in any service when a priest regularly uses a book. The use of a written text for parts of the Visperad (Boyce, Stronghold, 233) is exceptional, borne of harsh necessity.

[222] See Modi, CC, 218–26.

[223] See Modi, ib., p. 221; Boyce, Stronghold, 75.

Lydia, where the use of a book may have been felt, in that time and place, to enhance the solemnity of the rite.[224]

Pausanias' description is of great importance, since it establishes that, despite large measures of hellenization at these two famous shrines, and their integration in the commercial and political life of the province, they were still, half a millennium after Alexander's conquest, Zoroastrian places of worship, where sacred fires were ritually tended by magi with the recital of a (presumably) Avestan liturgy. It has been argued that what Pausanias witnessed had little religious content, that it was ritual reduced to the level of folkloric survival, performed largely for the benefit of tourists;[225] but this interpretation was based largely on the assumption that the Zoroastrianism of Asia Minor was a religio-political implantation by the Achaemenians, and that once the expatriate Iranians there were deprived of political power, they swiftly made compromises over their religion. The thesis that the link between Zoroastrianism and state power was vital to the religion's survival has often been advanced, chiefly in connection with the Arab conquest of Iran; but the particular pieces of evidence cited to support it have all proved unsound, while the fact is regularly ignored of the faith's dogged survival down to the present day in Iran and India, although in both countries its adherents lacked for many centuries any vestige of either political or economic power, and in Iran suffered greatly for their beliefs. As so often, it is the expatriate Parsis who provide instructive parallels for a study of the expatriate Iranians of Anatolia; for they too conformed in many respects to the ways of the tolerant society around them, adopting its language, dress and customs, and sometimes even (despite protests by their own elders) attending Hindu festivals and leaving offerings at Hindu shrines. Outwardly the Parsis might have appeared hinduized to a point that threatened their own faith; but in their case an abundance of evidence exists to prove that this appearance was superficial, and that in essentials they succeeded in keeping their religion both orthodox and orthopractic.[226] Admittedly in Lydia, with no caste-barriers, the Zoroastrians were evidently socially and culturally assimilated to an even greater degree; but, as in India, they were under no pressures to adopt any other set of beliefs. Nor is there any reason to suppose that they maintained their own without

[224] In Iran today even a lay person tending a lesser fire learns the relevant Av. texts by heart; and it is hard to suppose that Hypaipa's magi would not also have so known them, if only through constant repetition.
[225] Briant, art. cit. in n. 32, pp. 178–80.
[226] See in outline Boyce, Zoroastrians, 156 ff.

conviction. As late as 562 A.C. a Persian king negotiated with Byzantium for religious freedom for the Zoroastrians of Anatolia, surviving there under persecution;[227] and this accords with evidence from Sardis, that other non-Christian religions were still producing their martyrs around 450.[228] The variety of faiths in Asia Minor, and the tolerance which they displayed among themselves, should not lead one to underestimate the strength and vitality which each possessed.[229]

To return to Hypaipa, and the numismatic evidence from there, several coin issues illustrate the adoption of a practice widespread in Roman imperial times, namely the form of divination known as astragolomancy. The coins in question show two young boys sitting on the ground before Anahit's statue, playing with bones.[230] There is nothing in this form of divination inherently repugnant to Zoroastrians, for dry bones are "clean", especially those from a sacrificial animal (of which there must have been an abundance at the temple); and individual Zoroastrians, no less than other people, have often sought ways to know the future, through dreams, omens and portents of diverse kinds. This manner of doing so, being then fashionable, was doubtless one more means to draw the devout and credulous generally, with their offerings, to the shrine.

Another, more spectacular, fashion of the times was the festival, usually annual, in honour of a town's chief divinity. Anahit's temples had each doubtless had its own especial annual holy day since its foundation; and such holy days, attracting throngs of worshippers, regularly became linked with fairs, and were important commercial occasions (hence the issuing of coins in connection with them). Under the Romans an annual festival, the Romaia, was an essential feature of the cult of the goddess Roma[231]; and the manner of its celebration set a pattern for that of civic festivals. There were always religious ceremonies, with prayers and sacrifices, and a procession which involved all citizens, as participants or spectators. Then there were athletic contests, with foot-races, boxing and wrestling; and musical and dramatic competitions.[232] Permission was needed from the authorities to found a civic festival, but in due course almost every town of any size in the province

[227] See below, p. 257.
[228] Hanfmann and H. Buchwald in Hanfmann, Sardis, 192.
[229] Thus Robert, CRAI 1975, 267–9, cited evidence for what he saw as a depth of true piety in the old Phrygian religion, see further below, p. 274 n. 91.
[230] Head, BMC Lydia, p. 118 no. 59 with Pl.XII.11; p. 119 no. 65; p. 120 no. 70; Robert, RN XVIII, 39–40 with Pl.II.5.
[231] Cf. above, p. 223.
[232] See Mellor, Worship of the goddess Roma, 165–73.

of Asia possessed one, probably in most instances grafted on to an older observance. Those taking part in the events were usually from towns within the province, for "the great majority of festivals offered neither prizes nor prestige sufficient to draw competitors from afar".[233] It was the custom nevertheless to put up statues to the winners, set on stone pedestals inscribed with their names and achievements; and it is in general the survival of such pedestals that has yielded information about the Asian festivals. Some half a dozen have been found from Hypaipa, and these show that its festival was called the "Artemeisia", or "Megala Artemeisia", and that it was probably held annually, the celebrations being counted in "Artemeisiads".[234] The fifty-eighth Artemeisiad was held some time after 212, and a sixty-second one is recorded, while an Ephesian claimed the honour of winning at a Hypaipa Artemeisiad under Maximinus (235–238).[235] The inscriptions of Hypaipa themselves record contestants coming from Sardis and Thyatira and the more northerly Cyzicus.

None of the coin issues of Hypaipa bears any device relating to its festival, whereas Hierocaesarea struck several issues showing a victory crown or agonistic table. Eight pedestal inscriptions have been found from there, dating from the second and third centuries, although, it is pointed out, the institution may well be older than the earliest of them.[236] This festival too was termed "Megala Artemeisia", or "Megala Sebasta Artemeisia", the longer title linking it formally with the cult of Rome.

Pausanias, although he speaks generally of the worship in Lydia of Anahit (whom he refers to now as Artemis Anaitis, now as the Persian Artemis[237]), names expressly only her temples at Hypaipa and Hierocaesarea. Archaeological and numismatic evidence shows, however, that her cult continued to flourish at Philadelphia. This town prospered under the Roman empire, and was honoured by Vespasian (69–79) with permission to instal the cult of the Most Holy Senate.[238] Anahit remained, however, its chief divinity, as is proved by the fact that its festival was named for her, being called the "Anaiteia" or "Megala Sebasta Anaiteia". Again, the evidence comes from the inscribed bases of winners' statues, six of

[233] Ib., p. 166.
[234] J. Keil, "Artemisfestspiele in Hypaipa", Jahreshefte Oesterr. Inst. X, 1907, Beiblatt, 35–40; Keil-von Premerstein, DAW 57, 1914, 73 nos. 92–4; Robert, art. cit., pp. 32–6 and REG 79, 1966, 753 with n. 1.
[235] Robert, RN XVIII, 34 n. 43.
[236] Robert, Hellenica VI, 1948, 43–8.
[237] III.16.8; VII.6.6.
[238] Robert, Monnaies grecques, 73–8; Magie, RR, 570.

which were found near the ruins of the ancient city.[239] Yet though the festival's name seems to indicate a strong Iranian tradition, and though in one of the six inscriptions the goddess is called "Artemis Anaitis", in the other five she appears as "Meter Artemis". The epithet "Mother" is unknown in the worship of Anahit, but is standard in that of Anatolian Cybele, which had existed in Lydia long before Zoroastrianism was brought there. Further evidence for a syncretism of the two goddesses has been traced on a Philadelphian coin from the reign of Domitian (81–96).[240] Its reverse shows a goddess enthroned, of a familiar Cybele type: to the left, at her feet, stands Cybele's animal, a lion, but her right hand rests on another creature, namely Artemis' deer; and since the coin was issued by a town whose patron divinity was Persian Artemis, this juxtaposition of beasts has been interpreted as a visual declaration of a local syncretism attested also by the pedestal inscriptions. The syncretism is thus as old as the first century A.C., and it is likely to be in fact a good deal older, for at its foundation in the second century B.C. Philadelphia, as we have seen, probably absorbed the Lydian population of ancient Calletebus nearby.[241] Anahit's concept appears to have been dominant, however; and on an alliance coin with Smyrna under Gordian III (238–244) she alone represents Philadelphia, in the guise of Artemis Huntress.[242] One of the town's early issues, of Hellenistic times, had had Artemis Huntress on the obverse, Apollo on the reverse;[243] and Artemis Huntress appears under the Roman empire with hound beside her.[244] There is also an issue which has on its reverse Athena holding on her right palm the hieratic statue of Anahit[245]—a clear instance of one town using representations of both Anahit's standard cult images. A deer appears on several other reverses.[246] But the abundant issues of Philadelphia bear varied devices, and Anahit in no way predominates among them, as she does at Hierocaesarea and even at Hypaipa. Moreover, the character of her actual worship there remains a matter for speculation. There is no evidence of a fire-cult, and it seems likely that the use of Avestan in the religious services had either become attenuated or had yielded wholly to Greek.

Philadelphia looked across the Cogamis valley to Burnt Lydia,

[239] Keil-von Premerstein, DWA 53.2, 1908, 24–5.
[240] Robert, Monnaies grecques, 73–5.
[241] Above, p. 215.
[242] Head, BMC Lydia, p. 210 no. 119.
[243] Ib., p. 188 nos. 8–15 with Pl.XXI.3–5.
[244] Ib., p. 194 nos. 45–7.
[245] Imhoof-Blumer, Kleinas. Münzen, pp. 181–2 nos. 8–9.
[246] Head, o.c., p. 190 no. 25 with Pl.XXI.10; p. 191 no. 28.

which the Romans called Maeonia after its chief town (modern Menye). To the east Maeonia marched with Phrygia, and Phrygian cults were among those which flourished there; but at the heart of the region, in and around the modern town of Kula, a remarkable number of inscriptions has been found in which Anahit's name occurs. These are attributed to the second and early third centuries, and their content is confessional in character, one term for them being "chastisement texts". Those putting up the inscriptions represent themselves as having committed some moral or ritual fault; and they see themselves as having been chastised for this by the god, "generally with some disease, sometimes through their property, or their children; they confess and acknowledge their fault; and finally they narrate the whole in a public inscription as a warning and an exemplar to all not to treat the god lightly".[247] Often the text is accompanied by a representation of the part that has been afflicted, such as a leg or arm. Such beliefs are to be found generally among the religions of the world, and parallels occur in Irani Zoroastrian villages today.[248] It is only their public declaration in abiding stone which was a custom for a particular time and place. Unfortunately, sinee such texts followed a standard pattern, they throw little light on the worship of the chastising divinity, apart from establishing his or her veneration in that locality. There is also the interest of the cult names used, and often, in the Kula inscriptions, that of the association of gods. Anahit herself frequently appears linked with another divinity; but this does not necessarily, it is pointed out, imply a cultic association between the two. It may mean no more than that they were conjoined in the devotions of the author of the inscription.[249] In one text, however, at the village of Sandal (formerly Satala), a certain Aur. Stratonicus confesses to having been punished by Zeus Sabazios (a Thraco-Phrygian god) and Artemis Anaitis because he had cut wood in their sacred grove.[250] This undoubtedly suggests a fixed local association between these two divinities. It is noticeable, moreover, that Anahit's links are all with a male divinity, either, as here, Zeus Sabazios, or the Phrygian god Men Tiamu, worship

[247] Ramsay, Cities, I 135. For an analytic study of the "chastisement texts", with bibliography, see Robert, Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes, 23–31.
[248] See, e.g., Boyce, Stronghold, 95.
[249] Robert, RN XVIII, 48 n. 107.
[250] See Ramsay, "Artemis-Leto and Apollo-Lairbenos", JHS X, 1889, 227 no. 22; S. Reinach, Chroniques d'Orient, 157, who cites a Turkish scholar as saying that this prohibition remained effective down to the late 19th century, for the Turkish inhabitants of Santal then still believed that anyone cutting wood in the grove would be punished by some illness.

thus being regularly of a divine pair.[250a] She is also repeatedly named alone, with the cult title "Meter" which indicates that here, as at Philadelphia, there was an assimilation of her concept to that of Cybele. The distribution of the inscriptions with her name, and the forms of her invocation, are as follows:[251] three at Kula itself, one as "Thea Anaitis", one as "Artemis Anaitis", both in association with Men Tiamu, and one as "Meter Anaitis" alone. In the villages round about, one at Sandal (that already cited); three at Ajas Oren, as "Thea Anaitis" and "Meter Anaitis", all with Men Tiamu; and five at Aiwadlar, as "Anaitis", "Thea Anaitis", "Artemis Anaitis" and "Meter Anaitis", only once in association with another divinity, namely Men Tiamu. It may also be Anahit who is invoked alone, as "Meter Anatidos", at Gürneit. There is also an inscription from this area which links Anahit with Apollo, but in an unusual way: it contains a chastisement text that declares the sinner to have been punished by Apollo, but before it stand the words *Megale Anaitis*, "Great (is) Anaitis", a formula which has been compared with "Great is Diana of the Ephesians".[252]—The number of inscriptions naming Anahit in this small area has led to the reasonable assumption that there was once a temple to her there which fostered her veneration, not only, it would seem, among Iranian colonists but also among Phrygo-Lydian villagers.

A votive inscription, also honouring the goddess, but without the elements of guilt and chastisement, has been found at Gölde, a village a little to the north of Kula, which has yielded a number of monuments dedicated to diverse divinities. The one in question is devoted to Artemis Anaitis and records that "Charity, daughter of Apollonius" having "had a calamity" (presumably, that is, some serious illness) had been "freed from enchantment" by the priestess.[253] In this village setting a "priestess" (*hiereia*) might perhaps be no more than a lay woman of holy life who tended a small shrine to Anahit; such women are to be found today in Zoroastrian villages, where they too are prepared to help cure suffering women by traditional rites.[254] But over the Gölde inscription is carved the hieratic image of Ephesian Artemis, with fertility symbols at her breast, and this goddess was served by priestesses.

[250a] For evidence of the widespread Iranian worship of a divine pair from Achaemenian times onward see above, pp. 187–9.
[251] See J. Keil, Festschrift W. M. Ramsay, 250–1.
[252] Ramsay, art. cit., p. 226 no. 21.
[253] Cumont, "Un bas-relief votif consacré à Anaitis", CRAI 1915, 270–5; Robert, Hellenica X, 1955, 102 n. 10.
[254] See, e.g., Boyce, Stronghold, 62–3.

Above her image again is that of a solar divinity. The nature of the cult here is thus far from clear.[255]

Three lines from the beginning of a typical "chastisement text" devoted to Artemis Anaitis have been discovered also at Sardis.[256] A pair of eyes carved between the first and second lines shows that the sufferer, a woman, had been afflicted in her sight. Her father, it seems, came from an otherwise unknown village—presumably, that is, he was a landowner, since his daughter evidently had means. Possibly she had brought her veneration of the Persian goddess with her from her ancestral home, for there is no evidence for Anahit's cult having had a centre in Roman Sardis, any more than in the Hellenistic city.[257]

In Celenae/Apamea the long-established cult of Anahit continued to flourish. The evidence in this case is solely numismatic, but it is striking. As a centre of trade, Apamea issued coins early and abundantly; and the Artemis who appears on them repeatedly may reasonably be held, in this town,[258] to represent the Persian goddess, though the iconography is confused: both the hieratic image of Hypaipa, and Artemis Huntress, are used, and the former is sometimes supplied with attributes proper to Ephesian Artemis. The earliest bronze issues were struck in Roman republican times, and among them are coins with Zeus' head on the obverse, and on the reverse the hieratic image of Anahit, with fillets hanging from her hands.[259] Another issue has on the obverse the bust of Artemis Huntress wearing the turreted crown of a city goddess, with on the reverse the river-god Marsyas blowing his double flute as he strides over a wavy line representing the Maeander.[260] The hieratic image of Anahit appears again on a coin of Augustus' reign, this time itself set above the Maeander line,[261] and the stag of Artemis is similarly shown;[262] but the most remarkable coin, again from imperial times, shows the hieratic Artemis (with fertility symbols) standing amid four recumbent river-gods, identified in Greek letters as MAI

[255] Cumont's comments on the solar divinity, whom he saw as Mithra, forming a pair with Anahit, are dismissed as unacceptable by Robert, l.c.
[256] See, with a brilliant analysis, Robert, Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes, 27–8.
[257] Only one other small fragment of an inscription has been found from there bearing her name, see Hanfmann, Sardis, 104 with p. 256 n. 18.
[258] Cf. above, p. 208.
[259] Head, BMC Phrygia, 74 with Pl.X.6–7; Imhoof-Blumer, Kleinas. Münzen, I 207 no. 6.
[260] Imhoof-Blumer, o.c., p. 207 no. 7 with Pl.VII.5.
[261] Ib., p. 209 no. 13a.
[262] Ib., p. 210 no. 16.

(Maeander), MAR (Marsyas), OR (Orgas) and THER (Therma).[263] On her head, above the *kalathos*, the goddess supports the model of a temple, presumably her own at Apamea. The ancient link between "Anahit" and rivers is thus made strikingly explicit. That not only the cult of the Iranian goddess but also the descendants of Iranian colonists continued to thrive at Apamea is shown by the fact that a father and son there, named Mithridates and Mithridatianos, enjoyed Roman citizenship and held, successively, the office of high priest of the province of Asia.[264] While holding it these two would necessarily have been in regular contact with the high priests of Hypaipa and Hierocaesarea, whom they would almost certainly have known in any case, not only as fellow-Iranians and worshippers of Anahit, but also as fellow-members of a provincial aristocracy of lineage and power.

Anahit's link with the waters is celebrated also in an inscription from the Lydian town of Silandos. This was a place of minor importance, set in the lovely valley of a small right-bank tributary of the Hermus, above Sardis;[265] and like Apamea itself, it was admirably suited, because of the abundance of its waters, to the worship of a river-goddess. The inscription in question was put up in 153 A.C. by a mother for her son, and it ends with the words: "Should anyone trespass against the tomb after my death, he will awake the wrath of Anaitis of the sacred water".[266] This last expression must refer, it has been pointed out[267], to the whole "creation" of water, sacred to Zoroastrians: according to one of their ancient myths, all the waters of the world have their source with Aredvi Sura Anahita.

Rather remarkably, another maledictory funerary inscription from the upper Hermus valley brings out the other aspect of Anahit's composite concept. This inscription was found not far from the town of Davala (ancient Tabala); and here the divinities invoked to punish whoever might disturb the grave are "Apollo and the Lady (*Kuria*) Anaitis".[268] The title "Lady" has no Avestan

[263] Paris, Cabinet des médailles no. 535, see Mionnet, IV 236, 259; Sammlung von Aulock Phrygien (1964), 3508 (references given by P. Chuvin, art. cit. in n. 10, n. 16). Reproduced and discussed by Ramsay, Cities, II 398–9 with Pl.I.1; Imhoof-Blumer, "Fluss- und Meergötter", 316 no. 356; cf. also Head, BMC Phrygia, xxxix-xl. On the rivers concerned see above, p. 200.
[264] MAMA VI, 182, 787–90, see Robert, Noms indigènes, 349 with n. 5.
[265] Robert, RN XVIII, 45.
[266] Buresch, Aus Lydien, 117 no. 56; Cumont, CRAI 1915, 274–5.
[267] Robert, art. cit., p. 46.
[268] See P. Herrmann, Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordöstlydien, p. 59 no. 54; Robert, art. cit., p. 48 n. 107; CRAI 1978, p. 282.

equivalent, but is a standard one for Babylonian Ishtar, from whom it was evidently borrowed into "Anahit's" cult, becoming a characteristic epithet for that divinity. (The title of "Lady" was likewise alien, it seems, to Ephesian Artemis; yet Greek *kuria* is recorded, exceptionally, for her also,[269] and perhaps reflects a borrowing by her from the Persian Artemis.)

In addition to these places where Anahit's active veneration is still attested under Roman imperial rule, there are a number of towns which honoured the "Persian goddess" by putting her image occasionally on their coins, presumably as that of one of the chief divinities of the province of Asia, and possibly also because of an Iranian element among their citizenry. Unusual instances occur at Apollonis, an Attalid foundation to the north-west of Hierocaesarea. Among its coins of Roman imperial times are some which are exact copies of Hierocaesarean issues, with Artemis Huntress on the obverse, on the reverse a flaming "altar" or standing stag.[270] Artemis Huntress with deer appears also on coins of Hyrcanis,[271] and the Iranian element in that town's population makes it likely that there too she represents Anahit. Otherwise it is only the distinctive Hypaipa-type image which can be identified with reasonable certainty as "Persian Artemis".

One such issue belongs to Maeonia, which struck abundant coins in the Roman period. Among them one from the time of Geta (211–212) has Anahit's hieratic statue on the reverse, with a fillet hanging from each hand, and on either side a small stag looking up at her.[272] An earlier coin of republican times from Clannuda, a small town in the east of Burnt Lydia, has the head of Apollo on the obverse, on the reverse Anahit's statue, shown unusually with a round object in her hand.[273] Another of its issues has on the reverse a zebu, possibly as Anahit's sacred animal.[274] Anahit's statue

[269] Ramsay, Cities, I 90, 150 (who points out that the equivalent *kurios* for Apollo also has a Semitic character).

[270] Imhoof-Blumer, Rev. suisse de num.VI, 1896, 9–10; Head, BMC Lydia, xxxiv.

[271] Imhoof-Blumer, Lyd. Stadtmünzen, 84 no. 3; Kleinas. Münzen, 174 no. 1; cf. Robert, Hellenica VI, 1948, 20 with nn. 1, 2. On Hyrcanis see above, pp. 201, 213. An inscription has been found at modern Gürice, possibly within the territory of Hyrcanis, which records that "the people" there, both Hellenes and Romans, had honoured one "Marcus Antonios Bagaos", an Iranian by blood, it would seem, see Robert, art. cit., p. 19 n. 3.

[272] Head, o.c., p. 135 no. 51.

[273] Imhoof-Blumer, Rev. suisse de num. VI, 210 with Pl. III.16; Head, o.c., p. xlviii.

[274] Imhoof-Blumer, art. cit., p. 210; Lyd. Stadtmünzen, 59 no. 2 with Pl. III.17, cf. his Kleinas. Münzen, 176, and on the zebu above, p. xxx.

appears also on a coin of the first century A.C. from Cadi (Kadoi), another small town on a swiftly flowing tributary of the upper Hermus.[275] Here the name Mithradates appears as that of a mint-controller on a coin of the time of Commodus.[276]

Other instances come from towns along the Maeander river-system, notably Alabanda, one of the largest inland towns of Caria, which stood on the bank of the Carian Marsyas, a tributary of the Maeander. In Achaemenian times Alabanda is likely to have had regular communications with Sardis by the Hypaipa road; and among its early coin issues, of the second century B.C., is one with the hieratic image of Artemis on the obverse, and on the reverse the head of Apollo, while another (of Seleucid times) has Apollo on the obverse, on the reverse Pegasus.[277] Pegasus, through his link with Perseus, could have Iranian connotations,[278] just as Apollo, linked with Anahit, might represent Mithra. Possibly, therefore, Alabanda had prominent Iranian citizens at that time.

In the upper valley of the Maeander itself, at the Carian-Phrygian border, the ancient town of Attuda set the hieratic image of Anahit, with fillets hanging from her hands, on a coin of the time of Septimius Severus (193–211). On the obverse is the city Fortune.[279] Anahit appears also, without fillets, on another coin with Boulē and a youthful Demos on the obverse.[280] Her image has also been identified, but more doubtfully, on a series of coins from Kidramos, a little downstream from Attuda.[281]

Of the other Zoroastrian *yazata* whose worship is directly attested in Achaemenian Lydia, namely Ahura Mazda himself, little trace is to be certainly found in the Roman province of Asia. In Sardis itself, where the veneration of Zeus Baradates had formerly been established,[282] matters are problematic. The city instituted the cult

[275] Imhoof-Blumer, Kleinas. Münzen, 248 no. 2; on Cadi see Head, BMC Phrygia, xlii-xliv; Jones, Cities, 44.

[276] Alram, Nomina, 96.

[277] Head, BMC Caria, 1 ff., 3 with Pl. I.10.

[278] Cf. above, p. 230.

[279] Head, o.c., p. 64 with Pl. X.13. On Attuda see ib., pp. xxxix-xli; Ramsay, Cities, I 165–9.

[280] Imhoof-Blumer, Kleinas. Münzen, p. 124 no. 8.

[281] See ib., pp. 139–42 with Pl. V.14–17. A goddess dominates the town's coinage, which begins in Roman imperial times; but she is first shown, under Augustus, wearing a curious, three-pointed *kalathos*, and standing in a graceful, almost seductive pose; and though this pose is steadily modified, it is not until the time of Hadrian (117–138) that the image gains a truly archaic look. On all issues it appears with empty hands and no attributes, which made Imhoof-Blumer incline to identify it as that of Anahit rather than Carian Aphrodite (ib., pp. 124–5).

[282] Cf. above, p. 205.

of Roma, probably in 129 B.C., and in due course built a temple to Augustus.[283] It suffered greatly in the earthquake of 17 A.C., and shared then in Tiberius' benefactions, renaming itself briefly "Caesareia Sardianeon".[284] Eventually it was granted the privilege of building a temple of the imperial cult, perhaps under Hadrian, who visited it in 123–124 and in 128. Meantime rebuilding had been proceeding slowly of the Artemis Temple, destroyed by the earthquake. The new edifice, finished, it is thought, about 140, was then made into a second temple of imperial cult. Fragments survive of two huge statues of Antoninus Pius (138–161) and his wife Faustina Maior, which were set up there, joining those of Sardian Artemis and Zeus Polieus. An inscription honouring Antoninus as "Olympios" has been tentatively associated with an altar bearing Zeus' eagle; and it has been deduced that he, as Zeus Olympios, was joined with Zeus Polieus, even as Trajan had been joined with Zeus Philios in Pergamum.[285]

Zeus Polieus, "of the city", is probably himself, it has been argued, descended from Zeus Baradates; for the text from the time of his image's consecration in the fourth century B.C., then presumably a trilingual (in Aramaic, Lydian and Greek), was carved afresh in its Greek version only, probably in the mid second century A.C.,[286] and a new sentence was apparently added: "They order the attendant Dorates to abstain from these mysteries", i.e. those of religions other than the god's own, as specified in the old text. This inscription has been linked with another Sardian one of about 100 A.C., which honours a citizen who had by long family tradition shown piety "towards the divine", and who had therefore been "consecrated" and "crowned" by "the attendants of Zeus who have the right to enter the sanctuary". The similarity of phrasing between this and the inscription of the fourth century B.C. has led to the deduction that this text too refers to the cult of Persian "Zeus", i.e. of Ahura Mazda.[287] Five hundred years is not unduly long in the history of Zoroastrianism; and these two inscriptions of Roman imperial times have been held to attest the continuance throughout that length of time of a Sardian sanctuary of its supreme God.[288] Excavators have not, however, been able to identify any separate shrine so dedicated; and if Zeus Baradates was in fact

[283] See Keil, Festschrift W. M. Ramsay, 246; Magie, RR, 1613 (Appendix III); Hanfmann, Sardis, 134.
[284] Hanfmann, o.c., p. 144.
[285] Hanfmann, o.c., p. 145.
[286] Robert, CRAI 1975, 306–31.
[287] Robert, l.c., p. 320 ff.
[288] See also Briant, Dialogues d'histoire ancienne, 1985, 181.

venerated also as Zeus Polieus, then how was his worship maintained in a temple which he shared with Sardian Artemis and a Roman emperor cult? What liturgy was used at his altar, and what specific beliefs did it enshrine? There are at present no data to help provide answers to such questions.

A single surviving inscription from the province of Asia in Roman imperial times attests the local veneration still of the "Persian gods" collectively—presumably, that is, Ahura Mazda and all the *yazatas*. To the south of the Maeander, where Phrygia marched with Caria, there stretches from north to south the valley of Karayük (ancient Themisonion), shut off from Caria by a long mountain range;[289] and here at the modern town of Açipayam, on a stone built into a courtyard wall, a remarkable funerary inscription was found, invoking the "gods of the Greeks and Persians".[290] The valley was largely inhabited by Pisidians, who called on their own gods; but the town of Themisonion had been founded by Antiochus I; and the descendants of Achaemenian and Macedonian colonists in the area had evidently held to their own beliefs down the centuries, mingling the two, at least in some families. This is yet another piece of evidence for the tendency (which we have met already in Lydia and in distant Arachosia) for expatriate representatives of the two erstwhile ruling powers to form amicable relationships.

An Iranian presence in this part of Phrygia is further attested by the names Mithres recorded at Cibyra (the chief town of the Indus valley) and Artabazes near modern Beyköy, on the road from Cibyra eastward to Tefeni.[291] Other Iranian names from the Roman period from north-eastern Caria are Artapates, Mithridates and Oumanios ("son of Omanes") from Aphrodisias[292]; and Mithres and Artabazes from Tabai and Sebastopolis[293]. Along the Maeander river-system Arsaces, and Mithres son of Mithres, are recorded at Laodicia in the Lycus valley,[294] and Mardonios at Apollonia-Tripolitana[295], as well as Mandanes (borne by a woman of consular family) at Tralles.[296] In the Cayster valley Mithres is

[289] See Ramsay, Cities, I 252 ff. ("Kara Eyuk Bazar"); J. et L. Robert, La Carie, II 31 ff.
[290] Robert, CRAI 1978, 277–86.
[291] See J. et L. Robert, La Carie, II 79 n. 7.
[292] Robert, CRAI 1978, 285; BCH CVII, 1983, 505–8.
[293] J. et L. Robert, La Carie, II 79; L. Robert in Laodicée du Lycos, 333, 334 with n. 1.
[294] Robert in Laodicée du Lycos, l.c.
[295] Cf. above, p. 216 with n. 100.
[296] Robert, Noms indigènes, 217.

twice attested at Dios Hieron,[297] and also at Hypaipa, with Mardonios,[298] while Omanes is found at Magnesia-by-Sipylus.[299] At Sardis Mithres occurs repeatedly, Mithrodates [sic] once[300], and a Darios.[301] At Gürice there is Bagoas,[302] and at Hierocaesarea, as well as Mithres, Spasines[303]; while at Celenae-Apamea we have met Mithridates and Mithridatianos.[304]

By Roman times these names had presumably long been traditional in the families concerned, rather than being consciously chosen for their significance. Of the theophoric ones, "Omanes" (i.e. Vohu manah) is distinctively Zoroastrian,[305] and those compounded with Arta- had religious significance; but what is striking is the popularity of "Mithra" names. Moreover, since Iranian Mithra was regularly "interpreted" by Greek Apollo it is undoubtedly possible that when "Apollo" is linked visually or verbally with Anahit Artemis,[306] or appears with other Persian associations,[307] he is representing the Iranian *yazata*; and also that "Apollonius" was sometimes deliberately chosen by Iranians as a Greek name because of this association. This possibility seems strong in the case of Apollonius the *archimagos* of Hypaipa[308], and is also present in that of Apollonius father of Charity, priestess of Artemis Anaitis at Gölde.[309]

The general inclination to use Greek names and terms, as belonging to the dominant culture, makes it also possible that where there were Iranians, as at Philadelphia,[310] the veneration of Ahura Mazda, the one eternal God of Zoroastrian worship, at least

[297] Head, BMC Lydia, li; Robert, RN XVIII, 31 with n. 29; Alram, Nomina, p. 90, Taf. 9.268–70. Dios Hieron (modern Birghi) is east of Hypaipa, in the valley of another right-bank tributary of the Cayster.
[298] Robert, ib., p. 31 with nn. 26, 27, p. 35 with n. 5; Alram, o.c., p. 91, Taf. 9.272.
[299] Robert, BCH CVI, 1982, 373, and cf. ib., CVII, 1983, 505–6, CVIII, 1984, 457.
[300] Hanfmann, Sardis, 127; Robert, BCH, CVI 363–4, 367; Alram, o.c., p. 93, Taf. 9.276, 281–4.
[301] Alram, o.c., p. 93, Taf. 9.277–80.
[302] Cf. above, p. 246 n. 271.
[303] Robert, Hellenica VI, 1948, 29 with n. 6; "Bull ép.", REG 89, 1976, 542–3.
[304] Above, p. 245.
[305] Cf. below, p. 270.
[306] Cf. above, p. 234 (Hypaipa), p. 241 (Philadelphia), p. 243 (Kula), p. 245 (the maledictory text from near Davala), p. 246 (Maeonia and Clannuda), p. 247 (Alabanda).
[307] As when, at Hierocaesarea, the son of a "Mithres" erects an altar to "Apollo the Healer", above, p. 233.
[308] Above, p. 224.
[309] Above, p. 243.
[310] Keil-von Premerstein, DWA I, 27 no. 39.

contributed to, if it was not represented by, veneration of Theos Hypsistos, the "Most High God", who elsewhere masks Olympian Zeus or Jewish Yahweh.[311]

Nothing is directly known about the extinction of Zoroastrianism in the Roman province of Asia. For a time it was supposed that the town of Hypaipa was still officially represented by the high priest of its Anahit temple around 410 A.C.; for the inscription from there containing the name of "Apollonius the *archimagos*"[312] is carved on a pedestal which bears on its two sides epigrams in honour of Anthemios, proconsul of Asia at about that date. Such a state of affairs would, however, have been very remarkable, for in 392 an imperial decree had been issued ordering all places of worship other than Christian and Jewish ones to be closed; and Hypaipa had become the seat of a Christian bishopric well before then. In fact, it has been convincingly shown that the pedestal in question was an old one re-used by having the epigrams for Anthemios carved on its previously blank sides, and Apollonius' own dedication (above his name) erased. The epigrams have thus no connection with him.[313] With this piece of assumed evidence disposed of, nothing remains to attest a public Zoroastrian presence in the province after the mid third century A.C. Coin issues with Zoroastrian devices then cease, as do monuments for the festivals of the Persian Artemis, in Hypaipa and Hierocaesarea, Philadelphia and Celenae-Apamea. There is, however, only one piece of direct evidence for the triumph of Christianity over the ancient Iranian religion, and that is that the bishop of Hypaipa who in 325 attended the council of Nicea was named Mithres.[314] With this name, coming from this place, he was almost certainly, it is agreed, of Zoroastrian descent.

Summary

The difficulties in the way of recovering knowledge of Zoroastrianism in south-west Asia Minor are clearly great, what with the large-scale destruction of monuments and inscriptions, and the general cultural hellenization. The remarkable amount of material which has nevertheless been discovered suggests that there was still

[311] For the occurrence of "Hypsistos" inscriptions in the province of Asia see G. Kittel, "Das kleinasiatische Judentum in der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit", TLZ 69, 1944, 16 with nn. 112–19.
[312] See above, p. 224.
[313] Robert, Hellenica IV, 1948, 19 n. 1; RN XVIII, 1976, 32 n. 30.
[314] Cumont, TMMM, I 46, II 81 no. 81; Robert, Ét. épig. et phil., 211 with n. 2.

a considerable and flourishing Zoroastrian minority in the region down to the third century A.C. Then the evidence ceases. Its temples were presumably closed or pulled down, and, with the public life of the religion suppressed, there is no means of tracing how long it survived as the private faith of individuals. Zoroastrian communities are known to have existed in Asia Minor still in the sixth century;[315] but it seems likely that these survived till then in remoter rural regions, most probably in Cappadocia and Cilicia.

What character the Iranian religion took on in the final phase of its existence in the Roman province of Asia cannot be certainly determined; and indeed this may have varied considerably from group to group of its adherents. The three *yazatas* whose worship is principally attested are Ahura Mazda himself, Mithra (through the predominance of theophoric names compounded with his, and the likelihood that, in particular instances, it is he who is venerated as "Apollo"), and above all Anahit; and these are the triad invoked by Artaxerxes II, which suggests continuity of worship from late Achaemenian times, with Persian influence having then been strong. The prominence of Anahit appears due to the effectiveness of initial royal patronage, and the importance of temples, in this area of many temples, for fostering a particular cult. Because it was richly provided with sacred buildings, and so with recognizable institutions, Anahit's worship became part of the religious and civic life of the province; and in some places, notably Philadelphia and the Kula region, it seems to have developed into a virtually independent cult, merged partly with the locally more ancient one of Cybele. This development is of interest not only in itself, but because it provides something of a parallel to Mithra's worship becoming detached for some from Zoroastrianism and taking on a life of its own, as is attested by the Mithraic Mysteries.

At Hierocaesarea and Hypaipa, the evidence indicates, Zoroastrian traditions were better preserved, with the maintenance of the fire cult and Avestan liturgy, and no indication of syncretism; but how well even there Zoroastrian doctrine was understood and taught there is no means of knowing. Some indications accord, however, with general developments which have been traced in the religions of expatriate communities in the Greco-Roman world. In these, it has been noted,[316] there were usually the actively devout,

[315] See further below, p. 257.

[316] Morton Smith, "Religions in Hellenistic times", Report of the 1965–1966 seminar on Religions in Antiquity, ed. J. Neusner, Dartmouth College Comparative Studies Center, Hanover, New Hampshire, 1966 (privately printed; privately repr. by Brown University, 1984), 158 ff.

worshipping regularly according to their traditional beliefs and ways, with others who, while holding to the faith as part of their culture and history, were only casually observant. Other groups formed around these two, made up of people of different ethnic stocks, who were drawn into the religious community by marriage, friendship, or perhaps a miraculous cure, or were attracted by its beliefs and observances, or respectful of the reputation of its gods. Beyond these again was the general body of citizens of different religious persuasions, who joined in its festivals as in all others, made offerings at its temples out of prudence or civic pride, and, if their own priests failed them, sought cures and prognostications there. In time the interaction of these various groups led to the influence of the more casual majority being increasingly felt, so that there came about varying degrees of hellenization and syncretization. The latter process was helped by other factors, an important one being the general spread of interest in astrology, which made it all the easier to identify beings of one faith with those of another through their common association with a particular planet or star.[317]

The existence in Zoroastrianism of many *yazatas* made some measure of syncretism between it and the polytheistic religions surrounding it in western Anatolia relatively easy. But the Iranian religion was no ordinary polytheism; and if, as the evidence suggests, its adherents became strongly hellenized in this region, this gave them the opportunity, through a common language and ready opportunities for discussion, to give some of their own doctrines currency in the Greco-Roman world. This subject, together with that of local contacts between Zoroastrians and Jews, will be entered into more fully in the last chapter of the present volume.[318]

[317] See with particular reference to Anatolia J. B. McMinn, "Fusion of the gods; a religio-astrological study of the interpenetration of the East and the West in Asia Minor", JNES XV, 1956, 201–13; and cf., notably, the syncretisms of Greco-Iranian gods in Commagene, below, p. 322 ff.

[318] Below, p. 389 ff.

CHAPTER NINE

IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN ASIA MINOR: GREATER PHRYGIA WITH GALATIA, CAPPADOCIA AND PONTUS, CILICIA

Introductory

Under the Achaemenians even less had been known of central and eastern than of western Asia Minor, with its close proximity to Greece; and this remains largely true also for the Hellenistic period. Written records, apart from Strabo's *Geography*, are few, there has been relatively little excavation, and coin issues and surface finds belong mostly to Roman imperial times. It is to be expected, however, that Zoroastrianism should survive even more strongly here than in the western regions, partly because these areas were closer to Iran, and had been very considerably settled by Iranians, partly because here, and especially in a landlocked territory such as central Cappadocia, the influences of Hellenism were naturally slower to make themselves felt.

Local evidence for the truth of this receives support from a passage in the inscription on the Kaʿba-yi Zardušt by the Zoroastrian high priest Kirder in the late third century A.C. There Kirder is speaking of incidents in the wars which the Sasanian Shabuhr I (240–271) waged against Rome in the latter part of his reign. In these wars the Persian king was seeking, not to conquer and hold new territory, but to inflict as much damage as he could on the enemy, by plundering and ravaging cities and the countryside throughout what were by then the most easterly Roman provinces.[1] In the course of these punitive campaigns he acquired much booty and took many captives; and among the peoples whom his armies harried, as Kirder records, were Zoroastrians, Iranians doubtless by descent, who by then—some 600 years after Alexander's conquest—appeared probably very much as foreigners to the Persian troops. Nevertheless, they managed evidently to make their identity known, and even those who were swept off as prisoners were in the end released and sent back to their own communities,

[1] Shabuhr's trilingual inscription on the Kaʿba-yi Zardušt, M. Back, Die sassanidischen Staatsinschriften, 294 ff.

as Kirder records: "There were fires and priests in the non-Iranian lands which were reached by the armies of the King of kings. The provincial capital Antioch and the province of Syria, and the districts dependent on Syria; the provincial capital Tarsus and the province of Cilicia, and the districts dependent on Cilicia; the provincial capital Caesarea and the province of Cappadocia, and the districts dependent on Cappadocia, up to Colchis, and the province of Armenia . . . —these were plundered and burnt and laid waste by Shabuhr, King of kings, with his armies. There too at the command of the King of kings, I set in order the priests and fires which were in those lands. And I did not allow harm to be done them, or captives made. And whoever had thus been made captive, him indeed I took and sent back to his own land."[2]

Kirder goes on to say: "And I made the Mazda-worshipping religion and its good priests honoured in the land. And heretics and harmful men, who being in the priesthood did not in their expositions further the Mazda-worshipping religion and the service of the yazads, them I punished and rebuked until through me they were amended". Scholars have tended to take these words as part of the high priest's statement about the Zoroastrians of the Roman provinces; but this is hardly possible, since Shabuhr's armies—and hence Kirder himself, attendant presumably on the king—made no long stay among them, and there would thus have been no time for chastisement followed by gradual amendment. With these words, therefore, Kirder was evidently turning back to what was for him *the* land, i.e. Iran itself, where, he goes on to say, he founded many sacred fires and furthered other religious institutions. All that he found necessary to say, accordingly, of his relations with the "priests and fires" of the eastern Roman provinces is that he "set them in order"—a mild enough statement by this formidable authoritarian. More significantly, it appears from his words that he found co-religionists widely scattered through these territories, maintaining their sacred fires, and that, recognizing them as faithful co-religionists, he duly gave them practical help at a time of need.

[2] Kirder, KZ, l. 8 (Back, ib., pp. 422–9): 'Pm pwnc 'nyl'n štry 'twry W mgwGBR' MH pwn štry ZY 'nyl'n YḤWWN 'YK SWSY' W GBR' ZY MLK'N MLK' YḤMTWN 'ndywky štrdstn W swly'y štry W MH QDM swly'y nsngy tylssyt štrdstn W klky'y štry W MH QDM klky'y nsngy kysly'y štrdstn W kpwtky'y štry W MH QDM kpwtky'y nsngy 'D pl'c 'L gl'dkyd'y štry W 'lmny štry . . . šhpwhry MLK'n MLK' pwn SWSY' W GBR' ZY NPŠH wltky W 'twlswhty W 'wdyl'n klty TMHcm pwn plm'n ZY MLK'N MLK' ZK mgwGBR' W 'twry MH 'LH štry YḤWWN ZKm wn'lšny klty. 'Pm L' ŠBKWN zdy'ny W wltky kltny. W MH KN 'YŠ wltky klty YḤWWN ZKcm BR' YNSBWN 'Pm L'WḤR 'L NPŠH štry ŠBKWN HWHnd.

Earlier a Syrian, the learned Bardesanes (c.154–224), had made a brief, incidental allusion to expatriate Zoroastrians. Seeking to confound belief in the local influences of stars, he wrote: "Among the Persians it was customary for men to marry their daughters, sisters and mothers. It was not only in that [i.e. their own] country and in that region that the Persians formed these unholy unions; even those who lived out of Persia, who are called Magousaioi, practise the same abomination and pass on the same customs and habits to their children. Their descendants are numerous to the present day in Media, Egypt, Phrygia, and Galatia".[3] The term which he used for these Zoroastrians is one that had come, it seems, to be the standard word among Greek speakers in eastern Mediterranean lands for Zoroastrian priests, and then (like *majūs* later among Arabic speakers) for Zoroastrians generally—as, apparently, in Bardesanes' own usage. Formally it derives, it is agreed, from the plural in *-ayā* of Aramaic *magūšā*, which rendered Old Persian *maguš*. By the second century A.C. this plural ending had evolved generally into *ē* (hence the parallel Syriac *magūšē*), but *magousaioi* is modelled after Ioudaioi, which is itself formed on analogy with Athēnaioi.[4]

The Zoroastrian custom of *khvaetvadatha*, or close next-of-kin marriage, was one which was widely commented on, so that reference to it does not suffice to establish direct knowledge by Bardesanes of the community. He was, however, a well-informed man with wide contacts among eastern Christians, whose interest in the adherents of the ancient Persian religion was, if sporadic, evidently then still lively; so that, whether gained at first or second hand, his knowledge with regard to them seems likely to have been sound. His naming of lands where the *magousaioi* were still numerous seems at first sight erratic; but he himself spent a number of years in Armenia, and so may well have meant by "Media" Media Atropatene, Armenia's eastern neighbour. This he probably named as the most northerly land known to him where Zoroastrians flourished, giving then Egypt as the most southerly, and Phrygia and Galatia as far to the west, thus emphasizing his point that latitude and longtitude had no effect on customs.

Kirder and Bardesanes thus jointly bear testimony to the flourishing into Roman imperial times of communities of Zoroastrians in central and eastern Asia Minor; and a further piece of evidence for this is provided subsequently by a letter sent with an embassy from the Sasanian Peroz in 464 to the Byzantine emperor, in which the Persian king protested at the harsh treatment of his co-religionists who were the latter's subjects, with the extinguishing of their sacred fires.[5] Almost exactly a century later, in 562, his grandson Khosrow Anoshiravan entered into a treaty with Justinian, to which was added a convention governing their treatment of the Christians and "Persians" in their respective realms ("Persian" being a synonym for "Zoroastrian"). On his side the Byzantine emperor agreed to treat well Khosrow's compatriots (as they were still recognized to be), and to build fire-temples for them.[6] It seems likely that what was envisaged by the latter stipulation was the rebuilding of fire-temples which had been destroyed in earlier persecutions; but there is no evidence as to how far the terms of the convention were observed.

The likelihood appears that both Peroz and Khosrow were seeking to protect their co-religionists in central and eastern rather than in western Asia Minor, where (the cessation of evidence suggests) public adherence to the Iranian faith was probably ended, forcibly or by persuasion, by the mid third century. The countries which made up these central and eastern regions differed considerably from one another—geographically, politically and culturally; and conditions for their Zoroastrian citizens varied accordingly. It is necessary therefore to consider them individually in seeking to trace religious developments there.

Phrygia and Galatia

The boundaries of Phrygia varied greatly at different epochs; but roughly speaking the ancient kingdom consisted of the western part of the great central plateau, with the river Halys separating it from Cappadocia.[7] In the seventh century B.C. it was overrun by Cimmerians, and thereafter was subjugated by the Lydians and Persians successively. Its centre was in the upper valley of the

[3] Quoted by Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelica, VI.10.16; see Cumont, TMMM, I 10 n. 1; Clemen, Fontes, 69; Fox-Pemberton, Passages, 74.

[4] Cumont, ib., I 9 n. 5; BCM I 35 n. 3; S. Telegdi, "Essai sur la phonétique des emprunts iraniens en araméen talmudique", JA 1935, 229. I am indebted to Professor Duchesne-Guillemin for drawing my attention to the subsequent analysis of the word's final element as a double plural, with the relevant parallels.

[5] Cumont, TMMM, I 10 n. 5; J. Labourt, Le christianisme dans l'empire perse, 2nd ed., Paris 1904, 130 n.

[6] Ṭabari, tr. T. Nöldeke, 288. (For counter-stipulations concerning the Christians in Iran see in detail L. H. Gray, "Formal peace-negotiations and peace-treaties between pre-Muhammadan Persia and other states", J. J. Modi Mem. Vol., Bombay 1930, 151.).

[7] See Ramsay, "Phrygia", Enc. Brit., 13th ed., 1926, 21, 541–5; Magie, RR, 38–9, 42, 50.

Sangarius, whose main affluent, the Tembris, joined it by the ancient city of Gordium. Most of Phrygia was admirably suited to Iranian settlement; its river valleys were fertile and the great upland plains provided good pasture for flocks and herds. Moreover, since it was traversed by the Royal Road, it had a ready link with Iran. The Iranians not being themselves an urban people, Phrygia under Achaemenian rule remained, despite settlement by them, a land of few towns.

Alexander assigned Phrygia to Antigonus, and after the battle of Ipsus (fought on Phrygian soil) it passed to Lysimachus, and after Corupedion, in 281, to Seleucus.[8] Worse fate befell it in 277 with the coming of the Galatians, who must have ravaged most of the land.[9] Some ten years later the two kings who had used these Gauls as mercenaries—Nicomedes I of Bithynia and Mithradates I of Pontus—seem to have settled them, more or less, on lands adjacent to their own realms (till then probably, nominally at least, Seleucid possessions), where they could shield them from Seleucid power.[10] These lands, which came to be known as Galatia, were carved out from eastern Phrygia with a small area of western Cappadocia, that is, a region around the upper Sangarius and middle Halys. From here the Gauls had easy access across what remained of Phrygia to the rich lands of western Asia Minor, which they continued to plunder or hold to ransom down to 190 B.C., when they fought for Antiochus III at Magnesia. They incurred thereby Rome's hostility, and the next year a Roman army invaded their land and defeated them in two great battles. Thereafter they were confined within Galatia, and wrought no more havoc.

Till then the Galatians had lived as a warrior elite in fortified villages and castles, where their chiefs kept up a barbaric state. They allowed the ancient towns that had come under their rule to survive, and down to 189 these seem even to have prospered, the wealth which the Galatians brought back from their forays being partly spent, presumably, in their market places. Among them was Tavium to the east of the Halys, which possessed a famous sanctuary to "Zeus"; and Pessinus, on former Phrygian soil, celebrated for its shrine to the Phrygian "Mother of the gods". The high priests of Pessinus were allowed to continue as separate dynasts,

[8] Cf. above, pp. 24, 25.
[9] Cf. above, pp. 25–6.
[10] Jones, Cities, pp. 110–1, argues convincingly that the part in this settlement attributed by Strabo to the Attalids is unlikely, since Pergamum was then only a small principality on the western coast. On Galatia generally see ib., pp. 110–22; J. G. C. Anderson, "Galatia", Enc. Brit., 13th ed., 11, 393–4.

and had friendly relations with the Attalids and even received donations from them for their temple;[11] and when in 205 the Romans, prompted by "the oracles of the Sibyl", sought to acquire the cult statue of their goddess, it was through Attalid diplomacy that they were able to obtain it.[12] In 189 the high priest prudently sent a deputation to the approaching Roman general to announce that the goddess had foretold his victory; and the temple continued thereafter to prosper. Letters survive exchanged between its high priests and the Attalids Eumenes II and Attalus II, in one of which the high priest's brother bears a Galatian name, suggesting intermarriage between the high priestly family and the Gallic nobility.[13]

The relevance of all this to a history of Zoroastrianism is that it shows that even under the terrible Galatians some at least of their subjects could thrive and maintain their holy places, having contact also with others beyond Galatia's borders; and this makes it the less surprising that Bardesanes should have included Galatia as well as Phrygia among the lands where *magousaioi* were still numerous in the second century A.C. As so often, there are few tangible traces of the Iranian religion to support his words, in fact none from Galatia; but from Phrygia there is a little material evidence (in addition to that already considered from Celenae-Apamea and Themisonion in the far south-west[14]). Thus an isolated inscription of great interest came to light near ancient Amorion (at Ghomme, i.e. modern Ergan Kale, near Asar Kale). Amorion was to the south of the Royal Road, but was linked to Apamea by what in Roman times became a paved highway. It stood at the head of a broad, well-watered plain, which presumably Iranians colonized in Achaemenian times; and in 131 B.C. it was brought just within the eastern boundary of the new Roman province of Asia.[15] At this village near it was found a large limestone stele, its lower part broken away, whose three inscribed faces bear related Greek texts, assigned to the first century A.C.[16] These record that "initiates of the tribe of Zeus" (*phulēs Dios mustai*), wishing to honour the memory of Cyrilla, daughter of Antipater Gaios, who had died

[11] Strabo XII.5.3.
[12] Ib.; on the Sibyl see below, p. 371 ff.
[13] Jones, o.c., pp. 119, 408 n. 7.
[14] Cf. above, pp. 244–5, 249.
[15] Ramsay, Geography, 49, 171–2, 231, with map, p. 197. As Rome extended her eastern empire the boundaries of the Anatolian provinces were repeatedly redrawn, and this area came again within the fluctuating borders of Phrygia, and so can be considered under Bardesanes' territorial reference.
[16] Ramsay, "Inscriptions d'Asie Mineure", REG II, 1889, 17–37; Vermaseren, CIMRM I, pp. 50–1.

young, had dedicated an altar to her, and had bought a vineyard, a *plethron* and a half in size, the income from which was to endow a feast to be held "yearly on the customary Mithrakana days" (*kata etos ethimois hēmerais tois Mithrakanois*). All initiates were to take part in that feast thenceforth, they, their descendants and their heirs for ever. Thereafter, to increase the endowment, Antipater gave them a vineyard of four *plethra*, whereupon they raised a marble statue to Cyrilla; and in gratitude he concluded his liberality by making over to them the whole of his vineyard.

This inscription has echoes of the more public honour shown to Theophron of Hypaipa, who also died young at this same epoch;[17] and it suggests the blend of cultures and usages which one might reasonably expect at such a place and time. Those concerned were presumably observing a Zoroastrian festival, for there is no record of Mithrakana outside that religion; but they were hellenized, speaking Greek, citizens probably of Amorion, which appears, like other Hellenistic cities, to have been divided into "tribes". That of "Zeus" may conceivably have been made up of families of Iranian descent; but even were there more evidence, such a fact might well be masked by a wholesale adoption of Greco-Roman names.

The inscription contains one of the oldest references to the Mithrakana, the other being by Strabo, who knew it as a Persian feast.[18] With the creation of the Zoroastrian calendar, probably early in the fourth century B.C., its chief holy day was fixed on the day Mithra of the month Mithra; but for how many days this major festival was customarily observed before the Sasanian period is unknown.[19] To remember the souls of the departed at annual feasts endowed in their names is established Zoroastrian usage; and some two centuries earlier Antiochus I of Commagene likewise recorded endowing such commemorative feasts with lands, on a princely scale.[20] The observance is well known still in the Zoroastrian community, especially in its traditional centres in Iran; but there such a foundation would regularly be made during the "customary days" of one of the six *gahambars*.[21] Establishing one during those of

[17] Above, pp. 223–4.
[18] XI.14.9. His statement that the Armenian satrap sent the Achaemenian king 20,000 foals each year for this feast bears out the supposition that the Persians then, as later, celebrated Mithrakana as an autumn festival, since it would be normal husbandry to have foals born in spring and reared through the summer with the mares.
[19] The remarks in HZ II 34 on Mithrakana are to be corrected both in this respect and concerning the attestation of the old form of the name.
[20] Cf. below, pp. 337, 342.
[21] Cf. Boyce, Stronghold, 33 ff.

Mithrakana is perhaps yet another piece of evidence for the popularity of Mithra among the Zoroastrians of Asia Minor.

Naturally the more richly endowed a feast, the greater its prestige and the more the cheerfulness engendered at it, which is held to be a source of satisfaction to the departed soul. A large endowment also increases the likelihood of the observance being long maintained. Antipater's acts are thus fully in the spirit of known Zoroastrian usages. To celebrate feasts in honour of the dead was also, however, Greek custom, so that here the Iranian and Hellenistic worlds met harmoniously, with the Zoroastrians enriching their traditional observance by adopting the Greek practice of erecting a statue to the departed.

The Amorion stele thus bears witness to the existence of a group of Zoroastrians, evidently prosperous, peacefully maintaining their ancestral customs in the interior of a Phrygia that had become strongly hellenized during several generations of Roman rule. There is nothing to indicate the presence among them of magi; but their attendance may reasonably be supposed, for a religious ceremony would undoubtedly have preceded the feast as part of the endowed observances.

Another piece of evidence for the persistence of Zoroastrian worship in Phrygia comes from near Nacoleia (modern Seyidgazi), a town in hilly country south of the river Tembris in Phrygia Epicteteis.[22] Here a broken inscription has been found, also from Roman imperial times, invoking "Zeus of the Persians", that is, Ahura Mazda.[23] Its discovery strengthens the possibility that the Zeus of the Amorion city "tribe" owed some element at least of his concept to the Zoroastrian God.

To the west of Nacoleia at modern Savçilar, a village in Mysia on the shore of Lake Synaos (modern Sinav), near the border with Phrygia, a stone pedestal was found with a carving of the bust of Mithra wearing the "Phrygian" cap, and around it a damaged Greek inscription to the "Sun Mithra" (*Helios Mithras*).[24] This, dated most probably to 77/78 A.C., is generally regarded as being devoted to the god of the Mithraic Mysteries rather than to the Zoroastrian *yazata*, and would then be among his oldest monuments; but since at this epoch the Persians themselves called the sun Mithra[25], this identification is by no means certain.

[22] Ramsay, Geography, 49, 168; Jones, Cities, 65, 67.
[23] J. et L. Robert, "Bull.ép.", REG 1979, 529; Fouilles d'Amyzon 116, n. 148.
[24] Cumont, "Mithra en Asie Mineure", in Festschrift W. H. Buckler, 69–70; Vermaseren, CIMRM, I 51 no. 23.
[25] Cf. below, pp. 478–82, and Wikander, EMM, 27.

Cappadocia

A little more is known of the practice and persistence of Zoroastrianism in Cappadocia (Katpatuka to the Achaemenians), which comprised a great stretch of territory from the Taurus mountains north to the Black Sea (Pontus Euxinus), and from the wide curve of the middle Halys (separating it from Phrygia) east to Lesser Armenia and Commagene. Most of this knowledge comes from Strabo, who was born about 63 B.C. in Cappadocia-on-the-Pontus, generally abbreviated to Pontus, that is, the northern part of the region. The information contained in his *Geography* is supplemented by some details from the life of Mithradates the Great of Pontus (c.121–63 B.C.), whose wars against Rome attracted general interest; by a brief but important passage in a letter by Bishop Basil, metropolitan of Cappadocia in the fourth century A.C.; and by a little numismatic and monumental evidence.

The greater part of Cappadocia was high tableland, and its plains, like those of Phrygia, provided good grazing; but in the interior there were few rivers of any size except the great Halys (modern Kizil Irmak)[26], and so no large fertile areas and few towns. The population, of Hittite stock, was deeply conservative, maintaining ancient traditions over many generations.[27] The Medes had made themselves masters of the land by 585 B.C., but Iranian settlement there is thought to have begun probably under the Achaemenians. The area most attractive to the Persians appears to have been the fertile upper valleys of the Iris and Lycos in inland Pontus. Here they had their satrapal capital at Gaziura, "Place of the Treasury", in the Iris valley.[28] The Royal Road and Southern Highway provided ready access, however, to the whole country. Persian nobles presumably dwelt in the many hill fortresses mentioned there by Strabo,[29] and humbler Iranian settlers in villages scattered among those of the native population, where Bishop Basil found their descendants still living in the fourth

[26] Reinach, Mith. Eupator, 8, characterizes the Halys as useless except as a frontier, with waters too saline for fish to live in. See otherwise K. Devedjian, Pêche et pêcheries en Turquie, Constantinople 1915, 2nd ed. 1926, appendice, tableau E (a reference I owe to the kindness of M. Chuvin). In general on the geography of Cappadocia see Reinach, o.c., p. 8 ff.; Cumont, CAH XI, 606–7.

[27] This has been strikingly attested by excavations at Haniš-Anisa (modern Kültepe), by origin a small Hittite town, 19 km. from Kayseri; see with bibliography Robert, Noms indigènes, 457–523, 583.

[28] On the name see Russell, Zoroastrianism in Armenia, p. 35 nn. 23 and 24, pp. 73–4; and cf. Ganzaka in Atropatene.

[29] XII.2.9.

century A.C. Strabo in his own day recognized only two cities in Cappadocia, both ancient: Tyana in the south-west, and Mazaka, later to be renamed Caesarea (modern Kayseri). This stood at important crossroads at the heart of Cappadocia, dominating the plain at the foot of Mount Argaeus, Anatolia's highest peak.[30]

The Pontic coast was cut off from inland Cappadocia by mountain ranges stretching westward from the Caucasus; for the rivers which forced their way north through this barrier were navigable for only a little way up their courses. Their deltas made fertile areas along the narrow coastal strip, and also created harbours; and from the eighth century B.C. the region had attracted Greek settlers. The oldest of their colonies was at Sinope in Paphlagonia (Pontic Cappadocia's western neighbour), which had probably already been an important trading port in Hittite times;[31] and the Greeks throve there, sending out other colonies to places along the coast, the most easterly being Trapezus (Trebizond, modern Trabzun). These Greek cities traded by sea rather than with inland Cappadocia.[32]

Cappadocia had several famous holy places, notably the temple to the goddess Ma at Comana (modern Şar, near Tufan-beyli) in the south-east, of which Strabo wrote: "It is a considerable city; its inhabitants, however, consist mostly of the divinely inspired people and the temple-servants who live in it . . . who . . . are in most respects subject to the priest. . . . Also, considerable territory belongs to the temple, and the revenue is enjoyed by the priest. He is second in rank in Cappadocia after the king; and in general the priests belonged to the same family as the kings".[33] The goddess Ma had another wealthy sanctuary in the north, at Pontic Comana (Gümenek). This, modelled on the southern one,[34] was in the valley of the Iris; and to the west of it was Zela (modern Zile), which according to traditions preserved by Strabo appears to have been the oldest Persian sanctuary in Asia Minor. The town stands in a small hill-encircled plain, not far from ancient Gaziura; and from whatever side it is approached, the eye is caught by a low, rounded hill which rises within it, on its eastern side.[35] This is a natural feature, as outcrops of living rock show, but possibly it was once

[30] On Mazaka see Strabo, XII.2.7,9.

[31] Ramsay, Geography, 28, 35.

[32] Robert, o.c., pp. 538–9.

[33] XII.2.3.

[34] Strabo, XII.3.32.

[35] See, with photographs, J. G. C. Anderson, A journey of exploration in Pontus, 1903, 42; Cumont, Voyage d'exploration, 188 ff.

artificially banked up to give it its existing oval form[36]; for Strabo relates how in the sixth century B.C. nomad Sacae "advanced as far as the country of the Cappadocians, particularly those situated close to the Euxine, who are now called the Pontici. But when they were holding a general festival and enjoying their booty, they were attacked by the Persian generals [of Cyrus the Great] who were then in that region and utterly wiped out. And these generals, heaping up a mound of earth over a certain rock in the plain, completed it in the form of a hill, and created on it a wall, and established the temple of Anaitis and the gods who share her altar—Omanus and Anadatus, Persian deities; and they instituted an annual sacred festival, the Sacaea, which the inhabitants of Zela (for thus the place is called) continue to celebrate to the present day".[37] According to another tradition, Strabo adds, it was Cyrus himself who, after an initial defeat, succeeded in slaughtering the Sacae, and, "regarding the happy issue as of divine origin, consecrated that day to the goddess of his fathers and called it Sacaea".[38] The implication that Anaitis had been worshipped by the Persians before Cyrus' day accords with Herodotus' statement that they had early learnt "to sacrifice to the 'Heavenly Goddess', from the Assyrians and Arabians";[39] and dedicating an annual commemorative feast to this divinity, with her warlike aspect, would seem fitting here. General considerations make it likely, however, that for several generations the sanctuary at Zela remained an open-air one, ringed by its wall. The setting is in accord with the Iranian tradition of worship in high places[40]; and probably veneration was offered there, also in traditional fashion, to Ahura Mazda and all the *yazatas*. The building of a temple dedicated specifically to Anahit probably took place later, in the time of Artaxerxes II; and the altars to "Omanus" (generally interpreted as Vohu Manah) and the perplexing "Anadatus" presumably belonged likewise to the temple-phase of worship on the hill.[41] No traces of an Achaemenian building survive; but in general ancient remains at Zela are few.

Only one Zoroastrian artifact has been found so far in Cappadocia which perhaps belongs to Achaemenian times. This is a little flat-topped limestone altar, 0.55 m. high and 0.37 m. across at its widest.[42] It has a two-stepped top and base, the steps projecting only slightly above and below the rectangular shaft, each of whose sides bears a virtually identical carving in shallow relief. This is of a man in "Median" dress, i.e. *tiara* (worn so as to leave the face free), long mantle or *kandys*, with sleeves hanging empty, trousers and boots. In his right hand he holds a short *baresman* by the twig-ends,[43] while his left, raised up, supports a shallow bowl on spread fingers, as if he were dedicating an offering. Since he is so clad, and is thus represented in an act of worship, he has been identified as a magus, but could as well represent a devout layman.[44] The altar itself has been described as a "fire-altar", but since it is small and flat-topped, this is not possible. What seems likely is that it is a rarer object, namely a Zoroastrian altar proper, on whose flat surface offerings were placed in worship of the *yazatas*. Zoroastrians do not make burnt offerings, but devote to the divine beings a variety of things whose aroma may be held to please them, such as freshly cooked food, raw fruits sliced open, aromatic herbs or libations of wine.[45] Where the little altar would have stood for such devotional purposes can only be guessed at; but its careful carving suggests perhaps the courtyard or walled garden of some nobleman's house.[46] It cannot be precisely dated; but since the reliefs show no trace of Greek influence, the latest time, it is thought, would be mid second century B.C.; for the altar was found at or near Bünyan, a village some 35 km. to the east of Mazaka, which then, as the capital of Cappadocia, was the centre for a royal policy of deliberate hellenization.[47] It could, however, be older, belonging, that is, to early Seleucid or Achaemenian times.[48]

[36] So Cumont, l.c., p. 191.
[37] XI.8.4. On the hill at Zela see also Julius Caesar, The Alexandrian Wars, Ch. 72.
[38] XI.8.5. On the Sacaea see further below, pp. 289–92.
[39] I.131, cf. HZ II 29–30.
[40] This, as we have seen (above, p. 75) is a relative concept. The hill at Zela rises only about 15 m. above the plain, giving thus easy access to priests and worshippers; and it both dominates the surrounding countryside and, like Lydian Hierolophos, gives distant views of higher hills all around.
[41] On the popularity in Asia Minor of Omanus/Vohu Manah see below, p. 270.

[42] K. Bittel, "Ein persischer Feueraltar aus Kappadokien", Satura, Festschrift O. Weinreich, Baden-Baden, 1952, 15–29, with plate; Turkish version in Turk Arkeologi Dergisi VI, 1956, 35–42 with Pl. 15. (I am indebted to Professor P. Calmeyer for providing me with photocopies of both texts.) One face of the altar is illustrated by A. Akurgal, Die Kunst Anatoliens, Pl. 120, two by H. von Gall, BaM 19, 1988, Taf. 34. On it, inadequately, HZ II 147.
[43] On the short *baresman* see HZ II 39, 276.
[44] Cf. above, pp. 99–100, and the representations of Achaemenian kings at Nimrud Dagh, below, p. 331.
[45] Cf. Boyce, Stronghold, index s.v. *bōy-o-brang*; and the general Zoroastrian phrase *bōy dādan* "to give fragrance", used of offerings.
[46] P. Cook, The Persian Empire, 180, sought to find in the altar evidence for the existence at Bünyan of the "paradise" of a Persian nobleman whose castle would have been in the mountains nearby, guarding the road from Commagene to Mazaka; but he did not perhaps appreciate how small the altar is. Nor is it certain that it was found at Bünyan itself, see Bittel, art. cit., p. 16.
[47] Bittel, ib., pp. 22–3, and cf. below, p. 268.
[48] So Bittel, ib., p. 28.

Most of Cappadocia was ignored by Alexander, who pressed on across the south of the country in 333 without attempting to subdue the remainder. Rule there was exercised for the next decade by a Persian, Ariarathes, the former Achaemenian satrap of Pontic Cappadocia. As such he had struck coins at Gaziura, with legends in Aramaic lettering. One of his issues has on the reverse a griffin attacking a kneeling stag, and his name, *'rywrt*. On the obverse is a seated figure, bearded and with a wreath on his head. In his left hand he holds a long sceptre, and in his right (on which an eagle is perched) ears of corn and a vine-branch with grapes. By this figure is the legend Ba'al Gazir (*b'lgzyr*) "Lord of Gaziura".[49] This Zeus-like figure resembles one on coins minted at Tarsus for Mazaios (satrap of Cilicia under Artaxerxes III and Darius III), which is accompanied by the legend Ba'al Tarz (*b'l trz*) "Lord of Tarsus".[50] There is no other evidence to help identify the divinity at the Cappadocian stronghold, but, as we have seen,[51] the iconography of Zeus was sometimes used in Bactria to portray Mithra, while the equation of Zeus and Ahura Mazda is regular. Other satrapal coins of Ariarathes resemble Greek types of Sinope, but also have his name in Aramaic lettering.[52]

In 323, at the division of satrapies after Alexander's death, Cappadocia was allotted to Eumenes, who with the aid of Perdiccas succeeded in gaining possession of it. The defeated Ariarathes was crucified together with most of his family. A few years later Antigonus, having put Eumenes to death,[53] acquired Cappadocia, and thereafter it, like Phrygia, passed first to Lysimachus and then to Seleucus. By then Mithradates I had carved out the new kingdom of Pontus (which included a part of Paphlagonia), and this he held. South or Greater Cappadocia was more important strategically to the Seleucids, and they succeeded in controlling it briefly; but towards the end of Antiochus I's reign (or early in that of his successor) a descendant of Ariarathes, called Ariaramnes, reconquered it with help from Armenia; and he was followed by his son, another Ariarathes. They succeeded in establishing a dynasty, of which the Ariarathes who was put to death by Perdiccas is regarded as the founder, Ariarathes I. Subsequently court historians—or perhaps court minstrels?—created a partly false genealogy for the family, to substantiate a claim that its ancestors had already been kings of Cappadocia at the time of the Achaemenians, with whom (it was said) they had intermarried. In this genealogy there is a second Ariarathes, Ariaramnes' father, Ariaramnes' son being therefore known as Ariarathes III.[54]

Ariaramnes issued coins, bearing on the obverse his head wearing a Persian satrapal *tiara*, and on the reverse a horseman at the gallop, holding a lance, or a horse grazing or trotting, with Ariaramnes' name, without title, in Greek letters.[55] A number of coins of the last type also bear a mint-name, Tyana, showing that he had extended his control to that south Cappadocian city. Ariarathes III in his issues continued his father's types, with further mint-names appearing,[56] and his own, still without title. On the obverse of one of his coins a goddess is shown between two sphinxes. She has been tentatively identified as Ishtar/Astarte—conceivably in the local Achaemenian iconography a representative of Anahit,[57] whose worship by Persians in Cappadocia is well attested.

The coins of Ariaramnes and Ariarathes III, with their mint-names and Greek lettering, have been taken to indicate a scattering of Greeks in the towns of south Cappadocia.[58] In general down to this time Cappadocia had been little affected by Hellenism; but now, with a measure of peace and stability returning under the Ariarathids, cultural Hellenism began to spread there also, largely, it seems, on the initiative of those kings. What must have inclined Ariarathes III more readily to this was the diplomatic friendliness of the Seleucid Antiochus II, who recognized him as king, ceded to him the southern province of Cataonia (in which Cumana stood), and gave him his daughter Stratonice in marriage.[59] The Cappadocian king followed Seleucid example by founding a new city, which he named Ariaratheia, and to which doubtless he gave a Greek constitution. His son Ariarathes IV (220–c.162), thus half-

[49] Wroth, BMC Galatia, p. 29 no. 1, Pl. VI.1; Alram, Nomina, p. 111, Taf. 11.348.

[50] Cf. HZ II 272–3, and further Boyce, BAI 4, 1990 (in press). On the Ba'al of Tarsus being the ancient Hittite god Šandan, semitized as Nergal, see P. Chuvin, "Apollon au trident et les dieux de Tarse", JdS 1981, 305–26.

[51] Above, p. 163 ff.

[52] Wroth, BMC Pontus, p. 96 nos 9, 10, Pl. XXII.1, 2; Alram, o.c., p. 112, Taf. 11.346–7.

[53] Cf. above, p. 20.

[54] Reinach, Trois royaumes, 10–11. In general on Cappadocia in Greco-Roman times see Cumont, CAH XI, 606–13; Jones, Cities, 174–90.

[55] Alram, o.c., p. 58, Taf. 5.127–31. On the early coins of the Ariarathids see K. Regling, "Dynastenmünzen von Tyana, Morima und Anisa in Kappadokien", Zeitschrift für Numismatik 42, 1935, 1–23, Taf. 1; on the coins of the Ariarathids generally see principally the works of O. Mørkolm and A. Simonetta, listed by Alram, o.c., pp. 20, 22.

[56] See Alram, o.c., pp. 58–60, Taf. 5.132–7.

[57] Cf. above, p. 227 with n. 158.

[58] Robert, Noms indigènes, 485.

[59] Above, p. 27.

Macedonian by blood, set the title "king" on his coins, and attached to his name the cognomen Philopator. He also introduced the device of Athene holding Nike, which became the standard reverse type of the Ariarathid coinage. His bust shows him sometimes wearing the Persian *tiara* bound with the Greek diadem, but sometimes the diadem tied round his bare head.[60]

His son Ariarathes V (c.162–130), with the cognomen Eusebes, was an ardent philhellene, and no longer wears the *tiara* on any of his coins.[61] In his youth he studied in Athens, where he became friends with the future Attalus III, the last king of Pergamum. He in his turn married a Seleucid princess, his cousin Nysa, daughter of Antiochus III; and he refounded Mazaka and Tyana as Greek *poleis*, renaming both Eusebia (distinguished as Eusebia-under-Argaeus and Eusebia-by-the-Taurus). Neither city seems likely to have received any marked influx of Greeks (in the following reign a gymnasiarch of Tyana is known who bore a wholly unGreek name, Atezoas son of Dryenus);[62] and later the organization of Cappadocia as a Roman province suggests that the kingdom was generally little affected by even such modest developments, keeping to its old tribal and village economy. Greek was probably the language chiefly spoken by now at court; but a bilingual inscription attributed to the first century A.C.[63] shows that written Aramaic—and hence probably spoken Persian—persisted in use beside it, at least among the rural nobility. Their affairs were presumably dealt with by scribes of Iranian descent, who kept tenaciously to the traditions of their hereditary calling.

Ariarathes was driven briefly from his throne by a usurper with an Iranian name, Orophernes;[64] but, having recovered the kingship, he died fighting for the Roman cause against Aristonicus in Pergamum. His widow Nysa is said to have murdered five of their sons thereafter in order to continue herself as regent.[65] A sixth escaped, to reign eventually as Ariarathes VI Epiphanes Philopator (c.120–111). He rashly married Laodice, daughter of Mithradates the Great of Pontus, a princess who like himself was of mixed Iranian and Macedonian blood; and Cappadocia thus came under

[60] See Wroth, BMC Galatia, pp. 31–2, Pl. VI.2; Alram, o.c., pp. 60–1. Taf. 5.138–50.
[61] Wroth, o.c., p. 33, Pl. VI.3, 4; Alram, o.c., p. 62, Taf. 5.151–2.
[62] Jones, Cities, 178 with 430 n. 7.
[63] See below, p. 272.
[64] For his coins, on which he has the cognomen *nicephorus*, see Wroth, o.c., p. 34, Pl. VI.5; Alram, o.c., p. 62, Taf. 5.153. He too is shown bare-headed but for the diadem.
[65] On her see Reinach, Trois royaumes, 46; Mith. Eupator, 81.

the influence of her powerful and ambitious father. In 111 Mithradates strengthened his hold on it by procuring his son-in-law's murder, Laodice being left to rule as regent for their son, Ariarathes VII Philometor; but when the latter began to show signs of independence, Mithradates had him killed also, c.100, installing in his place a young son of his own, as Ariarathes Eusebes Philopator. Philometor's younger brother was killed in about 96 trying to recover the kingdom, and with him the Ariarathid line was extinguished.

At this juncture Rome intervened, ordering Mithradates to withdraw and seeking to have Cappadocia remain a republic; but this was a concept wholly alien to its nobles, who asked instead for a king; and, the Senate agreeing, they elected one of their own number, with the Iranian name of Ariobarzanes. He had a troubled reign (c.95–62), during which most of Cappadocia was often occupied either by Mithradates or by Tigranes of Armenia; but his heirs continued to reign after a fashion under Roman protection until 36 B.C., when Mark Antony put Archelaus, a great-grandson of one of Mithradates' generals, on the throne—perhaps Cappadocia's first king of wholly non-Iranian blood. He appears to have been an able and energetic ruler, who enjoyed a long reign before being deposed in 17 A.C., when senile, by Tiberius, who annexed Cappadocia for Rome.

Nothing is known of the personal beliefs of the Ariarathids, for the fact that from the reign of Ariarathes III they set images of Greek divinities on their coins is of no evidential value by itself; but since their support seems to have come largely from the Iranian nobles, it is likely that, for diplomatic if no other reasons, they continued to give their patronage to the Iranian religion, were initiated into it, and took their due part in Zoroastrian ceremonies and observances. That Zoroastrianism flourished under their rule is attested by Strabo, whose famous account of it in Cappadocia was written some little time after the dynasty died out.[66] "In Cappadocia", he wrote, "—for there the tribe of the magi (*tōn magōn*), who are also called fire-kindlers (*pyraithoi*) is large— . . . they . . . have fire-sanctuaries (*pyraitheia*), noteworthy enclosures; and in the midst of these there is an altar (*bōmos*)[67], on which there is a large quantity of ashes and where the magi keep the fire ever burning. And there, entering daily, they make incantations for about an hour, holding before the fire their bundle of rods and wearing round their heads felt *tiaras* which reach down over their

[66] XV.3.15.
[67] This is the earliest instance of a word for "altar" being used for a Zoroastrian fire-holder.

cheeks far enough to cover their lips." This account is essentially in harmony both with Pausanias' description of the fire-cult at Hypaipa and Hierocaesarea,[68] and with living Zoroastrian usage. Strabo's is, however, more matter of fact than the Lydian's, its tone being that of one speaking of everyday observances rather than of strange marvels; and it is noteworthy that he makes no mention of the use of a book. This is what one would expect in conservative Cappadocia, and agrees with Bishop Basil's later remarks about the lack of religious books among the Zoroastrians in his diocese.

In describing these fire-sanctuaries Strabo attests the existence of something for which there is no evidence in Lydia, namely separate shrines for fire and for the worship of *yazatas*. In Cappadocia, he states,[69] "are also many temples of the Persian gods". He names only two of the *yazatas* concerned, Anaitis and Omanus, and says that in their temples the same rituals of the fire-cult were observed as in the fire-sanctuaries. This accords with the literary and numismatic evidence for the maintenance of the fire-cult at Anahit's Lydian shrines. The Cappadocian temples, Strabo adds, have sacred enclosures; "and the people carry in procession a wooden statue of Omanus . . . I have seen this myself". It is striking that the worship of Omanus/Vohu Manah should be prominent both in Greater Cappadocia and at Pontic Zela, while his popularity is attested by theophoric names in Lydia and Bactria;[70] and it is tempting to suppose that all this may not be unconnected with the great Ameša Spenta's link with prophecy (in which there was so much interest in the Hellenistic world) and with the circulation among Greek-speaking Iranians of the poems of the Persian Sibyl.[71] As for the apparent absence of separate fire-temples in Lydia, this may be due to the chance survival of evidence; but it is also possible that the institution of such temples (established, it has been suggested, in orthodox reaction to the image cult[72]) may not have been adopted by the Lydians, who, conceivably less traditionalist even in Achaemenian times, may have been content to maintain a temple cult of fire only in conjunction with the image cult of a *yazata*.[73]

[68] Above, p. 236.
[69] L.c.
[70] See above, pp. 264, 249, 181.
[71] See p. 372 ff.
[72] See HZ II 221–2.
[73] A great image shrine would from the first have found it ritually necessary to have had an ever-burning fire within the temple precinct, cf. above, pp. 179, 235.—For further details given by Strabo of magian worship in Asia Minor see below, p. 294 ff.

Of the many Persian temples in Cappadocia of which Strabo wrote, only one has left a tiny tangible trace of its existence. This is in the shape of a small inscribed stone altar base found at Ortaköy, which has been identified as ancient Nitalis[74]. This was in Morimene, the north-west region of Cappadocia that lay, a narrow stretch of upland, between the bend of the Halys and Lake Tatta, being bounded on the north by Galatia. The stone in question (64 cm. high by 54 cm. wide) bears a Greek inscription attributed to Roman imperial times, invoking "Thea Anaitis" to grant well-being to three named temple servants and their progeny. The goddess is hailed not only as "very great", but also, by an otherwise unrecorded epithet, as *barzoxara-*, which has been interpreted as an Iranian adjective meaning "of high Hara", that is, of the great mythical mountain from which the mythical world river, personified as Aredvi Sura Anahita, descends.[75] If this is correct, it is a striking instance (for which we have met parallels in Lydia) of the persistence of ancient Iranian religious concepts—or at least of cult-usages. It is also remarkable that the tiny number of Zoroastrian inscriptions which has survived from Asia Minor has yielded two otherwise unknown divine epithets: **baradāta-*[76] and *barzoxara-*. This suggests the richness and diversity which once existed in the devotional language of the faith. One of the proper names of the present inscription is Cappadocian, the other two are Greco-Roman; but since Greco-Roman names were being generally taken by this time, this tells us nothing definite about those who bore them.

There was an important highway which, partly to avoid winter flooding, branched off from the Royal Road before this crossed the Halys, and led south through Morimene to Mazaka. Nitalis thus had good communications with western Asia Minor; and it is tempting to speculate whether it might not have been from this region that the poet Diogenes heard reports of "Bactrian maidens dwelling beside the Halys river", who like those of Lydia made music for Artemis of Mount Tmolus, that is, for Anahit.[77]

The many temples of the Persian religion in Cappadocia, of which only this one at Nitalis is so far individually known, evi-

[74] R. P. Harper, "A dedication to the goddess Anaitis at Ortaköy, north of Aksaray (Nitalis?)", AS XVII, 1967, 193 with Pl. XVII.
[75] R. Schmitt, "BAPZOXAPA—ein neues Anāhitā-Epitheton aus Kappadokien", KZ 84, 1970, 207–10. (Contra, as "of high xwarrah", Wikander, "BAPZOXAPA" Acta Or. XXXIV, 1972, 13–15.)
[76] Above, p. 205. See also Khšathrapati, p. 476.
[77] Above, p. 204.

dently needed a large Zoroastrian community to support them and their priests; and it is not surprising that Iranian names should occur there relatively frequently in Hellenistic and still even in Roman times. (In addition to those of the kings already mentioned, there are recorded Aribas, Aribazos, Arsames, Maibouzanos, Maidates, Maiphernes/Magaphernes, Maiphates, Mithres, Mithratoxmes, Pharnakes, Sisines and Spites[78].) The leaders of the Iranian community were presumably the high priests (though such an office is in fact attested only for the temple at Pontic Zela), and the nobles of Iranian descent, who probably spent part at least of each year on their estates and supported the local religious sanctuaries. That these nobles exercised considerable power and influence under the Ariarathids is indicated, it has been suggested, by Strabo's statement that when after their victory at Magnesia the Romans "were forming friendships and alliances both with the tribes and with the kings, . . . in all other cases they gave this honour to the kings individually, but gave it to the king of Cappadocia and the tribe jointly".[79] When eventually Cappadocia became a Roman province, it received an unusual organization, for instead of its administration being based on cities in the standard way, ten territorial units were created, called, from the title given their governors, *strategiae*.[80] Several, if not most, of these governors are likely to have been of Iranian descent.

It was, however, a lesser *strategos* who left an inscription cut into rock in a gorge near Faraša, a town in south-east Cappadocia by the Karmalas (modern Zamanti-Su). The inscription, which has been assigned to the first century A.C., is bilingual, in Aramaic and Greek;[81] and the two texts, both slightly damaged, together yield the declaration that "Sa(n)garios, son of Magaphernes, Strategos of Ariaramneia, εμάγευσε Μιθρῃ/*mgyš [lm]trh'*. The verb at first caused perplexity, for no similar expression was known in Zoroastrian or Mithraic usage; but of the two interpretations which were proposed, "became a magus for Mithra" or "celebrated a magian

[78] G. de Jerphanion et L. Jalabert, "Taurus et Cappadoce", Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale, Université St-Joseph, Beyrouth, V, 1911, 327; Robert, Noms indigènes, 514–19.

[79] XII.2.11; on the passage see Magie, RR, 1096 n. 6.

[80] Jones, Cities, 177; cf. Ramsay, Geography, 281.

[81] For it see H. Grégoire, "Note sur une inscription gréco-araméenne trouvée à Faraša (Ariaramneia-Rhodandos)", CRAI 1908, 434–47. *Pace* Vermaseren, CIMRM, I 50 no. 19, it is not merely the last words of the inscription which are rendered in Aramaic. The Aramaic text, as given by Grégoire, is reproduced and discussed by M. Lidzbarski, Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik, III, Giessen 1915, 66–7. On the Greek see further Robert, "Bull. ép.", REG 1939, 443–4; 1958, 6.

rite/sacrificed for Mithra", the latter gained more acceptance; and it was subsequently confirmed as correct through the discovery that in the Greek text of Šabuhr I's inscription on the Ka'ba-yi Zardušt the verb μαγύειν occurs as the equivalent of *yaštan* "to sacrifice".[82] Moreover, it was shown that in Armenia, and presumably more generally, *yaštan* was used as a technical term for sacrificing an animal in a way peculiar (in the Middle East) to Zoroastrians, i.e. by clubbing the beast to death instead of using a sword or knife.[83] Sacrifice was properly performed among Zoroastrians by priests;[84] and it was presumably because this way of making it was particular to the magi that the verb *mageuein* came to be coined for it in the Hellenistic world, being used, it seems, by Greek speakers in Iran itself as well as in Asia Minor. The construction of the Faraša text, with "Mithrē" as the indirect object of *emageuse*, is paralleled by a similar construction with the verb *yaz-* in a Sogdian work: "he who slaughters (animals) and sacrifices to a god, βγω *'yzty*".[85] Whether there was really a similar Aramaic idiom, or whether the Aramaic usage in the Faraša text was simply in imitation of the Greek, cannot be established without more evidence; but in any case the testimony of the Aramaic phrase here (the work presumably of a scribe of Iranian stock), and of the Greek one on the Ka'ba (in a text composed for a Zoroastrian king) shows that Zoroastrians themselves saw nothing objectionable in the usage. That the magi should have accepted this idiom as not derogatory to their calling indicates how essential and meritorious they themselves considered the rite of animal sacrifice to be.

Animal sacrifice remained a prominent feature in Mithra's cult in traditional Zoroastrian communities down to modern times;[86] but it was offered to other *yazatas* also, and was a regular part of the *yasna* service. Too much cannot therefore be made of the Faraša text in this respect; but it is clearly of importance as providing another piece of direct evidence for the worship of Zoroastrian Mithra in Asia Minor.

Once a Mithraic identification for the inscription has been abandoned, there is even less reason than before for identifying as a

[82] A. Maricq, "Classica et Orientalia 5. Res gestae divi Saporis", Syria XXXV, 1958, 320 n. 5, on ŠKZ, Greek l. 53.

[83] Benveniste. "Sur la terminologie iranienne du sacrifice", JA 1954, 45–58, and especially p. 51 ff. On this ritual see further below, pp. 296–7.

[84] Boyce, "Haoma, priest of the sacrifice", W. B. Henning Memorial Vol., London 1970, 69; Stronghold, 245 with p. 121.

[85] Sutra of the Causes and Effects of Actions (SCE), l. 248, cited by Benveniste, art. cit., p. 47.

[86] See Boyce, "Mihragān among the Irani Zoroastrians", in MSI., I 110–14.

mithraeum an empty cave cut high in the rock-face some two and a half km. downstream, with rock-cut steps leading up to it.—As for Sangarios' position as *strategos*, it is suggested that the Ariaramneia which he commanded may have been a hill fort guarding a crossing of the Karmalas. His father's name, Magaphernes, Aramaic *mhgprn*, is unquestionably Iranian (a parallel form, Maphernes, is recorded earlier in the same region, that is, at Mazaka-Eusebia[87]). His own name, now read as Σα(γ)γάριος i.e. Sa(n)garios, has been linked with that of the great Phrygian river.[88]

From Mazaka-Eusebia, by then re-named by the Romans Caesarea, has come part of a marble column with a Latin inscription recording the votive offering of an image of the sun to the "unconquered Sun, Mithra" (*solem soli invicto Mithrae*).[89] This is undoubtedly Mithraic, not Zoroastrian, and belongs fittingly in a town which had a large Roman garrison. There is, however, uncertainty in this respect over a Greek inscription from Tyana: "To the just god Mithra" (*theō dikaiō Mithrai*);[90] for although in Zoroastrianism Mithra is worshipped as the Judge—of men's souls and all the world—the epithet "just" is not in fact given him in any extant Zoroastrian text, nor yet in any Mithraic one. (The statement, often repeated, that *dikaios* is attested as a popular epithet of his rests on a tentative supposition, now known to be wrong, that he was the "holy and just god" (*theos hosios kai dikaios*) of Phrygian inscriptions.[91])

Yet despite the rarity of demonstrably Zoroastrian inscriptions to Mithra (as to any other *yazata*) in Cappadocia, there is an indication that great devotion was in fact paid to him there. This is the strong likelihood that traits from his concept were absorbed into the cult of St. George of Cappadocia.[92] There may, it is

[87] Robert, Noms indigènes, 516–17, with other Cappadocian names with a first element deriving from Iranian *māh-* (in Magaphernes from **māh-aka-*, in Maphernes from simple *māh-*).

[88] Robert, o.c., p. 536 f. The name is also recorded for a Mithraist.

[89] Cumont, BCH LIX, 1931, 179, TMMM, II no. 2; Vermaseren, CIMRM, I 49 no. 17.

[90] Cumont, TMMM, II no. 3; Vermaseren, o.c., p. 49 no. 18.

[91] O. Puchstein in Humann-Puchstein, Reisen, 341–2. Cumont (o.c., II p. 172 no. 528) was at first sceptical, then (ib., I p. 232 n. 1) inclined to accept the identification; but Robert has since identified not only numerous Phrygian dedications to a "holy and just god", but others in the pl. to "holy and just gods", some for a neutral *Hosion Dikaion*, and even one to "the Divine, to Holiness and Justice", (*Theiō Hosiō kai Dikaiō*.) All these dedications, he argued eloquently, belonged to the indigenous Phrygian religion, which he saw as possessing a depth of true piety and feeling (CRAI 1975, 267–9, a reference I owe to the kindness of M. Chuvin). Cf. above, p. 239 n. 229.

[92] Von Gutschmid, "Ueber die Sage vom h. Georg als Beitrag zur iranischen Mythengeschichte", Kl. Schriften, III 173–204.

thought, have genuinely been a high-ranking Christian officer named Georgios in the Roman army who suffered martyrdom, probably under Diocletian; but "in the canon of Pope Gelasius (494) George is mentioned in a list of those 'whose names are justly reverenced among men, but whose acts are known only to God', a statement which implies that legends had already grown up around his name".[93] His association with Cappadocia goes back to the earliest record of these legends in the fifth century; and among the traits which he is thought to have inherited from Mithra are those of a well-armed warrior, unconquerable, valiant, mounted on a white horse (Mithra, a chariot god in his *yašt*, and in some of his representations as Helios, was often conceived as a riding god in Greco-Roman times[94]); pure, radiant; conferring peace, wealth and blessings; bringing help at need, and a fighter against evil (embodied in the dragon).[95] There is also a story that after a farmer had sacrificed all his livestock in thanksgiving to St. George, the "Cappadocian Count" himself attended the resulting feast, and afterwards had the bones brought to him of the animals eaten at it and restored the creatures to life.[96] This tale undoubtedly seems in full harmony with Iranian tradition.[97] In general the above traits are more striking when isolated in an analytic summary than when found scattered through the legends themselves; but there can be no doubt that wherever there were Zoroastrians, Mithra was worshipped, and it is perfectly credible that the martyred Cappadocian soldier should have become heir in some degree to the Iranian warrior *yazata*, who had been worshipped and invoked for help by so many generations in his native land.

There is a question also in Cappadocia of the relationship between Zoroastrianism and the indigenous religion (of which little is known). Numerous though they were, the expatriate Iranians were clearly a minority in the land, whose tongue remained predominantly Cappadocian;[98] and there were probably many small shrines scattered about the countryside to the old Anatolian gods,

[93] Enc. Brit., 13th ed., XI 737.

[94] See further below, p. 484 ff.

[95] Yet other borrowed traits were found by von Gutschmid, but some seem forced, see C. Colpe, "Mithra-Verehrung, Mithras-Kult und die Existenz iranischer Mysterien", in MSt., II 393 with nn. 65, 66.

[96] Cumont, "St. George and Mithra 'The Cattle-thief'," JRS XXVII, 1937, 70–1.

[97] Cf. below, p. 365.

[98] Still in the 4th century A.C. Bishop Basil (de Spirit. Sanct., 29) could rejoice that this fact saved his flock from succumbing to a heresy which depended on a grammatical nicety that was meaningless in their language, see Jones, Cities, 430 n. 2.

while the major sanctuaries at Comana and elsewhere were wealthy and their priests influential. Some interaction between the two religions could therefore be reasonably supposed, even were there no evidence to suggest it. In fact there is a little, notably that furnished by two proper names of high officials of the Cappadocian kings. The son was called Menophilos, "Friend of the Moon", the father Maidates, "Given by the Moon"—family names which undoubtedly, taken together, appear to equate the Zoroastrian moon-*yazata* Mah with the great Anatolian moon-god Men.[99] The existence of such an equation helps to account for the otherwise surprising number of names compounded with "Mah" in Cappadocia. This was probably one of a number of devotional areas in which the two religions could to a certain extent come together. Another was in reverence to mountains, a marked feature of ancient Zoroastrianism, which in the Cappadocian religion is strikingly attested in the worship of Mount Argaeus, acknowledged in the coinage of Mazaka-Caesarea.[100] It is difficult to suppose that Zoroastrians of that region would not have joined in offering veneration to this noble peak, with its perennial snows; and in general a common reverence for natural objects may well have brought some adherents of the two religions to share in each other's rites. For some, such tolerance may have been encouraged by intermarriages. Thus (if the restoration of his name is correct) a nobleman who was both high priest of Comana and a gymnasiarch of that city after its hellenization was called Arsames son of Iazemis. The latter is a characteristic Cappadocian name; and the same mixture in a family of Iranian and Cappadocian names occurs in the case of another distinguished man who became a citizen of distant Miletus, and who was called Mithridates son of Iazemis.[101] Such intermarriages—if this is indeed the explanation

[99] So Robert, Noms indigènes, 514–15.

[100] Caesarea was a mint city for the Roman imperial dominions in the east, and from the time of Tiberius issued an abundant coinage. The types are in general purely Roman, almost the only exception being frequent representations of Argaeus. Among the varieties of devices showing the mountain are some with a tree or animals on its slopes, or with four figures apparently climbing up it; and often there is a star on its summit, or an eagle, or a naked male figure, radiate, with sceptre and globe. The *agalma* or model of the mountain is also often shown as an object of worship on an altar or in a temple. See Wroth, BMC Galatia, pp. 72–94 with Pls. XI–XIII; Imhoof-Blumer, Monnaies grecques, p. 418 with Pl. H. The naked figure has been interpreted as that of the deified Roman emperor (so Wroth, o.c., pp. xxxix–xl) or of Helios; but E. A. Sydenham, The coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia, London 1933, 19–20, understood it to represent the "Genius of Argaeus"; and Bittel, agreeing (art. cit. in n. 42, pp. 25–7) considered that the local Zoroastrians might well have contributed to the development and importance of this cult.

[101] Robert, o.c., pp. 124, 220, 433, 436–40.

for these pairs of names—are most likely to have taken place among the well-born and wealthy, with their greater freedom of movement and wider social intercourse; and they would clearly have been a factor in the spread of Zoroastrian beliefs in Cappadocia beyond the Zoroastrian community itself, and also in the absorption of local ones into the Iranian religion there.

That the Zoroastrian community remained nevertheless a distinct and separate one down the centuries, continuing to flourish and maintain its fire-temples far into Roman imperial times, is shown by two very different texts. One is the inscription of Kirder, in which he names "the provincial capital Caesarea and the province of Cappadocia" among the places where Shabuhr I's soldiers came upon co-religionists.[102] The other is the letter written in the following century by Bishop Basil of Caesarea (c.330–379), whose vast diocese at first took in the whole province, so that he needed fifty *chorepiscopi* to help him minister to it.[103] Despite many calls on his time, Basil was a tireless correspondent; and at the end of a long letter written in 377 to a fellow-ecclesiastic, Bishop Epiphanius of Salamis in Cyprus, he replied to a query the latter had put to him concerning the Zoroastrians in Cappadocia: "So for the nation of Magusaeans (*to de tōn Magousaiōn ethnos*), to which you saw fit to call our attention in another letter, it is widely scattered amongst us throughout almost the whole country, colonists having long ago been introduced to our country from Babylon. And these have practised their own peculiar customs, not mingling with other peoples; and it is altogether impossible to employ reasoning with them, inasmuch as they have been preyed upon by the devil according to his wish. For there are neither books amongst them, nor teachers of doctrine, but they are brought up in an unreasoning manner, receiving their impiety by transmission from father to son. Now apart from these facts, which are observed by all, they reject the slaying of animals as a defilement, slaughtering through the hands of others the animals necessary for their needs; they rave after unlawful marriages; and they believe in fire as God; and other such things. But regarding their descent from Abraham, no one of the magi (*tōn magōn*) has up to the present told us any myths about that, but in fact they claim a certain Zarnuas as the founder of their race. Accordingly, I can write nothing more to your Honour about them".[104]

[102] Cf. above, p. 255.

[103] Ramsay, Geography, 281.

[104] Letter 258 (Loeb ed. of his Collected Letters, Vol. IV, 34–47; the Greek text of the relevant passage is given by Cumont, TMMM, I 10 n. 3).

Epiphanius' interest in the *magousaioi* had evidently been prompted by his hearing of their supposed descent from Abraham—a fiction current in some circles at this time,[105] but not, as Basil attests, among the Zoroastrians of Cappadocia. He, it is clear from his letter, had had actual encounters with them in his diocese (as well, doubtless, as receiving reports on them from baffled subordinates); and his remarks attest the usage there of *magousaioi* for Zoroastrians as a community, *magoi* still for their priests. It is generally accepted that his "Zarnuas" is a corruption of "Zarvan" or "Zurvan"—hardly an ancestor, but rather the high god of Zoroastrians of the Zurvanite persuasion. This is one of several pieces of evidence showing that Zurvanism was widespread among the Zoroastrians of Asia Minor; and this is not surprising, since this heterodoxy appears to have evolved under the late Achaemenians in their western territories—very possibly among magi in Babylon.[106] That all the magi of Cappadocia should themselves have come there from Babylon is, *pace* Bishop Basil, wholly improbable, since their distant forbears, like those of the magi of Lydia, are likely to have arrived in that land in the service of diverse groups of lay settlers; but the regard for Chaldean astronomy was so great in the Hellenistic age, and its influence in certain respects so considerable on the magi themselves, that the Cappadocian priests may have claimed ancient links with Babylon half sincerely, half to gain prestige in the eyes of hellenized fellow-citizens.[107]

That their community still nevertheless handed down its religious teachings orally, without help from books, is a valuable observation of Bishop Basil's, as is his comment on the tenacious holding by the *magousaioi* to their own customs, while keeping aloof from others. This presumably applied especially to their rural communities. The bishop's other remarks are rather less illuminating. The reference to *khvaetvadatha* is of a standard type, as is the statement about their regarding fire as God. The observation about their considering the killing of animals a defilement contradicts Strabo's concerning the Zoroastrians of the same region, made about three and a half centuries earlier, and there is no other evidence to show whether Basil was mistaken over this, or, if not, why or when such a change had taken place. Tantalising though his report is in its casual cursoriness, it is invaluable in attesting,

[105] See further below, pp. 436–7.
[106] So, first, Spiegel, EA II, 9–12; cf. HZ II, 239–41.
[107] On links of the magi with Babylon see further below, pp. 368, 386 ff.

beyond a shadow of doubt, that in Cappadocia the Zoroastrians still formed a numerous and distinct community over seven hundred years after the downfall of the Achaemenian Empire, and that their faith was firm enough to resist persistent Christian proselytizing, even though this was backed by the authority of the state.

There was moreover one possession of theirs that was still known to the outside world in the fourth century, namely their calendar (familiar, for instance, to Basil's correspondent, Epiphanius).[108] Cappadocia was then one of the most important provinces of the Eastern Roman Empire, and the month-names of its calendar were presumably entered in official imperial handbooks;[109] but the complete series of them survives only in later works of Greek astronomers.[110] Detailed scrutiny of the manuscripts, with their variants, enabled the list of twelve month names to be established; and they proved to correspond almost exactly (allowing for dialect differences and the passage of time) with those of the Avestan calendar.[111] It is evident that under the Achaemenians a common calendar was introduced among Zoroastrians throughout their empire; and that, since the Persians were then politically dominant in Cappadocia, this calendar became established as the one used generally there, to survive as such under the Ariarathids.

Since the Iranian spoken in Cappadocia belonged to the western group of Iranian languages, the calendar-names there are in some respects closer linguistically to the Middle Persian than the Avestan ones; but they are more archaic in form, and in this regard nearer to the latter. For comparative purposes therefore the three sets of names are given in the following table (the Avestan ones in the genitive, the uninflected Middle Persian ones in their earliest forms):

	Cappadocian	*Young Avestan*	*Early Middle Persian*
1.	[Ar]artana	Fravašinąm	Fravartīn
2.	Artegeste	Ašahe vahištahe	Artvahišt
3.	Aratata	Haurvatātō	Harvatāt
4.	Teiri	Tištryahe	Tīr

[108] P. de Lagarde, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Leipzig 1866, 258. The basic studies of the Cappadocian calendar are ib., pp. 258–65, and J. Marquart, Untersuchungen, 210–15.
[109] Marquart, o.c., p. 210.
[110] On these see Lagarde, o.c., pp. 229–32.
[111] The latter have to be deduced from the day names of the *yasna* liturgy, Y.16, together with the various Middle Iranian sets of month names. The list is reproduced (with minor divergences) by Cumont, TMMM, I 132; Nyberg, Rel., 479; Duchesne-Guillemin, Rel., 121.

	Cappadocian	*Young Avestan*	*Early Middle Persian*
5.	Amartata	Amərətātō	Amurtāt
6.	Sathriore	Khšathrahe vairyehe	Šahrevar
7.	Mithre	Mithrahe	Mihr
8.	*Apomenapa	Āpąm	Āpān
9.	Athra	Āthrō	Ātur
10.	Dathusa	Dathušō	Dadv
11.	Osmana	Vaŋhāuš manaŋhō	Vahuman
12.	Sondara	Spəntayā ārmatōiš	Spendārmat

There are a number of details here of linguistic interest;[112] but from the point of view of religious history what is important is the exactness in the main of the correspondences between the calendars, showing how largely uniform were the usages adopted in the Zoroastrian community. The only divergences lie in the substitution of Teiri (Tīr) for Avestan Tištrya, which appears to have been widespread[113]; and in the dedication of the eighth month, not to the "waters", Apąm, but to the "Son of the Waters", Apąm Napāt, that is, to great Varuna.[114] He thus follows his brother-Ahura, Mithra, directly in these month-dedications, as he does regularly elsewhere (in invocations, in the guardianship of the watches of the day, and in all general references to the activities of this fraternal pair). This month-dedication is, as far as is known, unique to the Cappadocian calendar; and it seems to bear out the hypothesis that there was controversy in the community in Achaemenian times over the promotion of Anahit at the expense of Varuna (it being Anahit who elsewhere, popularly though not formally, annexed the day of the Waters for herself[115]). The dedication to Apąm Napāt is

[112] These are discussed by Lagarde and Marquart, l.c.

[113] Cf. HZ II 204–6, 248.

[114] See lastly Boyce, "Apąm Napāt", Elr. II 14–50; "Mithra Khšathrapati and his brother Ahura", Studies in honour of R. N. Frye, BAI n.s. 4, 1990 (in press). That "*Apomenapa" represented Apąm Napat was recognized by Lagarde, o.c., p. 262 (who emended the ms. reading, *Apomenama*).

[115] Cf. HZ II 247–8. Anahit's cult, introduced at Bactra by Artaxerxes II, does not appear to have flourished in eastern Iran in Hellenistic times (see above, p. 187 f.). But the persistence of popular devotion there to Apąm Napat appears to be attested by a wall painting at Panjikent (in room 1 of Sector xxii), dated to the 8th century A.C. (For the following description of this I am indebted to a personal communication by Professor Boris Marshak.) The painting is one of a number of murals in the house of a wealthy merchant or nobleman, but was set in a large niche opposite the door—a position usually accorded, it is thought, to a family's patron divinities. The god in question is of youthful appearance, with plaited locks; and he is richly dressed and regally enthroned. A ring of flame surrounds him, with tongues of fire beyond it; and near it, against a blue background, are fishes, lotus flowers and a triton. Before him stands, in a subordinate position, another divinity, identified by an inscription on his leg as Vešparkar—that is, for

further of interest in that it shows that even under the mighty Achaemenians, and even in an area where Persian ecclesiastical influence was apparently strong, there was still an element of local priestly autonomy, ready presumably to develop further once Alexander's conquest had shattered Persia's power.

Pontus

The foundation of the kingdom of Pontus is parallel with that of Cappadocia, in so far as both were the creations of aristocratic Iranian adventurers, who seized their opportunities after the downfall of the Achaemenians.[116] At the time of Alexander's invasion, a certain Mithradates son of Ariobarzanes was hereditary governor of Cius, a city on the Propontis (Sea of Marmara). There he maintained himself, having become a vassal of Antigonus, until 302, when the latter, scenting a shift of allegiance on his part, put him to death. A son or nephew, his namesake, escaping eastward, made his way to Amasia in Pontic Cappadocia, a town in a deep gorge of the Iris, where that river breaks through the mountains to reach the Black Sea. From there (with the help at times of Galatian mercenaries) he acquired territories that grew into the kingdom of Pontus, so that he is recognized as Mithradates I (c.297–c.261), the founder of his dynasty.[117] He struck coins on which he used the title "king"; and these, in contrast with the early Ariarathid coins, are wholly Hellenistic in character. The legend is in Greek letters, on the obverse is the head of Athene, and on the reverse, in imitation

Sogdian Zoroastrians, Vayu; and above him was painted a fierce-looking bird of prey, engaged apparently in battle. This F. G. sees as Čamruš, fighting against the enemies of Iran, which is associated with Apąm Napat (as "Burz", i.e. Ahura berezant) in GBd. XXIV.24. In GBd. XXVI.91 a task of Burz is said to be that he "watches always over *khwarrah*" i.e. the fiery *khvarenah* (cf. Yt. 19.51)—hence, Dr. Marshak thinks, the flames around this youthful but evidently mighty god in what seems a depiction appropriate for the "Son of the Waters".

[116] On Pontus see Reinach, Mith. Eupator, 206–45; Rostovtzeff, "Pontus and its neighbours: the First Mithridatic War", CAH IX (1932), 211–60; E. Olshausen, "Pontos", PW, Supp.Bd. XV (1978), cols. 396–442; E. Olshausen and J. Biller, Historischgeographische Aspekte der Geschichte des pontischen und armenischen Reiches, Wiesbaden 1984, I.—Because of the Roman wars of Mithradates VI, there is a large specialist literature on this kingdom.—Reinach, o.c., p. 40 n. 2, points out that during the Hellenistic period coins and inscriptions regularly give the name as "Mithradates", i.e. in its Iranian form (cf. above, p. 231 n. 175); and that it was only in Roman times that "Mithridates" became current.

[117] The dates of the early Mithradatids are uncertain; but it seems reasonable to follow those who see the beginning of effective rule by Mithradates I as coinciding with year one of the Pontic-Bithynian era. Some scholars call this king Mithradates II, and consider his father or uncle, the dynast of Cius, to be Mithradates I.

of a well-known type of Alexander's, a standing Nike.[118]

The history of the eastward spread of Pontic power is unknown. To the west, the wealthy port of Amastris, far along the Paphlagonian coast (which had been founded by a niece of Darius III), submitted to Mithradates' son Ariobarzanes in 279, by which time Pontus presumably controlled other smaller coastal towns in between. Ariobarzanes' own reign was relatively short (c.261–c.255 ?), and he issued no coins. He was succeeded by Mithradates II at about the time that Ariarathes III took the title of king in Cappadocia.[119] The Pontic kingdom was by then sufficiently firmly established for Mithradates to receive, like Ariarathes, a Seleucid princess in marriage, in his case Laodice, sister of Seleucus II (and of Stratonice, Ariarathes' queen).[120] One of the daughters of this union, also called Laodice, married her cousin Antiochus III, and became the first Seleucid queen to be venerated under the state cult of the living ruler.[121] Her younger sister, of the same name, wedded first Antiochus Hierax and then Achaius. Their brother reigned in Pontus as Mithradates III (c.220–c.185), and again struck coins, on which, on the obverse, he set his own portrait head (with diadem or laurel wreath about his bare locks). This was to be thereafter the standard practice of the dynasty. The reverses show a standing Hera, or Zeus enthroned.[122]

Mithradates III was succeeded by his son Pharnaces I, one of the most ambitious and energetic of the Pontic kings. He sought to extend his realm at the expense both of the Greek cities of the coast and of the Cappadocian hinterland. In the former area he accomplished the signal feat of capturing the great port of Sinope, which he held, making it his new capital; but inland, though allied with Prusias of Bithynia, he met with defeat by the combined forces of Cappadocia (under Ariarathes III) and Pergamum. He again married a Seleucid princess, by whom he left a young son at his death in c.160. His brother succeeded him as Mithradates IV Philopator Philadelphos, his queen being their sister, yet another Laodice, who appears with him on their coins, and also in her own right.[123] Mithradates IV has a place in Anatolian history as aiding

[118] Alram, Nomina, p. 30, Taf. I.22 (as Mithradates II).
[119] Above, p. 267.
[120] Above, p. 28.
[121] Above, p. 89.
[122] Alram, o.c., p. 30, Taf. I.23–25. (This scholar is among those who hold that there was only one king named Mithradates, whom they call the third, between Ariobarzanes and Pharnaces, ruling for some 40 years.)
[123] Alram, o.c., p. 30 Taf. 24–8 (Pharnaces), 29 (Mithradates IV), 30 (Mithradates IV with Laodice). The reverses continue to bear Greek representations of divinities.

Attalus I of Pergamum against Prusias in 156.[124] He was followed on the throne, before 149, by his nephew Mithradates V Euergetes, son of Pharnaces, who in 133 fought for the Romans against Aristonicus and was rewarded by them with the munificent gift of Phrygia.[125] He was then the richest and most powerful king in Asia Minor; but in about 120 he was assassinated, and Rome seized the opportunity to annex Phrygia, adding it to its province of Asia. Mithradates' widow, yet another Seleucid princess, assumed the regency, ostensibly on behalf of their two young sons, both named Mithradates; but by 116 she had been either killed or imprisoned, and these two were, it seems, reigning jointly as Mithradates Eupator and Mithradates Chrestos. From about 112 the elder was the sole ruler, being known as Mithradates VI, or more generally as Mithradates the Great.

Mithradates VI possessed the vigorous territorial ambitions of his grandfather Pharnaces, and fate offered him even greater opportunities. Hardly had he gained the throne before the Greeks of Chersonesus and Bosporus in the Crimea, who had long had close relations with Sinope, appealed to him for protection from Sarmatians of the steppes. Mithradates sent a series of expeditions, which established the sway of Pontus over the Greek cities of the Crimea and the north coast of the Black Sea, and yielded him not only increased revenues, but also potential reserves of mercenaries among the conquered tribesmen. Meantime he himself had converted Pontic suzerainty over Lesser Armenia into direct rule there, and had acquired Trapezus and the coastlands around it, and the kingdom of Colchis in the south-east corner of the Black Sea.

To the west Bithynia, under the likewise ambitious Nicomedes III, was sometimes his ally, sometimes his adversary, while his hold over Cappadocia to the south was now effective, now loosed again by the intervention, through injunctions, of Rome. In 89, however, Rome not only insisted on replacing Ariobarzanes on the throne of Cappadocia,[126] but demanded indemnities from Mithradates, and on his refusal ordered Bithynia (by then ruled by Rome's protégé, Nicomedes IV) to invade Pontus; and this led to armed conflict between Pontus and Rome, known as the First Mithradatic War (89–85). The Pontic king was at first overwhelmingly successful, conquering Bithynia, Galatia and Phrygia, and occupying the Roman province of Asia with hardly a blow

[124] Above, p. 215.
[125] Above, p. 220.
[126] Above, p. 269.

struck. Everywhere he presented himself as a philhellene and liberator, with deep hostility to Rome—a hostility shared by almost all those suffering the extortion and misgovernment which then prevailed under the republic. From Ephesus, where he had established his headquarters, Mithradates ordered a massacre of Romans living in the province of Asia, of whom, according to tradition, 80,000 perished. At the end of 88 he sent an army to invade Greece, with a supporting fleet, and there too he was generally welcomed. All Rome's eastern possessions were now in his hands; and his easy victories over the hitherto apparently invincible western power won him a place in both Roman and Asian history, and caused heroic legends to gather around him.

It was his misfortune that at this juncture Rome was able to send against him the brilliant and ruthless Sulla. Sulla reconquered Greece, treating its inhabitants with a punitive harshness that filled the province of Asia with dread. Some local revolts against Mithradates took place, which he succeeded in suppressing; but nevertheless before long he opened negotiations with Sulla, and in 85 peace was concluded, greatly to Mithradates' disadvantage; he surrendered all his conquests and withdrew to Pontus, leaving Asia to suffer miserably in its turn at Sulla's hands.[127]

There followed an uneasy decade, in which Roman armies thrice broke the peace terms by raiding Pontic territories. In 74 Nicomedes IV of Bithynia died, and like Attalus III of Pergamum left his kingdom to his Roman protectors. It at once fell prey to Roman tax-farmers, and Mithradates was welcomed when he invaded it in 73; but this time he had from the outset an able opponent in the field, namely Lucullus, and the Second Mithradatic War proved even more disastrous for him than for the first. After four years of campaigning Lucullus held Pontus itself, and Mithradates was a fugitive in the kingdom of his son-in-law, Tigranes the Great of Armenia. There Lucullus pursued him, defeating Tigranes and destroying his brief empire. It was during this campaign, Plutarch relates, that when the Roman general crossed the Euphrates from Cappadocia into Armenian Sophene, "a favourable sign accompanied his crossing. Heifers pasture there which are sacred to Persian Artemis, a goddess whom the barbarians on the further side of the Euphrates hold in the highest honour. These heifers are used only for sacrifice, and at other times are left to roam about the country at large, with brands upon them in the shape of the torch of the goddess. Nor is it a slight or easy matter to catch any of them

[127] Above, p. 221.

when they are wanted. One of these heifers, after the army had crossed the Euphrates, came to a certain rock which is deemed sacred to the goddess, and stood upon it, and lowering its head without any compulsion from the usual rope, offered itself to Lucullus for sacrifice. He also sacrificed a bull to the Euphrates, in acknowledgement of his safe passage."[128]

The next year Tigranes sent Mithradates with a small force back to Pontus, which he succeeded in repossessing in this, the Third Mithradatic War, being generally welcomed by its people. His Crimean territories had been lost to him, however, through the disloyalty of their governor, one of his own sons; and he had comparatively few resources left with which to meet the Roman general Pompey, who marched against him in 66. Mithradates was once more driven from his kingdom, and took refuge in Colchis, from where he managed to reach the Crimea. There his treacherous son committed suicide, and he himself regained control and began to make ambitious new plans (notably to invade Italy along the Danube); but he was now old, these plans came to nothing, and in 63 he had himself slain by a soldier. News of his death was received with rejoicing throughout the Roman world; and with him, it is generally held, resistance to Rome by the hellenized Orient came finally to an end.[129]

The Mithradatids, as descendants of dynasts of Cius, were evidently in large measure hellenized from the first, in a way that was not true of the Cappadocian Ariarathids. (In the fourth century B.C. the first of those dynasts to be known, Mithradates son of Orontobates, had presented to the Academy at Athens a statue of Plato, the work of Silanion, and may thus be supposed to have had some knowledge of, and genuine interest in, Plato's thought.[130]) Thereafter their frequent intermarriages with the Seleucids, and the importance in their kingdom of the wealthy and long-established Greek cities of the coast, ensured that this hellenization continued. Yet they remained proud of their Iranian descent, laying dubious claim, like the Ariarathids, to Achaemenian blood. Greek names were given to daughters, but Iranian ones to sons, the bearers of the family line; and among the sons and grandsons of Mithradates the Great were a Kyros, a Dareios and a Xerxes—

[128] Plutarch, Lucullus, 24.6–7.

[129] In the kingdom of Bosporus one of Mithradates' sons ruled as Pharnaces II, 63–47 B.C. In 40 B.C. Mark Antony revived a kingdom of Pontus, and Dareios, son of this Pharnaces, ruled it for a few years.

[130] Favorinus apnd Diogenes Laertius, III.20; cited by Reinach, Mith. Eupator, 4.

Persian names in their Greek forms.[131] This mingling of Iranian and Greek traditions can be traced back to their forbears in Cius, who set on their coins the image of Perseus, the Greek hero claimed by Persians as their legendary ancestor, or his representative, the winged horse Pegasus.[132] Pegasus appears also on Pontic coins[133]; and some scholars have seen Perseus on early issues of Mithradates the Great, represented, it has been held, by a portrait head of the beardless young king himself.[134] A fine marble statue-head found at Amisos (modern Samsun) has been interpreted in the same way.[135] Doubt has been expressed, however, as to whether Perseus would have been portrayed in such a way, without any of his characteristic attributes.[136]

The mingling of Iranian and Greek elements was not by Iranians only, but took place in Greek families also in Asia Minor (a fact of some importance for the diffusion of Zoroastrian ideas in the Hellenistic world). An example from late Achaemenian times is that of Clearchus, tyrant of Heraclia in Pontus in the fourth century, who appears to have adopted elements of Persian ceremonial (including demanding the *proskynesis*).[137] His son Dionysios married the Achaemenian princess Amastris, and while the elder son of this marriage was called Clearchus after his paternal grandfather, the younger was named Oxathres after his maternal grandfather (brother of Darius III), and the daughter Amastris after her mother.[138] The Mithradatids themselves had many Greek subjects, and there were numerous Greeks at the Pontic court,[139] with intermarriages taking place between Hellenes and Iranians. (A distinguished kinsman of Strabo's own, his mother's great-uncle, bore the name of Moaphernes.[140]) Iranians and Greeks together were largely concerned in ruling the country; but there was a third (and presumably in the hinterland a more numerous group), which also produced men of distinction, namely that of the native Cappadocians. Their importance was acknowledged officially, it seems, by the device of star and crescent set on almost every royal Pontic coin. This, it has been established, was the badge of Pontus itself rather than of the Mithradatids;[141] and it has been convincingly interpreted as the symbol of Men, the chief Pontic divinity of old.[142] His great shrine was in the heartland of the Mithradatic kingdom, at Cabeira (later renamed Neoeaesarea, modern Niksar), a town in the valley of the Lycos. Of it Strabo wrote[143]: "Cabeira . . . has also the temple of Men Pharnaku[144] . . . the village-city of Ameria, which has many temple-servants, and also a sacred territory, the fruit of which is always reaped by the ordained priest. And the kings revered this temple so exceedingly that they proclaimed the royal oath as follows: 'By the Fortune (Tyche) of the king and by Men Pharnaku'."[145] The reverence given—possibly at first for diplomatic reasons—by the kings of Pontus to Men was, it seems, accorded this god by other Iranians also, in both Cappadocia and Pontus, to judge from personal names.[146]

Nearer still to the first Mithradatic capital, Amasia, was the great Zoroastrian sanctuary of Zela,[147] its sacred hill bearing,

[131] Even for princesses there appear among the recurring Laodices and Nysas a Roxane, together with Stateira; but these last two names had Macedonian links, since they were those of the Iranian wives of Alexander. Two of Mithradates' other daughters, Eupatra and Athenais, were given as usual Greek names. The names of his children are naturally better known than those of his predecessors, several having figured in Roman triumphs; but though comparative material is lacking, it seems likely that Mithradates, with his large ambitions, was the first of his line to give his sons names of the great Achaemenians. "One may see in this the hostility to the West, generated by the wars, and the increasing hope for support from the East, which gradually became the only hope left" (J. J. Portanova, The associates of Mithradates VI of Pontus, Columbia University doctoral thesis, 1987).

[132] Cf. above, p. 230; and for the coins of Cius, G. Kleiner, "Pontische Reichsmünzen", Ist. Mitt. 6, 1955, 17–18.

[133] See ib., pp. 3, 4, 5; Alram, Nomina, Taf. 2.31.

[134] Wroth, BMC Pontus, xv–xvi; Cumont, "Le Persée d'Amisos", RA, 4th Series, III, 1905, 187; Kleiner, art. cit., pp. 5, 6, 11–12, 14, 15.

[135] Cumont, art. cit., pp. 180–9.

[136] Imhoof-Blumer, Monnaies grecques, 228, while discussing (pp. 227–9) the earlier coins of the town of Amastris and its Achaemenian foundress. Those bear similarly the head of a beardless youth, who wears the "Phrygian" cap with laurel wreath and stars; on the reverse is Aphrodite enthroned. With regard to these two devices, he agreed with those scholars who saw them as representing Persian divinities, i.e. Mithra and Anaitis.

[137] Justin, 16.5; Memnon apud Photios, cod. 224, beginning (references I owe to the kindness of M. Chuvin).

[138] Memnon, l.c., cod. 224b.

[139] See Reinach, Mith. Eupator, 279–80; E. Olshausen, "Zum Hellenisierungsprozess am pontischen Königshof", Ancient Society V, 1974, 153–70; Portanova, o.c.

[140] Strabo XII.3.33. This name has been held to be Cappadocian-Iranian by L. Zgusta, Anatolische Personennamensippen, Prague 1964, 157–8.

[141] Kleiner, art. cit., pp. 12–13.

[142] Ib., p. 13. In the light of the evidence now available, this interpretation is to be preferred to earlier suggestions that the device alluded to the Persian descent of the Mithradatids (on account of Persian worship of celestial bodies!).

[143] XII.2.31. In detail on the position of Cabeira see Olshausen-Biller, o.c. in n. 116, p. 44 ff.

[144] This name is generally taken to mean the temple of Men built (or perhaps rebuilt?) by Pharnaces, probably Pharnaces I of Pontus, see Gutschmid, Kl. Schriften, III 497; H. Oppermann, "Pharnaku", PW XIX.2 (1938), cols. 1854–5; Magie, RR, 1073 n. 14.

[145] On swearing by the King's Fortune cf. above, p. 57.

[146] Cf. above, p. 276.

[147] On its foundation according to Strabo see above, pp. 263–4.

probably from late Achaemenian times, a temple dedicated to Anahit. This is likely to have been much embellished by the Pontic kings, for, says Strabo, "it is here that all the people of Pontus make their oaths concerning their matters of greatest importance".[148] A single fragment from the temple is recorded at the site itself, part of an elegantly carved Corinthian capital in white marble;[149] and bronze coins of Zela, issued in Roman imperial times, give some idea of its splendour, and attest moreover the maintenance there of the fire cult at least into the third century A.C. Of these coins, from the reigns of Septimius Severus (193–211) and Caracalla (211–217), one issue shows the crenellated courtyard gate, with the temple's pediment rising behind it,[150] and others the pillared portico of the temple itself,[151] represented in stylized fashion with either four or six pillars.[152] Between the central pair, in the position regularly accorded to the object of a temple's cult, is a fire leaping up in a bushy cone from a massive fire-holder. This holder is of pillar type, its sturdy pillar having a wider (but not stepped) top and base. Fire is similarly represented as the cult object on coins of Lydian Hypaipa;[153] but while at that city other more numerous coins represent Anahit's statue in the same way, no such device is attested at Zela. Yet Strabo writes only of Anahit's cult at the Pontic shrine (together with those of Omanus and Anadatus), the fire-cult being evidently subordinate there[154]—a fact of observance which he, being relatively well informed about Zoroastrian usages, probably fully understood.

Of Zela Strabo records that Pompey, after he had defeated Mithradates in 63 B.C. (possibly the very year of the geographer's own birth), "added many districts to its territory, and named it a city".[155] Earlier, he states, the kings had governed Zela "not as a city, but as a sacred precinct of the Persian gods, and the priest was the master of the whole thing. It was inhabited by the multitude of temple-servants, and by the priest, who had an abundance of resources; and the sacred territory as well as that of the priest was subject to him and his numerous attendants".[156] This description of

[148] XII.3.37.
[149] Cumont, Voyage d'exploration, 192–3.
[150] Price-Trell, Coins and their Cities, p. 195 fig. 362.
[151] Wroth, BMC Pontus, p. 41 nos. 1, 2 with Pl. VII.9, 10; Price-Trell, o.c., p. 195 fig. 363.
[152] On this type of stylization see Price-Trell, o.c., p. 19 (quoted above, p. 232).
[153] Above, p. 235.
[154] Cf. above, pp. 178–9, 236.
[155] XII.3.37 (tr. by M. Chuvin, who kindly drew my attention to the inaccuracies of the Loeb rendering).
[156] Ibid.

the organization of Zela is very like that which Strabo gives of the organization of Comana in Cappadocia in his own day,[157] which was similar, he says, to that of Pontic Comana. The Achaemenians probably developed their shrine at Zela on the pattern of this older sanctuary nearby, endowing it with land so that it could equal the other in wealth and dignity. More lands would have come into the shrine's possession through bequests and pious donations over the years, forming accordingly not a continuous block of territory, but a number of scattered estates. The high priest was thus not a territorial dynast but rather a wealthy and powerful ecclesiastic on the pattern of some great abbot of medieval Christendom—hence Pompey's need to increase Zela's jurisdiction when he created it a city.[158]

Apart from Amasia itself, these three temple towns of Comana, Cabeira and Zela were the only ones of any size in inland Pontus. All three had busy markets, their great festivals being at the same time fairs, but Comana was evidently the largest and wealthiest of them. Of it Strabo wrote:[159] "Comana is a populous city and is a notable emporium for the people from Armenia; and at the time of the "exodus" [i.e. solemn procession] of the goddess people assemble there from everywhere, from both the cities and the country, men together with women, to attend the festival. And there are certain others, also, who in accordance with a vow are always residing there, performing sacrifices in honour of the goddess. And the inhabitants live in luxury . . .; and there is a multitude of women who make gain from their persons, most of whom are dedicated to the goddess, for in a way the city is a lesser Corinth." Of Zela he says, in contrast, that "the sacred rites performed here are of greater sanctity".[160] At the Persian shrine, he records, only one day a year was given over by custom to wanton revelry. This day, he says, was celebrated with a feast commemorating the sanctuary's foundation in thanksgiving for the defeat of the Sacas, hence its name, Sacaia. He terms it "a kind of Bacchic festival", at which "men, dressed in the Scythian garb, pass day and night drinking and playing wantonly with one another, and also with the women who drink with them".[161] He further says that the festival was held wherever there was a temple to the goddess of this shrine—as it appears, Anahit.

[157] XII.2.3, cf. above, p. 263.
[158] Jones, Cities, 156. The territories of Comana were enlarged at the same time and presumably for the same reason, Strabo XII.3.34.
[159] XII.3.36.
[160] XII.3.37.
[161] XI.8.5.

There is another detailed reference to this feast in a passage of Athenaeus, who wrote: "Berosus [sic], in the first book of his Babylonian History, says that in the month of Loos, on the sixteenth day, there was held in Babylon a feast called Sacaia, extending over five days, wherein it was customary for the masters to be ruled by their slaves, and one of them, as leader of the household, was clothed in a robe similar to the king's; he was called the *zōganēs*. The festival is mentioned also by Ctesias in the second book of his Persian History."[162] On the basis of this passage the feast has generally been said to have a Babylonian origin; but this by no means follows from Berossus' phrase "in Babylon". Babylon was where that priestly scholar's own interests lay; but naturally during some two hundred years of Persian rule Persian feasts would have been celebrated there and have become familiar. The reference by Ctesias to the Sacaia suggests that to him this was a Persian festivity, and the as yet unexplained title of *zōganēs* has a possibly Iranian ring.

Berossus describes the Sacaia as if it were a lay celebration; and Athenaeus sets it together with the Roman Saturnalia (when the children of a household waited on the slaves), and similar Greek festivals. Dio Chrysostom (who lived c. 40–120 A.C.) likewise reports it as a lay festival, but knew it, it seems, as of a more primitive and savage character. He has Diogenes say to Alexander: "'Have you not heard of the festival of the Sacaia, which is celebrated by the Persians, against whom you are eager to make an expedition?' Alexander, who wished to know everything about the Persians, at once asked: 'What kind of a festival is it?' Diogenes replied: 'They take one of the prisoners who are under sentence of death, set him on a king's throne, give him the king's clothes and allow him to give orders and to drink and indulge himself and to consort with the king's concubines during the days of the festival, nobody offering any opposition to his doing anything he pleases. After this they strip and scourge him and then impale him.'"[163]

A somewhat similar celebration, but briefer and less ruthless, held on the last day of the new year's feast, was noted among the Sogdians by a Chinese traveller in the seventh century A.C.[164] The feast lasted seven days; and early on the last day the winner of an archery contest was declared "king for a day", and ruled evidently

[162] Deipnosophists, XIV.639.
[163] Orations, 4.66–7 (Clemen, Fontes, 44; Fox-Pemberton, Passages, 47).
[164] E. Chavannes, Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux, Paris 1903, repr. 1969, 133 n. (The notice was used by Frazer in his study of "one-day kings" in The Golden Bough, IV, 151.)

over the final festivities. These were presumably riotous; and possibly, it has been suggested, the masquerades depicted on a Panjikent mural took place on this occasion.[165] A link has also been sought with a Sogdian custom reported by Ṭabari[166]: "Each year at Samarqand a table was set with food and a pitcher of wine for the bravest knight of Soghd. If any other touched the food he thereby challenged the claimant to combat, and whoever killed his antagonist was acknowledged the bravest hero in the land until the advent of the next aspirant", i.e. he was presumably virtually "king" for that period. This custom seems to have had something of the savagery of the royal Sacaia as described by Dio Chrysostom. No bloodshed is suggested at the Zela feast, which seems (like that recorded by Berossos) to have had more of the character of the feast of misrule celebrated widely during the Christmas season in medieval Christendom. This too was observed in both lay and religious houses, with either a Lord or an Abbot of Misrule to preside over the topsy-turvy revelries. In the abbeys it was the lay brothers and servants who enjoyed the feast's licence, and this was presumably the case also at the Zela Sacaia.

The question thus appears to be not why the Persians there should have kept a feast so generally celebrated, but why for them it should have been associated with the Sacas, and locally at least with Anahit. (Berossus' silence in the latter respect, together with Dio's, makes it probable that Strabo's statement that the feast was held at all Anahit's temples refers only to the regions with which he himself was most familiar, i.e. Pontus and Cappadocia.) The derivation of the name Sacaia from that of the Sacas has been brusquely dismissed by modern scholars as an obvious piece of popular etymologizing.[167] Yet it has support from Hesychios (fifth century A.C.), who in his *Lexicon* defined "Sacaia" as the "Scythian feast" (*Skythikē eortē*).[168] Strabo's statement that those taking part in the festival at Zela dressed as Scythians also merits consideration. A hypothesis has accordingly been put forward on the basis that

[165] A. M. Belenickij, B. I. Maršak and V. I. Raspopova, Arxeologičeskie Raboty v Tadžikistane XIV, 1979, 286–88, who describe the mural (found in the subsidiary chapel of "Temple I") as showing obscene dancers, and people drinking, playing drums, wearing animal masks etc. For an illustration of this mural before cleaning (in which the details are obscured but the general crowd movement still appears) see Živopis' drevnego Pjandžikenta, Moscow 1954, Pl. XIV.
[166] W. Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion, 3rd ed., ed. C. E. Bosworth, Gibb Memorial Series, n.s. V, 1968, 181–2.
[167] E.g. Reinach, Mith. Eupator, 242 n. 3 ("einfach Unsinn").
[168] Cited by Reinach, l.c.

this derivation (the only explanation of the name ever to be offered) is in fact sound.[169] There is good iconographic evidence that the Sacas held an orgiastic festival linked with the worship of their great goddess Artimpasa (who was "interpreted" by the Greeks as Aphrodite).[170] The Scythian invasions of the seventh–sixth centuries B.C. left scattered groups of Sacas behind them, in Pontus among other places; and Saca military colonies were established in Babylonia under the early Achaemenians.[171] Conceivably then their anarchic and merry festival came to be adopted by the Persians also, in general as a lay feast; but when in Pontus the Sacas became converted to Zoroastrianism, they themselves brought the festival there into association with Anahit, another "Aphrodite", who thus replaced Artimpasa. If this explanation is sound (the scantiness of the data makes it regrettably unprovable), then the legend of the founding of the shrine at Zela in celebration of a victory over the Sacas is perhaps to be regarded as an etiological one.

Strabo presents Men and Anahit and Ma all as important in the public life of Pontus; and the Pontic kings may be supposed to have paid their due devotions at the shrines of each. One of them, Mithradates V, an ardent hellenizer, is known also to have worshipped Apollo and to have made lavish gifts at Delos;[172] and probably he and others of his line often called on Greek gods. In general the likelihood seems that, whatever the personal beliefs were of individual rulers, the dynasty as a whole upheld as their state religion a loosely blended polytheism, in which the beliefs and rites of each of the major groups among their subjects had a part. It

[169] This hypothesis is proposed by F. G.

[170] This festival is vividly depicted on a gold plate from the Sakhnov kurgan, 4th cent. B.C., which shows the goddess enthroned, holding a vase and the mirror which is her distinctive attribute, among musicians and drunken revellers, see S. S. Bessonova, Religioznye predstavlenija Skifov, Kiev 1983, 101 fig. 25. On Artimpasa see Grenet, "L'Athéna de Dil'-berdžin", in F. Grenet (ed.), Cultes et monuments religieux, 41–5 with, on the form of her name, ib., p. 44 n. 18.

[171] M. Dandamaev in J. Harmatta (ed.), Prolegomena to the sources on the history of pre-Islamic Central Asia, Budapest 1979, 95–109; Ir. Ant. XVII, 1982, 101–3.

[172] The evidence is provided by his tetradrachms, which bear on the reverse what Robert has shown to be a representation of Apollo's oldest statue at Delos; and by an inscription at Delos, to which he evidently made a munificent donation, and where a statue to him was set up in 129/8 B.C. On both see Robert, "Monnaies et textes grecs" JdS 1978, 151–63. The tetradrachms are among the rare royal coins of Pontus which do not bear the star and crescent of Men. Others are those issued by Euergetes' aunt Laodice, sister-queen of Mithradates IV. See Reinach, o.c., p. 29 n. 2.; Kleiner, art. cit. in n. 132, pp. 13–14.

further seems probable that this state religion found its chief royal expression in the cult of Zeus Stratios, "Zeus of the army",[173] king, state and army being virtually one.

The title Zeus Stratios, never borne by Olympian Zeus, appears to have been given to diverse Anatolian divinities. The earliest known instance is in the Achaemenian period, with Zeus Stratios of Labraunda, an ancient Carian god superficially hellenized.[174] In the post-Alexander epoch the title occurs in connection with cults in northern Anatolia—Pontus, Paphlagonia and Bithynia. The first record of it then is on the lips of Eumenes, who for a few years governed Cappadocia and Paphlagonia. According to Plutarch, when in 316 his own soldiers handed him over to Antigonus and so to his death, he reproached them with invocation of "Zeus Stratios and the gods of oaths".[175] A piece of undatable evidence attests the cult of a Zeus Stratios in Bithynia, where, Arrian reports,[176] there stood a fine statue to such a god, the work of a native sculptor, in the capital Nicomedia (founded 264 B.C.). Otherwise the title's associations are with the Pontic heartland and with Paphlagonia. The chief literary attestation of the Pontic cult is provided by Appian in his account of the wars of Mithradates the Great. For this he used diverse sources,[177] and who was his authority for this particular passage is not known. In it he relates how in 81 B.C. (during the uneasy period between the First and Second Mithradatic Wars) Mithradates, having driven off a pillaging Roman army, celebrated his victory by sacrificing to Zeus Stratios on a mountain top. The traditional manner of this sacrifice, he says, was as follows: "A peak was crowned with a higher summit made of a pile of wood, which the kings themselves were the first to bring. This stack of wood was surrounded by a lower one, laid in a circle. Above would be placed milk, honey, wine, oil, and all kinds of aromatics; on the ground are put bread and dishes for the sacred meal for those attending. This kind of sacrifice had been offered also at Pasargadae by the kings of Persia. The heap of wood is kindled, it catches light, and this huge fire can be seen out to sea for a distance of over a thousand stadia. It is even said that the air becomes so hot that the place cannot be approached for many days.

[173] On this divinity see Cumont, "Le Zeus Stratios de Mithridate", RHR 43, 1901, 47–57.

[174] Herodotus V.119; Cumont, art. cit., pp. 48–9, cf. HZ II 270.

[175] Plutarch, Eumenes, 17.4; Cumont, art. cit., p. 49. On the incident cf. above, p. 20.

[176] Jacoby, FGrH, frg. 77; Cumont, art. cit., p. 49 with n. 3.

[177] On these see Reinach, Mith. Eupator, 445–9.

This is the sacrifice which Mithridates offered according to the rite of his ancestors".[178]

In itself a claim by the Mithradatids that they sacrificed in the manner of the Achaemenians might seem to deserve the same scepticism that their Achaemenian genealogy generally evokes. Yet there is an evident parallel with Herodotus' account of Persian worship in high places; and also a good deal in Appian's description, imprecise as it is, which accords with both the spirit and the known practices of Zoroastrianism. The kindling of a fire, presumably at dusk (hence its wide visibility at sea) would be a wholly orthodox way to celebrate, in that faith, a victory over the forces of darkness—represented in this case by the Roman army; and consecrating food offerings, to be eaten thereafter at a communal meal, is general custom, observed on all occasions of festivity and thanksgiving. Unless, however, some wholly heteropractic usages had crept in, Appian (or his source) has confused the offerings blessed directly by the priests during the rites of the thanksgiving service, i.e. milk, honey and wine, with those made to the fire, i.e. "aromatics of all kinds" and probably the oil. Oil is not used in libation to fire in known Zoroastrian observances, and honey is never placed among food offerings, being the product of a *khrafstra*.[179] Yet both are mentioned among magian offerings by Strabo also, in a passage where he too is relying on an unnamed source. Other details in that passage are demonstrably accurate, however, so that the probability seems that these two things became acceptable to the expatriate magi of Cappadocia through the influence of other religions in that land.[180]

Strabo's mention of them comes in his general account of magian acts of worship.[181] This he begins by repeating Herodotus'

[178] Roman History XII, ch. 65.
[179] Cf. above, p. 232.
[180] M. Chuvin suggests that the most likely local influence on the cult of Ahura Mazda/Zeus Stratios would have been the worship of Sandan or Sandas, the ancient Hittite god of power and war, who was still widely venerated in Asia Minor in Greco-Roman times. The Greeks equated him with Heracles, see Chuvin, art. cit. in n. 50, p. 319 ff. M. Chuvin refers further to E. Laroche, "Un syncrétisme gréco-anatolien, Sandas-Héracles", in Les syncrétismes dans les religions grecque et romaine, Paris-Strasbourg 1973, 103–114; G. Huxley, "Sandas in Cappadocia", Philologus 1982, 315 f.; and C. P. Jones, "Tarsos in the *Amores* ascribed to Lucian", Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies 25, 1984, 177–81 (the festival of Sandan at Tarsus was called the Heracleia, and during it a great fire was lit in the market place as dusk fell, in honour of the god). The Heracles worshipped at Cybistra, on the Cilician-Cappadocian border, was evidently also Sandan.
[181] XV.3.13–14.

statement[182] that "the Persians do not erect statues or altars"—a statement that was no longer applicable in his own day, and which he himself contradicted, as we have seen[183], elsewhere in his *Geography*. He continues by citing, it seems, other written testimonies, but supplements these with details from his own observations. "With earnest prayer", he relates, "they offer sacrifice in a purified place, presenting the victim crowned". The "purified place" is presumably the Zoroastrian *pavi*;[184] and it was still the custom in traditional Zoroastrian usage in the 1960's to tie a garland round the horns or neck of the sacrificial beast.[185] (Herodotus had said that it was the sacrificer himself who wore the crown, "of myrtle for choice".) Strabo continues: "And when the magus, who directs the sacrifice, has divided the meat the people go away with their shares, without setting apart a portion for the gods, for they say that the god requires only the soul of the victim and nothing else; but still, according to some writers, they place a small portion of the caul upon the fire". This again reflects known Zoroastrian observance, with the portion of caul representing the regular fat-offering (*zaothra*) to fire, made from each sacrifice.[186] (The fragrance of the sacrifice is also held to please the divine beings,[187] which Strabo does not mention.)

He proceeds to describe in some detail the magians' particular rituals with regard to fire and water, to which, he says (again it would seem accurately), they especially made sacrifice. "To fire they offer sacrifice by adding dry wood without the bark and by placing fat on top of it; and then they pour oil upon it and light it below, not blowing with their breath, but fanning it; and those who blow the fire with their breath, or put anything dead or filthy upon it are put to death". Using dry wood stripped of its bark,[188] and not blowing with the breath[189] (both for purity reasons), are still part of traditional Zoroastrian usage, and the fat is again a *zaothra* to fire. As for putting those to death who sully fire, this has the authority of an Avestan passage,[190] and is more likely to have been learnt of from a magus than from any such actual practice. "And to water" Strabo continues, "they offer sacrifice by going to a lake or river or

[182] I.131.
[183] Above, p. 270.
[184] Cf. HZ I 166–7.
[185] Boyce, Stronghold, 245.
[186] HZ I 153–4.
[187] See Boyce, Stronghold, 276 s.v. *bōy-o-brang*.
[188] Ib., p. 75.
[189] HZ I 309.
[190] Vd. 8.73.

spring where, having dug a trench leading thereto, they slaughter a victim, being on their guard lest any of the water near by should be made bloody, believing that the blood would pollute the water; and then, placing pieces of meat on myrtle or laurel branches, the magi touch them with slender wands and make incantations, pouring oil mixed with both milk and honey, though not into fire or water, but upon the ground; and they carry on their incantations for a long time, holding in their hands a bundle of slender myrtle wands." It is not possible to verify details here, since animal sacrifice to water has not been practised within living memory; but care for the purity of water is authentically Zoroastrian, and a threefold libation, with ingredients from the animal and vegetable kingdoms, is standard, although this, having been consecrated, is now poured into the water itself.[191] Oil and honey, as already observed, are not offered in known Zoroastrian rites.

"In Cappadocia" Strabo adds,[192] "the people [of the sect of the magi] do not sacrifice victims with a sword either, but with a kind of tree-trunk, beating them to death as with a cudgel". This Zoroastrian way of killing the sacrificial animal was, as we have seen[193], termed by others to "magianize"; and it is enjoined in the authoritative *Denkard*,[194] which thus testifies to the accuracy of Strabo's observation. A somewhat similar rite (in that it too avoided shedding the living animal's blood) was recorded by Herodotus of the Scythians. By their usage, he says, "the victim . . . stands with its forefeet shackled together; the sacrificer stands behind the beast, and throws it down by plucking the end of the rope; as the victim falls, he invokes whatever god it is to whom he sacrifices. Then, throwing a noose round the beast's neck, he thrusts in a stick and twists it and so strangles the victim".[195] Such practices go back, it would seem, to proto-Indo-Iranian times, for Strabo records of the Indians that "neither do they cut the throat of the victim, but strangle it, in order that it may be given to the god in its entirety and not mutilated";[196] and this remained the Brahmanic usage at the *yajña* down to the twentieth century.[197] Clubbing the animal to death could have been for the same reason originally.[198]

[191] Cf. HZ I 155 ff.
[192] XV.3.15.
[193] Above, pp. 272–3.
[194] Ed. Madan, p. 466.12; transcribed and transl. by Zaehner, Zurvan, 52 n. Cf. Cumont, TMMM, I 238 n.l; Benveniste, JA 1964, 55–6.
[195] IV.60.
[196] XVI.1.54.
[197] J. A. Dubois, Hindu manners, customs and ceremonies, ed. H. K. Beauchamp, 3rd ed., Oxford 1906 (repr. 1959), 512.

It is evident that Strabo, an eye-witness, knew blood sacrifice as an integral part of Persian observance, as did Herodotus before him; and on this and other counts it is hardly conceivable that Mithradates should have held his great victory celebration without it, leaving the feast a meatless one. Most probably Appian did not refer to it because it was so much a commonplace of Greco-Roman and other religious rites that it had seemed to his source to need no special mention. These sacrifices, moreover, necessarily on a large scale, would have taken place away from the summit, the flesh being then placed presumably with the other foods to be blessed.

The Pontic kings seem thus to have had some basis for their claim that their thanksgiving ceremony to Zeus Stratios was a traditional Persian rite, even though it appears to have undergone, like other Zoroastrian observances in Cappadocia, modifications in certain details. Mithradates is also recorded by Appian to have made "the customary sacrifice to Zeus Stratios"—presumably then petitioning for victory—when in 73 B.C., at the outset of the Second Mithradatic War, he was about to march into Bithynia.[199] On that occasion, Appian states, he also offered to Poseidon a chariot drawn by white horses, it being cast into the sea. Herodotus records an offering by magi of white horses to water[200], but then the sacrifice was made beside a river, with no suggestion that the victims were cast into it. If Poseidon were to be regarded as a "translation" here of Iranian Apam Napat (whose worship we

[198] Strabo's account of the magian rite is the earliest description of Zoroastrian usage, and according to it the animal was then killed solely by the club. Eznik, writing in the 5th cent. A.C. in Armenia, indicates that the animal was first stunned, then killed with a knife: "The magi . . . first sacrifice (*yazen*) then kill the animals" (Benveniste, art. cit., pp. 51–2). This is again the usage described more fully by the Christian Barhad Bešabba, bishop of Halvan (wrote 581–604). According to him, "Zardušt . . . said that one must on no account cut the throats of animals, because Hormizd is in them; but one must strike with blows of a stick the neck of an animal destined to have its throat cut, until it loses consciousness, and then kill it, so that it feels no pain at all". (See Benveniste, art. cit., p. 55; Zaehner, o.c., p. 440, F 8). The 9th-cent. account in the Denkard, addressed to a Christian inquirer, Boxt-Mara, also gives as the main reason for a preliminary stunning "pity for the animal and in that way truly a lessening of the fear and pain which it has from the use of the knife" (*abaxšišn ī abar gōspand ud pad-iz ān rāh kam-bīmīh ud kam-dardīh ī-š az frāz-barišnīh ī kard*). In relatively recent times the Zoroastrians of Iran abandoned the stunning, and like the Muslims around them simply cut the animal's throat, though still making every effort to keep its suffering to a minimum (see Boyce, Stronghold, 244–5). There is no record of Parsi usage in this respect.
[199] O.c., XII.67.
[200] VII.113 (cf. HZ II 167).

have seen attested in Cappadocia[201]), this sacrifice might be taken as another instance of alien influence on Zoroastrian rites; but it seems more likely that here Mithradates was simply sacrificing in Greek fashion to a Greek god.

Even apart from this second sacrifice, it is abundantly clear from other evidence that Mithradates' worship of Zeus Stratios, however important to him, was by no means exclusive. He, like his father Euergetes, left monumental proof of this at Delos. There a dedication has been found in the Serapeion set up on behalf of Mithradates in his youth, together with his brother Chrestos, to Zeus Ourios "Zeus of the (good) wind".[202] This god (however he is to be identified) was invoked at Delos in association with diverse cults, and was one whom the Pontic kings had clear cause to propitiate. Later, benefactions by Mithradates are recorded to temples dedicated to Greek gods in Amisos, Delos, Nemea and Delphi;[203] and he must also have continued like his forefathers to honour Anahit and Men and Ma at their Pontic shrines. Nevertheless, his reverence for Zeus Stratios appears to have been conspicuous, and has been linked with his setting the head of "Zeus" on a widely distributed series of bronze coins. These coins are unusual in not bearing the distinctive star and crescent of Pontus, the effigy of the king's high god, it is suggested, sufficing to mark them as belonging to him and to the state.[204] It may be this same divinity who at Amastris is invoked in an inscription as Zeus Strategos, protector, with Hera, of that city,[205] and who appears also by this name on certain of its coins.[206]

Only one literary reference is known to a sanctuary to the Pontic Zeus, and that is by Pliny, who writes of altars to Jupiter Stratios standing by ancient oaks (said to have been planted by Heracles) near the city of Heraclia in western Pontus[207]; but the remains of

[201] Above, p. 280.
[202] Ins. Delos, 1560, see Robert, art. cit. in n. 172, p. 159 with n. 32. On Zeus Ourios at Delos see P. Bruneau, Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale, Paris 1970, 245–6 (cited by Robert, l.c.).
[203] Reinach, Mith. Eupator, 285–6.
[204] Kleiner, art. cit., in n. 132, pp. 9–10.
[205] G. Hirschfeld, "Inschriften aus dem Norden Kleinasiens besonders aus Bithynien und Paphlagonien", Sb. d. könig. preuss. Ak. d. Wiss. zu Berlin, XXXV, 1888, 876, no. 27; Cumont, art. cit. in n. 173, p. 50 n. 2.
[206] Wroth, BMC Pontus, p. 85. Kleiner, art. cit., p. 15 suggests that it may be Zeus Stratios who appears with Hera on the reverses of coins of Mithradates IV and his sister-wife Laodice, and also on those of Laodice alone; and this would seem to link well with the Amastris data. Others, however, interpret the male divinity on these royal coins as Apollo with sceptre, see Robert, art. cit., p. 156.
[207] Nat. Hist. XVI.339; cited by Cumont, art. cit., pp. 49–50.

two of his cult places, identifiable by inscriptions, have been found in the Pontic heartland, near Amasia.[208] One was to the west of the old Pontic capital, by the modern village of Gel-giraz, which is built on a hillslope bordering a wide fertile plain. Among several pieces of inscribed marble found there is an altar bearing a Greek dedication to Zeus Stratios. Fragments of capitals and column shafts used in building the village mosque show that there had been a temple—set perhaps on a flat-topped spur of hill that dominates the village and can be seen from far across the plain.

The other cult place was to the east of Amasia, near the village of Ebemi. This stands on fertile upland, to be reached by climbing out of the gorge of the Iris. Near the village there is a hill bearing a cluster of ancient pines, from which an immense prospect is to be had. The villagers regard both trees and hill as sacred, and each year in May still gather there to sacrifice sheep and fowls and to feast joyfully. The hill is a flattened cone, and its top was once encircled by a wall, perhaps 200 metres in diameter, of which parts still stand. In the centre is a mound, about 40 metres square, which evidently bore some kind of structure—indeed fragments of a cornice, and other small pieces of worked marble, could once be seen scattered about. The relatively small size of the mound has been taken to show that what stood on it was a monumental altar rather than a temple. That there was a temple nearby, however, is indicated by three Greek inscriptions, unfortunately all either very brief or fragmentary. One, found in the hilltop enclosure, is carved on a marble pedestal, and records a dedication of part of the temple revenues by the priest-for-life (one Cneus Claudius Philon) "of the god". The identity of the god is established by two other inscriptions, now in the village of Ebemi. One is carved on a little socle or altar, which it devotes "to Zeus Stratios" (Διὶ Στρα[τίῳ]). The other is on two thick blocks of marble, which together bear the ends of two lines of inscription, the middle block or blocks being lost. This inscription begins with the words "To Zeus Stratios" (Διὶ Στρατίῳ), and a date is preserved, corresponding to 99 A.C. Other surviving words show that the temple from whose walls the blocks presumably came was administered by two "synarchontes", and had "neokoroi" among its dignitaries. This temple and that at Gel-giraz both presumably remained, with their servants and estates, "sacred villages", too close to Amasia to develop economic importance and so gain mention by the organizers of the Roman

[208] Both were identified by Cumont, whose account of them, art. cit., p. 51 ff., is the source for what follows here.

province. They were also, presumably, younger sanctuaries than Zela, founded probably by one or other of the Pontic kings. It is strange, however, that Strabo, born at Amasia, should have made no mention of them, or of any manifestations of the cult of Zeus Stratios, which appears to have been particularly associated with that city. (Further evidence for this local connection is provided by a votive tablet from Athens, dedicated to Zeus Stratios by four citizens of Amasia[209].) It is possible, however, that his cult, as that of the royal god, suffered an eclipse with the downfall of the Mithradatids.

As to the identity of this divinity, his close links with the Mithradatids, the pride of those kings in their Persian origins, and their worship of him with avowedly Persian rites, combine to make it appear that (as was assumed from the first[210]) he is by origin Ahura Mazda, hellenized as his royal worshippers became hellenized, and venerated chiefly under the aspect—emphasized also by Darius the Great—of mighty helper in war of the armies of just (i.e. Persian) kings. That the Mithradatids still worshipped him as God and Creator—the one eternal Being—seems, however, most unlikely. Probably they came to perceive him as did the polytheistic Greeks, as god of the Persians and hence their own especial deity. Such a development, almost inevitable in the Hellenistic age for these multilingual, multicultural rulers, need not necessarily have so deeply affected the magi, who presumably served the cult of Zeus Stratios as they did that of Anahit, and for whom the discipline of their hereditary calling, and the maintenance of ancient rites, would have created something of a barrier against external influences.

Although Strabo makes no mention of a Zeus Stratios, he follows

[209] Corp. Ins. Athen. III, 201, cited by Cumont, ib., p. 54 n.l. Another inscription from Athens (C.I.A. III, 141; Cumont, p. 50 n.l) was devoted to Zeus Stratios by two citizens of Germanicopolis, formerly Gangra, the ancient inland capital of Paphlagonia; but whether he is to be identified with the Pontic divinity cannot be known. In Roman imperial times Amasia issued coins with on the reverse an altar (possibly rather a fire-holder ?) crowned by leaping flames, and by it a tree or trees. Cumont (art. cit., p. 54) was tempted to see in this a stylized representation of the open-air altar at Ebemi. Moreover, a spread eagle sometimes appears above it (see Wroth, B.M.C. Pontus, p. xvii ff., and pp. 8–9 with Pl. II); and this Cumont thought might be used here, as a symbol of Olympian Zeus, for Zeus Stratios. On other coins a quadriga appears instead.—Fire leaping up in a bushy cone from an "altar" also appears, however, as cult-object (that is, set between the central pillars of a tetrastyle temple) on coins of Neocaesarea (former Cabeira, home of the cult of Men Pharnaku) in the reigns of Julia Domna and Geta, with, on the later issues, a radiate bust set above the flames, see Wroth, o.c., p. 33 nos. 5, 10 with Pl. VI.1, 4.

[210] Reinach, Mith. Eupator, 299.

Herodotus in stating that the Persians worshipped "Zeus" in high places. He makes one significant change, however, in the list of other divinities whom the older writer said they venerated there, namely the sun (*helios*), moon (*selene*), earth, fire, water and winds.[211] For these Strabo has "the Sun (*Helios*) whom they call Mithres, the Moon (*Selene*), and Aphrodite, and fire and earth and winds and water".[212] Aphrodite stands presumably for Anahit. She had been mentioned later in the same passage by Herodotus, with a curious confusion with "Mithra",[213] so that Strabo may be considered here merely to have rearranged the data provided by his illustrious predecessor. His own reference to Mithra is nevertheless deeply interesting, both because he identifies him with the sun-god (a point to be considered more fully later[214]), and because it is his only mention of the great *yazata*, whose cult was presumably maintained in Cappadocia, as apparently in western Anatolia, without temples. Brief and isolated as the reference is, it suggests nevertheless that Strabo knew Mithra's worship as both popular and prominent.

The fact that the Pontic kings kept Mithradates, "Given by Mithra", as their recurrent dynastic name has led scholars to seek tangible evidence of Mithra's veneration in their domains; but little has been found that is certain, and nothing to suggest that they regarded him as their patron divinity. The figures on Pontic royal coin issues which were once identified as his are now seen rather as those of Men or Perseus, both of whom are shown on occasion wearing, like Mithra, the "Phrygian" cap.[215] The only Pontic city with a recorded tradition of worship of Mithra is Trapezus. There a legend tells how in the reign of Diocletian (284–305) St. Eugen of Trapezus destroyed a statue to Mithra on a hill that continued nevertheless to be known long afterwards as the "Hill of Mithra". An altar to the god had also stood on the hill top.[216] The origins of this evidently firmly established Mithra cult are obscure; but one thing is clear, and that is that it cannot have owed much to the Mithradatids, since Colchis was not made part of the kingdom of Pontus until the reign of Mithradates the Great. It is possible,

[211] I.131.
[212] XV.3.13.
[213] Cf. HZ II 29–30.
[214] Below, p. 479 ff.
[215] Kleiner, art. cit., pp. 13–15, 18.
[216] Where this altar had stood a church was built dedicated to St. John the Baptist, see Cumont, TMMM, I 362 f., II 55c; "Mithra en Asie Mineure", Festschrift W. H. Buckler, 71–2; Vermaseren, CIMRM, I 48 no. 14. Altar and church are now thought to have been on the top of the hill, not on its western side.

however, that there were Iranians among the citizens of Trapezus already in Achaemenian times. It was, as we have seen, a Greek settlement founded by Sinope, and it maintained close relations with its mother city; and Sinope itself was part of the Achaemenian empire, and remained faithful to Darius III to the end. (Alexander indeed pardoned its ambassadors, taken prisoner in Darius' camp in 330, on the grounds that the city "is not part of the community of the Greeks, but is subject to the Persians".[217]) It is quite possible, therefore, that under the Achaemenians Iranians had gone from Sinope to Trapezus and settled there. There is also the likelihood that trade had brought Armenians to this busy port; and the worship of Mithra (as a Zoroastrian *yazata*) had taken root in Armenia under the Achaemenians.[218]

After the overthrow of the kingdom of Pontus, Trapezus passed into Roman possession, and by imperial times had become Rome's chief military port on the Black Sea. As such, it struck many coins; and among them is a remarkable one, with on the obverse the bust of Alexander Severus (222–235). On the reverse is a figure on horseback, wearing tunic, trousers and the "Phrygian" cap, with before him a fire-holder or fire altar with leaping flames. To either side are torch-bearers, one with raised, the other with lowered torch. At one edge of the coin is a tree, its branches stretching towards the rider. A raven is flying towards him, and beneath the horse is a snake carrying a dish.[219] Other coins were struck with similar, somewhat simpler, designs;[220] and the symbols are so markedly those of Mithraism that it seems reasonable to suppose that the coins celebrate the Mysteries of Mithras, taken part in by Roman officers and soldiers stationed at Trapezus.[221] But the

[217] Arrian, Anabasis, III.24.4–5. I am indebted to M. Chuvin for drawing my attention to this passage, and to the possibility of Persian settlement in Trapezus in Achaemenian times. Significance has been seen in the fact that Xenophon (Anabasis, IV.8.22) makes no reference to any but Greeks and Colchians at Trapezus in 301 B.C.; but, as M. Chuvin points out, he does not speak of Persians at Sinope either, so that his silence in this respect has no evidential value.

[218] See most fully Russell, Zoroastrianism in Armenia, 261 ff.

[219] On this coin, now in Munich, see Cumont, TMMM, II 189–90 with fig. 12.

[220] See, e.g., Cumont, ib., p. 190, figs. 15, 16; Wroth, BMC Pontus, p. 40 no. 5 with Pl. VII.8.

[221] Cumont, art. cit. in n. 96, p. 63 ff., has traced the persistence locally of the myth of Mithras the cattle-stealer in a custom first noted in 1672 by J. Chardin (Voyage . . . en Perse et autre lieux de l'Orient, Amsterdam 1711, I 78–9). Every year at the monastery of Ilori in Mingrelia, near the Colchian coast, whose church was dedicated to St. George, on the eve of the saint's feast-day a candidate for the priesthood was sent out to steal, in the name of St. George, the finest bull he could find. This was taken secretly into the church, to be discovered there the next morning by the congregation. It was then led out, killed, and the flesh distributed, to be eaten as devoutly as if it were the communion bread. (On Mithras the

open-air altar on the Hill of Mithra, a notable "high place", appears characteristic of the worship of the Zoroastrian *yazata* rather than of Mithras, whose rites were enacted by preference in caves or subterranean sanctuaries.

As for evidence of particular Zoroastrian observances by the Mithradatids themselves, there is virtually nothing apart from their rites for Zeus Stratios. In the early period of their rule (before Sinope became their capital) four kings had their tombs cut in the rocky cliff of the Iris gorge above Amasia.[222] This accords with the burial customs of the Achaemenian kings, and with Zoroastrian care for the purity of the "creations"; but rock-burial was widely practised in Anatolia, so that it cannot be certain that the usage was followed by the Pontic kings on Zoroastrian principles. Since it is the earlier rulers who are concerned, this may, however, have been the case. Another custom—that of brother-sister marriages—is recorded for two of the later kings, Mithradates IV and VI, the latter's sister-wife being also called Laodice.[223] (The queens of the early Mithradatids are not known.) At least one of these two marriages appears to have had a political motive; and since brother-sister marriages were contracted outside Zoroastrian circles in the Hellenistic age (notably by the Seleucids and Ptolemids), it cannot be assumed that these are instances of conscious Zoroastrian *khvaetvadatha*.

Attempts have been made to trace some Iranian (if not Zoroastrian) elements in the romantic legends which grew up around Mithradates the Great. At his birth, it was said, and again when he assumed the crown, a comet blazed so brightly for seventy days that it filled a quarter of the sky and dimmed the sun's radiance—an omen, it seems, that he would live for seventy years, rule a quarter of the world, and overshadow Rome. Lightning fire is also said to have touched his cradle, and at another time to have burnt the arrows in his quiver.[224] All this has been taken to set him within an Iranian tradition of sacral kingship (a very dubious proposition), and to make him an incarnation of Mithra (a wholly unsupported hypothesis).[225] In fact there appears nothing distinc-

"cattle-stealing god" cf. below, p. 558 n. 220.) It thus seems that both Mithra, the Zoroastrian *yazata*, and Mithras, god of the Mysteries, contributed elements to the cult of St. George (cf. above, p. 274–5).

[222] See Magie, RR, 1072 n. 12, with bibliography.

[223] On these marriages see Reinach, Mith. Eupator, 40, 41, 42, 47, 87.

[224] For references to the sources, and for the interpretation, see Reinach, o.c., pp. 42–3 with nn.

[225] Widengren, "The sacral kingship of Iran", The Sacral Kingship, Numen, Supp. Bd. IV, 1959, 248.

tively Iranian about these tales of heavenly or miraculous happenings in connection with a great man. It has been more plausibly suggested that poets of the Persian Sibyl celebrated Mithradates' victories over Rome as among the triumphs of good over evil which will herald the coming of the Last Time.[226] This may very well have been so, but positive evidence seems lacking. However, Strabo's solid evidence—and less directly that of Appian—for the persistence of magian rites and beliefs in his realm receives confirmation later from Kirder, whose list of countries where Shabuhr's soldiers met co-religionists and sacred fires included an area "up to Colchis".[227]

Cilicia

The south coast of Asia Minor was cut off from the central plateau by the Taurus mountains, extending like a great wall from the upper reaches of the Euphrates westwards. Towards the plateau they sloped down fairly gently; but on the seaward side their flanks were steep and rugged, and rivers, rushing down, cut gorges too deep and wild to offer passes through the range.

This great barrier stood between Cappadocia and the Mediterranean land of Cilicia, with only one narrow pass, the famed "Cilician Gates", allowing wheeled traffic to go between them.[228] The name Cilicia was given to two very different regions, distinguished by the Greeks as "Rugged Cilicia" and "Level Cilicia". The former lay to the west, a tangled mass of mountains descending precipitously to the sea, leaving space for only a few tiny harbours. Only one river managed to cut its way through from the interior to the coast, namely the Calycadnus, which then created at its mouth a little alluvial plain; and on a height above this Seleucus I founded a *polis*, Seleucia-on-the-Calycadnus (modern Silifke), which was the one important town of Rugged Cilicia in Hellenistic times.

To the east, the Taurus curved away from the sea, and, joining the Amanus range, enclosed in a great horseshoe Level Cilicia, a "luxuriant broad riviera"[229], crossed by three large rivers, from east to west the Pyramus and Sarus, which both rose in Cappadocia and forced their way south, and the Cydnus, which had its source high in the Taurus range. Much of Level Cilicia was only a little above sea-level; but in the north-east was a higher plain, formed by the

[226] On this see further below, p. 396 n. 163.
[227] Above, p. 255.
[228] On Cilicia see Magie, RR, 266 ff.; Jones, Cities, 191 ff.
[229] Magie, RR, 270.

basin of the Pyramus and its tributaries. Level Cilicia was not only abundantly fertile, but lay on the main line of communication between Syria and Asia Minor, and so was of great importance strategically and for trade. Rich as it was, it had ancient cities, of which the greatest and most famous was Tarsus. This was on the lower Cydnus, with a fine sea-harbour close by; and the Southern Highway, having passed through the "Cilician Gates" (cut by a tributary of the Cydnus), followed the course of that river down to Tarsus, and then turned eastward to traverse the lower level of the plain. It then crossed the Pyramus at Mopsuestia (modern Misis), another of Cilicia's ancient towns, and thence led over the plain of Issus to the "Cilician-Syrian Gates", between two spurs of the Amanus range, and so south to Antioch.

Since Level Cilicia was so placed, and had such great advantages of soil and climate, it was naturally colonized by Persians in Achaemenian times. Greeks had been there before them—as on the Pontic coast, from the eighth-seventh centuries B.C.; and when in the late Achaemenian period Tarsus minted satrapal coins, one of these bore the characteristic Persian device of the figure in the winged circle, but with the figure Greek in appearance, not Iranian.[230] Another oriental device used there, and beloved of the Persians, was the lion overcoming the bull; but Perseus is also represented.[231] Some of these Tarsus coins have Aramaic lettering, and bear other less familiar devices with an apparent Iranian connotation, notably a cow with calf, and a ploughman in Iranian dress, tilling the soil.[232] Either of these designs might be taken as having religious symbolism for Zoroastrians, or simply as showing that here as elsewhere in Asia Minor Iranian colonists had established strong associations with the land. Another town which was privileged to strike coins under the Achaemenians was Soli, near the border with Rugged Cilicia. This had been colonized from Rhodes c. 700 B.C., but became so strongly pro-Persian that Alexander found it necessary to put in a Macedonian garrison there, and to impose a new constitution on the town, apparently to weaken the authority of its ruling class.[233] This is clearly then another of the regions in Asia Minor where Persians may be

[230] G. F. Hill, BMC Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia, p. 164 no. 12 with Pl. XXIX.1 (In the circle is a naked male torso, the head crowned with a *polos*, but holding the traditional wreath and lotus flower.)
[231] On Perseus in Cilicia in Achaemenian times see P. Chuvin, Mythologie et géographie dionysiaques, Recherches sur le poème de Nonnos de Panopolis, Paris, in press.
[232] Cf. HZ II 273.
[233] Magie, RR, 273.

expected to have acquired some fluency in Greek even before the Achaemenians' downfall.

After Alexander's conquest the minting of coins in Cilicia ceased, and no more appear until the reign of Antiochus IV (175–164 B.C.). Tarsus then began to strike its own bronze coins, to be followed by other Cilician towns. Among the mint-controllers' names on the coins of Adana on the Sarus, in the first century B.C., is an Iranian one, Sinipates[234], and Tarsus had a mint-controller named Arsaces[235]—indications that in both these cities there were still influential men of Iranian stock. The coin types of Tarsus then have, however, nothing Iranian about them, but bear among other devices a seated Tyche with the river Cydnus at her feet, and Sandan, the ancient Hittite god.[236] These types continued into Roman imperial times, and were joined then by most of the divinities of the Greek pantheon; and, unusually, on a coin of the time of Gordian III (238–244), Mithras appears sacrificing the bull.[237] Other traces survive in Level Cilicia of the Mithraic Mysteries, brought there presumably by the Romans;[238] but the only indications of the presence of Zoroastrians are provided by a Christian bishop, Theodore.[239] He was born in Antioch about 350, and grew up there, becoming the most eminent representative of the Antiochene school of theology. He began to write against those holding other Christian views in about 383, and a decade or so later was made bishop of Mopsuestia in Level Cilicia. He was a prolific author, producing, as well as commentaries, extensive dogmatic and polemical works; and among the latter was a book in three volumes on Persian magism (*Peri tēs en Persidi magikēs*), and how this differed (greatly naturally to its disadvantage) from Christianity. This book is known only from the briefest of summaries by Photius,

[234] Alram, Nomina, p. 98, Taf. 9.293.
[235] Hill, o.c., p. lxxxvi; Alram, l.c., with Taf. 9.294.
[236] On Sandan cf. above, nn. 50, 180.
[237] Hill, o.c., p. 213 no. 258 with Pl. XXXVII.4.
[238] Excavations at Anazarbus (one of only 2 cities of note on the upper plain of Level Cilicia, developed as a strategic point by the Romans) have yielded an altar dedicated by M. Aurelios Seleukos, "priest and *pater* for life of the Sun-God, the uncontested Mithras"; published by M. Gough, AS II, 1952, 131 no. 3 with Pl. XIIa; Vermaseren, CIMRM, II p. 13 no. 27 bis.
[239] Cumont, TMMM, I 9 n. 5, cites another churchman, Basil archbishop of Isauria (a name extended by the Romans to Rugged Cilicia), who had his metropolis at Seleucia-on-the-Calycadnus for some time between 431 and 468. A quotation from his writings shows that he referred to pseudo-Smerdis not as *magos* but, in the idiom of his own culture, as *magouseos* (<*magousaios*); but it is impossible to take this as proof of personal encounters by Basil with Zoroastrians in his own archbishopric.

who wrote of it as follows:[240] "In the first volume he described the abominable dogma of the Persians, which Zarades introduced, or indeed about Zourouam, whom he introduced as the originator of everything, whom he also calls Fortune (Tyche). And when he [i.e. Zourouam] was making a libation in order that Hormisdas might be born to him, the latter was born, together with Satan. And about the mixing of their blood [i.e. incest?]. And he [Theodore] straightforwardly refutes the impious and extremely shameful dogma item by item in the first volume". The other volumes were, it seems, devoted predominantly to Christian doctrines, all three being dedicated "to Mastubius, who came from Armenia and was a suffragan bishop".

This link with Armenia has been seen as significant,[241] since Theodore's statements about "Zourouam" (yet another corruption of "Zurvan") have close parallels in the polemical writings against Zurvanism by the fifth-century Armenian Christians, Eznik of Kołb and Elise Vardapet.[242] All three writers have been held by some scholars to have shared a common manuscript source; but this supposition is necessary only if the myth which they record is thought to have had little or no circulation or acceptance among Zurvanites themselves. Otherwise, there is no reason why inquirers should not have learnt of it, orally or from books, at diverse places and times. Bishop Basil of Cappadocia, on his own testimony, spoke with Zurvanites;[243] and Bishop Theodore may well have done the same. A point of real doctrinal interest in what the latter learnt is that his source—whatever or whoever it was—identified Zurvan, "Time", as being also "Fortune" or "Fate", as he is declared to be in certain Pahlavi writings.[244]

A more generally significant fact is that Theodore's book testifies to the existence of a living and sturdy community of Zoroastrians somewhere within his own field of activity; for the bishop, a busy ecclesiastic, was also a tireless controversialist, who had numerous opponents to cross swords with within his own faith. (He has been termed a Nestorian before Nestorius, and his writings were posthumously condemned at Constantinople in 553.) It is unthinkable, therefore, that he should have spent time and trouble on a purely

[240] Bibliotheca, 81; Cumont, o.c., p. 18 n. 2; BCM II 87; Clemen, Fontes, 108; Zaehner, Zurvan, 447.
[241] Cumont, TMMM, I 18–19.
[242] Texts in French tr. by L. Mariès, Le *de Deo* d'Eznik de Kołb, Paris 1924, 48–52, reproduced by Zaehner, o.c., pp. 419–28.
[243] Cf. above, p. 277.
[244] Cf. Cumont, TMMM, I 86; Zaehner, o.c., pp. 59, 254.

academic exercise, disputing with a dead or even dying religion. It is possible that he became aware of Zoroastrians already in Syria; but the strong probability is that it was encounters with adherents of the Persian religion in his own diocese, and his endeavours there—presumably fruitless, like those of Basil in Cappadocia—to convert them by disputation, which provoked him to write his treatise against them. One may also speculate reasonably that Zoroastrians would have been best able to survive in numbers as late as this on the upper plain of Level Cilicia, that is, above Mopsuestia, because this was an area a little apart, a rural one with few towns, and not heavily hellenized like the lower plain, which, enjoying both sea and land trade, was wide open to cosmopolitan influences. Yet Kirder indicates[245] that there were also Zoroastrians still in Tarsus in the third century A.C., where very possibly over centuries they had contributed their doctrines and characteristic ethical beliefs to the lively intellectual and philosophical life of that city.

Summary

The history of Zoroastrianism in these three eastern Anatolian lands affords striking parallels with that of the western ones, suggesting a good deal of communication between their Iranian communities. Again the worship of Anahit is better recorded than that of any other *yazata*, clearly because it was a richly endowed temple cult; and again there is evidence for the veneration also of Ahura Mazda, Mithra and Vohu Manah. But here Mah too appears to have been popular, exalted through some assimilation, it seems, to Cappadocian Men. Through Strabo's testimony the maintenance of traditional rites by the magi is attested here, as by Pausanias in Lydia; and the two bishops, Basil and Theodore, testify that Zoroastrianism was strong and resistant to Christian proselytizing in certain areas, i.e. Cappadocia and the upper plain of Level Cilicia. It is in these rural regions presumably that the Iranian religion survived, despite persecution, down to at least the sixth century A.C.—a full millennium after Alexander's conquest. The witness of these churchmen also provides the only direct evidence about doctrine, namely that the Zoroastrianism of eastern Anatolia was of the Zurvanite tendency.

[245] See above, p. 255.

CHAPTER TEN

IN COMMAGENE, SYRIA AND EGYPT

Commagene

Separated from Cilicia by the Amanus mountains and from Cappadocia by the Taurus lay Commagene, "rather a small country",[1] known of old to the Assyrians as Kummuh. To the east and south-east the upper Euphrates formed its boundary with Armenian Sophene and Mesopotamia, while to the south-west, beyond low hills, was Syria. Commagene had natural wealth in silver and iron mines, in dense forests, and in the fertile, though narrow, valleys of rivers which flowed down from the Taurus to the Euphrates. It was also enriched by trade between Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, for there were relatively easy passes here over the Taurus and through the Amanus range; and at Samosata (modern Samsat) Commagene controlled one of the main crossings of the upper Euphrates, which may have been that used by the Royal Road.[2] In spite of its small size and hilly landscape it was therefore a prosperous place.

Nothing is known of Commagene for the long span of time between Assyria's downfall and the Hellenistic age;[3] but it must have formed part of the Median and Achaemenian Empires, probably receiving its first Iranian colonists under the latter. Alexander passed it by, and it first re-emerges into recorded history in the second century B.C., when it was ruled by Iranian kings from a branch of the Orontid family of Armenia. The first known member of that family is the Orontes who was satrap when Xenophon and the Ten Thousand marched through Armenia in 401 B.C.[4] According to Strabo, he traced his descent from the Hydarnes (Old Persian Vidarna) who was one of the six noble companions of Darius the Great;[5] and the claim seems supported by the fact

[1] Strabo XVI.2.3.
[2] On its age-long role of controlling trade-routes see J. D. Hawkins, "Von Kummuh nach Kommagene", AW 6, 1975, Sondernummer Kommagene, 5–10.
[3] On the apparently Iranian name of its 8th cent. king Kundašpi see HZ II 41 n. 5.
[4] Anabasis, III.v.17, IV.3.4.
[5] XI.14.15.

(attested by Xenophon[6] and by Plutarch[7]) that the satrap was married to Rhodogune, a daughter of Artaxerxes II. The link with Hydarnes was presumably through the female line, since in an inscription at Pergamum Orontes is said to have been of Bactrian stock.[8] His father is there named as Artasouras; and he has been plausibly identified with the Iranian noble of that name who figured at the battle of Cunaxa in 401, at which Cyrus the Younger was slain. Artasouras is said by Plutarch to have held the exalted office of "Eye of the King";[9] and he and his son provide the only known instances of members of a Bactrian family attaining high position in the Achaemenian Empire.[10] At Gaugamela the Armenian forces were commanded by a later Orontes and a Mithraustes[11]—probably, it is thought, the satraps of Greater and Lesser Armenia respectively; and in 317 an Orontes of Armenia offered help to Ariarathes of Cappadocia against the Hellenes. (He is recorded to have sent Eumenes a letter "written in Syriac characters", presumably, that is, in Achaemenian chancellery Aramaic.[12]) It was perhaps he who, during this troubled period of the Successors' Wars, extended his power over Commagene, where a branch of the family managed to establish itself, although presumably at first tributary to their Armenian kinsmen. Little is known of the early Orontids of Commagene,[13] but their centre of power lay evidently in the north-east of their small land—nearer, that is, to Sophene than to Syria. There a certain Arsames founded two towns, both of which he called Arsameia. The more northerly (modern Gerger, a name commonly used, for clarity's sake, for the ancient city also) was a defensible stronghold by the Euphrates. The other, a more open city, though with a citadel, was on the river Nymphaios (modern Kahtaçay), a confluent of the Chabinas, which itself flows into the Euphrates downstream from Gerger. Between these two towns in their fertile valleys rises the highest

[6] Anabasis, II.iv.8, III.iv.13.
[7] Artaxerxes, XXVII.4.
[8] I.e. the so-called Pergamene Chronicle, OGIS 264.5. On him see most recently M. J. Osborne, "Orontes", Historia 1973/4, 515–57 (with, on his family, pp. 517–22).
[9] Plutarch, o.c., XII.I.
[10] F. Grenet, "L'onomastique iranienne à Aï Khanoum", BCH CVII, 1983, 373 n. 3, who gives there, p. 372, the name's etymology, **arwand* < OIr. *auruvant* "brave". (P. 373 n. 3 is to be partly corrected, he points out, in that Artasouras is no longer thought to figure among the ancestor-stelae at Nimrud Dagh.)
[11] Arrian III.8.5.
[12] Diodorus XIX.23; cf. Russell, Zoroastrianism in Armenia, 47–8.
[13] On them see most recently R. D. Sullivan, "The dynasty of Commagene", ANRW II 8 (1977), 732–98, q.v., opp. p. 742, for a genealogical table of the family and its intermarriages with other royal houses.

peak in Commagene, 2150 m. above sea-level, which in later times came to be called Mount Nimrud, that is, Nimrud Dagh.

When Arsames lived is uncertain; but he issued the first of the scanty Commagenian coins (which are all of bronze). These bear on the obverse his head, showing him wearing a conical form of the Iranian *tiara*, with diadem. On the reverse is his name in Greek characters, with the title "king", and an illegible cognomen.[14] He ruled probably as a vassal of the Seleucids; but the details of the inclusion of Commagene in the Seleucid Empire are obscure—when it took place, and on what terms. In 163/162 one of his descendants (perhaps a son?) called Ptolemaios, revolted, evidently with some success, for an era dating from this year was still in use in Commagene on the eve of its annexation by Rome, some two hundred years later.[15] (His rebellion took place during the unrest which attended the claiming of the Seleucid throne by Demetrius[16].) Ptolemaios was followed by his son Sames, who again struck coins. His issues show his head either radiate, in direct imitation of the coins of the Seleucid Antiochus VI, or wearing the conical *tiara*.[17] His name appears on his coins in the genitive, "Samou", and, there being no other attestations of it, the nominative was long understood to be "Samos"; for some scholars postulated a link between it and Samosata, the Orontids' later capital. This town's name is mentioned, however, already in the third century B.C.; and so it was supposed that it was founded by an earlier Orontid called Samos (or rather refounded, for there had been a town controlling the important Euphrates crossing long before the Iranians came to Commagene). The son of king Ptolemaios was accordingly referred to as Samos II. It has now been suggested, however, that the Orontid's name is more likely to have been "Sames", i.e. the Greek rendering of Iranian Sāma[18]; and this makes the similarity with the town's name look no more than coincidental, as other scholars had supposed.

On his coins Sames' name is followed by the epithets Theosebes, Dikaios "god-fearing, just". The latter cognomen may, it is suggested,[19] have been adopted by him as a compliment to Mithradates

[14] M. Alram, Nomina, 81–2. On this and other forms of the Iranian *tiara* in Commagenian coins and reliefs see J. H. Young, "Commagenian tiaras: royal and divine", AJA 68, 1964, 29–34.
[15] Sullivan, art. cit., p. 743.
[16] Cf. above, p. 33.
[17] Alram, o.c., p. 82.
[18] Alram, l.c.
[19] Sullivan, art. cit., p. 749. This interpretation seems more probable than that previously proposed, which was that Sames adopted the cognomen in homage to Mithra. (On *dikaios* as an epithet of the *yazata* see above, p. 274 with n. 91).

II of Parthia, who likewise set it upon his coins,[20] and who, during the latter years of Sames' reign, was vigorously consolidating his power in the lands to the east of the Euphrates. Little Commagene thus found itself dangerously placed between the Seleucids and the increasingly formidable Arsacids, and could survive only by placating each, and "by assuring each that she offered no threat in looking after her well-protected bit of ground and her Euphrates crossings."[21]

Sames was succeeded by his son Mithradates I, who reigned c.100–c.69. His coins show him wearing the same conical tiara as Sames, and as having the cognomen Kallinikos, "victorious".[22] It is generally agreed that this by-name, as a solitary one, is likely to have been significant, marking perhaps some decisive battle through which he maintained his dynasty's independence of the Seleucids.[23] It also seems likely that it was in consequence of such a success, possibly in ratification of a peace treaty, that he received in marriage a Seleucid princess, Laodice Thea Philadelphos, daughter of Antiochus VIII (123–96). Probably by 86 Commagene, together with neighbouring Sophene, Syria and Cilicia, was made part of the short-lived empire of Tigranes the Great of Armenia, so that it would have been as his vassal that Mithradates' son, who bore the Seleucid name of Antiochus, succeeded to the throne of Commagene; and this was probably in the same year, 69, in which Lucullus inflicted a great defeat on Tigranes, bringing about the disintegration of his empire.[24] Antiochus was among those kings who made submission to Lucullus; and when Pompey subsequently appeared in Syria, the Commagenian again acknowledged Rome's supremacy. In 64 Pompey destroyed Tigranes' forces in a second great battle, and made Syria and Cilicia into Roman provinces; but he left Commagene as an independent kingdom, and gave it moreover a bridgehead across the Euphrates by assigning to it the city of Zeugma (Seleucia-on-the-Euphrates), which stood on the opposite bank to Samosata, and downstream from it, controlling another important river-crossing. His intention was evidently to create in Commagene a grateful client state, which

[20] Wroth, BMC Parthia, p. 35 no. 116 (who points out that *dikaios* does not recur on Parthian coins until adopted again by Mithradates III).
[21] Sullivan, l.c.
[22] Wroth, BMC Galatia, p. 104 with Pl. XIV.7. On this king see O. Wilcken, PW XV.2, col. 2213.
[23] So Dörrie, Königskult, 15, 38–9 (who seems justified in rejecting an earlier interpretation of the title as won in an athletic contest).
[24] Cf. above, p. 284.

would be prepared to hold this strategic point for Rome against Parthia.

Pompey nevertheless took hostages from Antiochus, and not without reason, for that king sought good relations also with Parthia, giving a daughter, named Laodice like her grandmother, in marriage to the Arsacid Orodes II. Her fate was ultimately an unhappy one, for her husband and son, and probably Laodice herself, perished at the hands of her stepson Phraates IV after the aged Orodes resigned the Parthian throne to him in 38.[25] Antiochus had, just before this, aided another son of Orodes, Pacorus, when with Labienus the latter invaded Syria and Asia Minor in 40.[26] A year later Mark Antony drove the Parthians back again and besieged Antiochus in Samosata, mainly, it is thought, in the hope of acquiring riches. He was joined by Herod of Judaea, but Samosata held out, and in 38 peace was made, with Antiochus paying a large ransom.[27] This success against Rome, and his diverse other achievements, have led to his being generally known as Antiochus the Great.

Little is known of Antiochus' successors beyond their names and scanty coinage. He was followed in about 31 by his son Mithradates II, then by Mithradates' brother Antiochus II, then by a grandson, Mithradates III. Then came Antiochus III, at whose death in 18 A.C. Germanicus annexed Commagene; but Caligula restored it to Antiochus' son (a boyhood friend), who reigned as Antiochus IV, with a brief interruption, from 38 to 72. Antiochus the Great had assumed the five-pointed "Armenian" *tiara* which was the characteristic headgear of Tigranes the Great, and which was adopted after his overthrow by more than one of his former vassals (presumably as a declaration of their having succeeded, locally, to his power[28]). Coins show his son, Mithradates II, likewise wearing this *tiara*[29]; but those of Antiochus IV present him, in marked contrast to his ancestors, in Greco-Roman fashion, bare-headed, with diadem bound about his curling locks.[30] Under

[25] Cf. Debevoise, Political History of Parthia, 120–1; J. Wagner, "Dynastie und Herrscherkult in Kommagene, Forschungsgeschichte und neuere Funde", Ist. Mitt. 33, 1983, 210–12.
[26] Debevoise, o.c., p. 119.
[27] Plutarch, Antony, 37–51; Appian, 5.65, 76; Dion Cassius, 48.25–6, 39–41; 49.19–31.
[28] Wagner, art. cit., pp. 201, 203. On the exact form of the "Armenian" *tiara* see Young, art. cit., pp. 30–1; and on Antiochus' coins Wroth, o.c., p. 105 with Pl. XIV.b.
[29] Alram, Nomina, 82.
[30] For his coins see Wroth, o.c., pp. 106–7 with Pls XIV.9, 10, XV.1–3.

Nero this king gave aid to the Romans against the Parthians, and thereafter he sent troops to fight for Rome in the Jewish War. Nevertheless he was deposed by Vespasian on an accusation of intriguing with Parthia, and Commagene was finally absorbed into the Roman empire, becoming part of its province of Syria.[31]

The Commagenian people and their religion

Despite the founding of cities by the Orontids, Commagene remained under their rule essentially a land of villages, where a presumably partly Persian aristocracy dominated a scattered rural population. In general, native Commagenians seem to have played no part in the wider Hellenistic world, or in that of republican Rome. Whereas their neighbours, the Cilicians and Cappadocians, were well represented at the great mercantile centres of Athens and Rhodes—as traders, mercenaries, or in all too great numbers, slaves—no Commagenian name appears with theirs.[32] Before the independence of their land in the mid second century B.C. Commagenians would probably have been classified as Syrians; but their continued absence thereafter seems to indicate a certain isolation of Commagene, cut off by mountain and river, even though it was astride major trade-routes. This unusual position has been seen as making its people at once conservative and yet receptive of a wide range of influences.[33] They were evidently hardy and brave; and when the Romans became masters of their land they were able to recruit six cohorts from among them, who served as auxiliaries all along the imperial frontiers.[34] The wealth and trade of Orontid Commagene is likely to have been concentrated in its few towns, in which there appears to have been a large admixture of Semites come up from the south, who would readily have accepted the Greco-Semitic culture spreading there from Seleucid Syria.[35]

There has as yet been no systematic excavation of any site in Commagene earlier than the Hellenistic period, and evidence for the older religion of the land comes only from scattered surface

[31] For the last years of the dynasty see E. Honigmann, "Kommagene", PW, Supp. Bd. IV (1924), cols. 984–8; and further below, pp. 350–1.
[32] P. M. Fraser, "The kings of Commagene and the Greek world", Festschrift F. K. Dörner, I 371–2.
[33] Sullivan, art. cit., p. 762.
[34] Cumont, TMMM, I 247 with n. 6; The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism, Chicago 1911, repr. 1956, 112.
[35] Honigmann, art. cit., col. 989.

finds.[36] These attest the worship there of the Hittite great gods, and bear witness to the antiquity of a type of religious monument later set up by the Orontid Antiochus I, evidently in continuance of an established local tradition. One of the chief divinities was the Storm-god, Tarhuis, who was worshipped throughout the Hittite world. His veneration in Kummuh is known from free-standing limestone stelae (i.e. carved rectangular slabs)[37]. These bear on the front a representation of Tarhuis himself, and on the back and/or narrow side an inscription, dedicating the monument to him and invoking a curse on anyone who should damage it.[38] Tarhuis' chief sanctuary was on a hilltop by Doliche (modern Dülük), a little town in the south of Commagene near the Syrian border. He was known accordingly to Hellenes as Zeus Dolichenos, to Romans as Jupiter Dolichenus; and under the latter name he came to be worshipped far and wide throughout the Roman empire, his temples being sometimes found near or even beside those of Mithras.[39]

Kummuh's great goddess was evidently Hittite Kupapa or Kubaba (Phrygian Kubileya, Cybele to the Greeks[40]). Hilltop sanctuaries have been discovered dedicated to her cult also.[41] One of these was by the village of Ancoz, on a low hill with two springs of water. Here later Antiochus I in his turn erected a little black basalt stele inscribed in Greek, like all his monuments.[42] This, though much damaged, still bears the beginning of his royal titles. Another inscription which he set up at Arsameia-on-the-Euphrates states that his forefathers were buried there "in the enclosure of the goddess of Argand" (ἐν θεᾶς Ἀργανδηνῆς Περιβόλωι).[43] This

[36] For a map of these finds see J. D. Hawkins, "Hieroglyphic Hittite inscriptions of Commagene", AS XX, 1970, fig. 1.
[37] On these monuments see Hawkins, art. cit., pp. 100–8.
[38] The oldest of such stelae is attributed to the 9th cent. B.C.
[39] Cumont, "Dolichenus", PW IX (1903) cols. 1276–81; P. Merlat, Jupiter Dolichenus, Paris, 1960; M. P. Speidel, The religion of Iuppiter Dolichenus in the Roman army, EPRO 63, Leiden 1978; M. Hörig and E. Schwertheim, Corpus Cultis Iovis Dolicheni, EPRO 106, Leiden 1987.
[40] On the identifications see A. Dupont-Sommer et L. Robert, La déesse de Hierapolis-Castabala, Paris 1964, 7–15; Merlat, o.c., p. 83 with n. 9.
[41] See Hawkins, art. cit., pp. 71–98.
[42] F. K. Dörner and T. Goell, Arsameia I, 30; Dörner, "Kommagene, Forschungsarbeiten von 1967 bis 1969", Ist. Mitt. 19/20, 1969/70, 287–8; H. Waldmann, Kultreformen, 43–4. (This author brought together almost all the inscriptions of Antiochus I, with Greek texts and German translations, and gave a list, pp. xxi–ii, of their signatures, with bibliography. His theory that some of these inscriptions should be assigned to Antiochus' father, Mithradates Kallinikos, was disproved by the subsequent discovery of the Sofraz Köy stele, see below. A list of Antiochus' inscriptions, including Sofraz Köy, is also given by Wagner, art. cit. in n. 25, p. 180 n. 9.)
[43] G[erger] 49–50.

divinity is otherwise unknown, presumably a local one whose protection the Orontids seem thus to have sought.

The religion of the early Orontids and of the young Antiochus

The evidence concerning other expatriate Iranian dynasties nevertheless leads one to expect that the Orontids would have held in the main to their own ancestral religion, since (apart from any spiritual or moral considerations) this was bound up with their ethnic identity, and with their tradition, come down from Achaemenian times, of belonging to a ruling people, with its own distinctive faith. There is, moreover, the collateral testimony of the Zoroastrianism of their close cousins, the Orontids of Armenia.[44]

The Seleucids must, however, when they were ruling Commagene, have introduced there the worship of Greek gods; and when Mithradates Kallinikos married a Seleucid princess, this worship was brought directly into the Orontid family. So here once again, as in Pontus, there was a royal house which owed loyalty to both the Persian and Greek religions, as well as having a pragmatic and probably also sincere respect for the cults of local divinities.

There is no direct evidence, however, for the religious practices (let alone convictions) of any of the Commagenian Orontids before Antiochus I, apart from the fact that they had a family burial place of some kind (no tombs have yet been found) at Gerger, and that Mithradates Kallinikos broke with this tradition by building himself a solitary mausoleum at the other Arsameia, on the Nymphaios.[45] This mausoleum was built on the flat-topped hill—the Eski Kale or "Old Citadel"—above the town. To lay the body of a king in a man-made tomb in a high place is a practice well-attested—though only from literary sources[46]—among the Parthians and Sasanians, so that this act of his can be said to be at least concordant with known Zoroastrian usage of Hellenistic and Roman times; but the mausoleum itself appears, from its excavated ruins, to have been Greek in both design and details, the tomb-chamber being approached through a small *propylon* or entry hall with decorative mosaic floor. Further to the west along the same hill Mithradates built himself a palace, also in Hellenistic style, where more mosaics (echoing in their designs others from Pergamum), and the remains of ceramics and of amphora from Rhodes,

[44] Cf. above, p. 284; and Russell, o.c, in n. 12, pp. 48, 51 ff.
[45] See in detail Dörner-Goell, Arsameia I; W. Hoepfner, Arsameia II.
[46] For some of this evidence see S. Shahbazi, Irano-Lycian Monuments, Appendix III, 154–7.

all testify to contacts with distant parts of the Greek world.[47] It thus seems that this Commagenian king, his independence established, used his wealth—encouraged doubtless by his queen Laodice—to patronise Greek craftsmen and to enjoy the luxuries and elegances of contemporary Hellenism.

His son Antiochus was evidently brought up accordingly, like the princes of Pontus before him, to be a citizen of the Hellenistic world; and one concept which he adopted whole-heartedly from Hellenism was belief in the divinity of kings. He combined this with what has been termed "ceremonious piety"[48], and sought with quite unusual energy and lavishness to link his own cult as ruler with well-regulated worship of the gods, conducted at sacred enclosures or *temene* which he created far and wide across his realm. Each *temenos* was marked by stelae, nearly always of black basalt, like the little one at Ancoz; and these, like the stelae of Tarhuis (which evidently still stood at that god's sanctuaries, serving as models) were regularly carved with figures on the front and an inscription on the back and sometimes the sides. Yet though in choosing this type of monument Antiochus was adopting a local tradition, the scene which he had regularly depicted there has no known Commagenian antecedents: it shows two figures—Antiochus himself and a divinity—engaged in *dexiosis*, i.e. the clasping of right hands. This hand-clasp was significant both for Iranians and for Greeks and Romans, as a gesture used to ratify an oath or pact, and also as one expressing confidence or friendship.[49] Nowhere else, however, in the Hellenistic world is it portrayed as often or as prominently as in Commagene, where Antiochus has himself shown thus at almost all sacred places. It seems noteworthy, therefore, that a variant of this greeting is used constantly in the priestly rites of Zoroastrianism, and very frequently also in its lay devotional practices. In this variant, instead of clasping

[47] See in detail Hoepfner, o.c., with photographs of mosaic fragments, Taf. 6b, 7 b–d.
[48] Young, art. cit. in n. 14, p. 33.
[49] On it as an act with religious symbolism for the Persians and Parthians see J. Wolski, "Arsakiden und Sasaniden", Festschrift F. Altheim, ed. R. Stiehl and H. E. Stier, I, 320–1 (citing Plutarch, Antony, XXXVII.2, Alexander, XXX.4). On its use and significance in Greco-Roman iconography see M. Le Glay, "La δεξίωσις dans les mystères de Mithra" in Ét. mithriaques, 279–303; and in the Mithraic Mysteries Cumont, "The Dura Mithraeum" in MSt. I, 196–8, E. D. Francis, "Mithraic graffiti from Dura-Europos", ib., pp. 438–9.—Two divine beings are shown in *dexiosis* on bronze coins of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris under Demetrius II and Mithradates II (Le Rider, Suse, issue no. 322, see pp. 152–3, 294). These are identified by F. G. as Bel-Marduk and Ishtar, who are frequently honoured at that city.

hands each person takes a hand of the other between both of his own, placed palm to palm. At the same time (when this act is performed outside the priestly rituals) a formula is uttered in Middle Persian: "May we be of one strength, one righteousness!" (*hamāzōr hamā ašo bēm*), from which the gesture itself takes its name, the *hamazor*.[50] The *hamazor* is also sometimes exchanged (in Iran at least) with a simple clasp of the right hands. The importance of the gesture in Zoroastrianism, and of the *dexiosis* in Commagenian iconography, makes it seem not improbable, therefore, that there was a link between the two, and that in presenting himself repeatedly in *dexiosis* with one or other of the gods Antiochus was drawing on the ritual awareness of his fellow-Iranians, declaring himself, that is, by this handclasp to be of one strength, one righteousness with the gods themselves, a truly divine king. To his other subjects too he would have been showing himself, though in a less significant fashion, to be in trustful and close relationship with the gods whom he worshipped.

Perhaps already as crown prince Antiochus had nurtured plans for creating holy places that would foster his own cult and honour the gods; for he seems to have begun establishing them very soon after succeeding to the throne. More than thirty of his various sanctuaries are now known; but in the case of the *temene*, most of the stelae which attest their existence are broken or badly weathered. One, however, which belonged evidently to an early *temenos*, survives in good condition, having been dug up from what was perhaps an old well on a hill by the village of Sofraz Köy.[51] This village lies outside the main area of Antiochus' known foundations, being south of the river Singas (modern Göksu), a tributary of the Euphrates which joins it downstream from the Chabinas. The stele bears a well-preserved relief and an almost undamaged inscription; and the relatively few gaps in its text can almost all be supplied from another stele whose original site is unknown, but which is now at Adiyaman, a town between the Singas and Chabinas rivers.[52] The importance of the similarity of the two inscriptions, in both

[50] Priests exchange the greeting between themselves, silently, during religious ceremonies; and in traditional usage (still maintained in Iran) the laity perform the *hamāzor* at the end of every *āfrīnagān* service. Formerly it was also generally exchanged at No Ruz. For details see Modi, CC, 378–83; Boyce, Stronghold, 43–4, 54–5; Sources, 59.

[51] This stele was discovered only in 1972. On it see J. Wagner, art. cit. in n. 25, pp. 192–200; Wagner and G. Petzl, "Eine neue Temenos-Stele des Königs Antiochos I von Kommagene", ZPE 20, 1976, 201–23.

[52] Dörner-Naumann, Forschungen in Kommagene, 51 f.; Waldmann, o.c., pp. 5–9, Taf. X. (A number of antiquities have been collected at Adiyaman.)

content and style, is that together they bear witness to the early standardization of the cult established by Antiochus.

The relief on the Sofraz Köy stele shows Antiochus exchanging the *dexiosis* with Apollo, who appears as sun-god with rays and nimbus around his head.[53] He is naked in the Greek manner, with a cloak cast loosely over his shoulders. On his head is a laurel wreath, and he holds a twig of laurel in his left hand. The accompanying inscription declares that the *temenos* was dedicated to him as Apollo Epekoos, the "Hearkener", and to his sister Artemis, here given the by-name Dictynna, "Of the nets". Dictynna was a Cretan goddess of fertility and abundance, who acquired her name through the myth that she once cast herself into the sea off Crete, and was caught in fishermen's nets; but classical writers came to associate her with the chase. She was identified with Artemis, and her cult spread widely in Hellenistic times. Antiochus presumably learnt to worship this goddess, with Apollo, from his mother; for that queen's distant forbear, the Seleucid Antiochus III, greatly honoured Dictynna and the Cretan Zeus, appointing high priests for them both, and thus giving their cults royal recognition.[54] On the Adiyaman stele the relief is badly damaged, with only the feet of god and king remaining; but as those of the god are bare, and there is no trace of the trailing lionskin of Heracles (the other naked god of the Commagenian sculptures), the *dexiosis* there too was presumably between Antiochus and Apollo.[55]

Two other inscriptions which likewise appear to be from Antiochus' early years again show him venerating Apollo and Artemis. One is on yet another basalt stele, found at Kilafik Hüyük on the east bank of the Singas, but brought there, it is thought, from some other place.[56] This had probably been a solitary stone, raised

[53] Wagner, art. cit. in n. 25, Abb. 77; Wagner-Petzel, art. cit., Taf. VIIIa. The photograph is reproduced by J. Duchesne-Guillemin, "Iran und Griechenland in der Kommagene", Xenia (Konstanzer Althistorische Vorträge und Forschungen) XII, 1984, 27. (For the English text of this article see in Ét. mithriaques, 187–99).

[54] The evidence for this comes from 2 decrees from Amyzon in Caria, dated 202 and 201 B.C., see J. et L. Robert, Fouilles d'Amyzon, inscr. nos. 14, 15. (I am indebted to M. Chuvin for drawing my attention to these.) The authors (pp. 165–6) stress the close links between Caria and Crete, but add: "It remains a question why Antiochus III, in conquering western Caria, should have chosen to take these divinities to be given an especial high priest, thus transforming a local cult into an official royal one"; and they refer (n. 30) to the Sofraz Köy inscription and the Seleucid influence behind it.—On Dictynna see further E. Kirsten, "New light on Artemis Dictynna", Actes du IVe Congrès international d'études crétoises, 1976, I, 1980, 261–70 (referred to by Robert, "Bull. ép.", REG 1983, 305).

[55] Waldmann, o.c., pp. 8–9.

[56] Dörner-Naumann, o.c., pp. 43–7 with Taf. 5; Waldmann, o.c., pp. 48–9.

conspicuously by Antiochus to honour Apollo (invoked here with no qualifying epithet) in gratitude for what he thought were particular favours shown him by that god. The other inscription is from far-away Ephesus, and was dedicated to Antiochus by the people of that city, who honoured him for goodness and benevolence to them, and for being piously disposed towards "the god", i.e. Ephesian Artemis, to whose temple he had presumably made a donation.[57]

In addition, there is archaeological evidence to suggest that the worship of Apollo and Artemis was firmly established, probably by Antiochus, in the heartland of Orontid Commagene. On Direk Kale, a hill to the north of Nimrud Dagh and clearly visible from there, a *temenos* has been found, datable to the first century B.C., since it was made of stones from the same quarry that was used for the Nimrud Dagh monuments. This *temenos*, it is thought, is to be associated with a temple built in the valley below in Roman times, which has yielded inscriptions from the second century A.C. to Apollo Epekoos, and two round altars from the same period bearing busts of Apollo and Artemis.[58]

From these inscriptions and monuments it has been deduced that in his early days Antiochus worshipped Greek gods only, and that his later honouring of "strange" Iranian ones was no more than tacked on in an exploitive form of syncretism.[59] This line of interpretation goes back to the first studies of Commagenian monuments, when the Persian element was seen as finery only, used to bedeck basic Greco-Chaldean ones.[60] Even without some of the subsequently discovered evidence, such assumptions would seem improbable, given the declared pride of the Orontids in their Persian heritage, and the known Zoroastrianism of their cousins and contemporaries, the Orontids of Sophene. What is much more likely is that Antiochus, the first of his line to be of mixed Iranian and Macedonian blood, felt able, like the kings of Pontus, to venerate both his paternal and maternal gods, and that it is simple chance which has provided evidence for his early veneration of the latter exclusively. The Sofraz Köy relief itself shows the king as wholly Iranian in his outward seeming, with *tiara*, tunic and trousers; though (as was to be customary in his *dexiosis* reliefs) his *tiara* is ornamented with the badge of the divinity whom he greets, in this case Apollo's laurel leaves.[61]

[57] OGIS 405; Fraser, art. cit. in n. 32, pp. 359–60.
[58] Wagner, art. cit. in n. 25, pp. 194–5.
[59] So Dörrie, Königskult, 193.
[60] Puchstein in Hnmann-Puchstein, Reisen, 343.
[61] Wagner-Petzl, art. cit., p. 206 with n. 13; and generally on the king's costume

The evidence for the inscription of Sofraz Köy being early is multiple. Thus although Antiochus is shown wearing the "Armenian" *tiara*, which he probably assumed in 69/68, his royal titles lack one which he adopted later. He is described here only, though magnificently enough, as "king, god (*theos*), just (*dikaios*), manifest (*epiphanes*), friend to the Romans and to the Hellenes"; of these titles *dikaios* had been taken by his grandfather Sames, while *theos* and *epiphanes* recur among the Seleucids, both lines of his ancestry being thus recognized.[62] What is lacking is the magniloquent "great" (*megas*), which, it is thought, he is likely to have added after he acquired Zeugma in 64, and with it a position of increased wealth and strategic importance. Further, in true Persian fashion, Antiochus makes no mention in this inscription of his mother Laodice, whereas in later ones he regularly names her after his father, with all her own titles. Finally, the text here, like that at Adiyaman, is composed in a simple style, which contrasts with the elaborate "elevated" language of his later inscriptions. The content of these texts will be discussed below, in connection with Antiochus' subsequent religious foundations.

Antiochus' new cult

Only a few years after he had erected the stelae from Sofraz Köy and Adiyaman, Antiochus was provided by astrologer-priests with a horoscope that furnished the basis for a new cult which was peculiarly his own, but which, as their king, he wished his subjects to join with him in celebrating. During the rest of his life—that is, for over another quarter of a century—he spent lavishly in creating the central shrine of this cult, which was to be both its chief sanctuary and his own burial place. This shrine he set, at vast expense of wealth and man-power, on the very summit of Nimrud Dagh, that is, between the burial-places of his ancestors at the two Arsameias and towering heavenward above them.[63]

and insignia J. H. Young, "Skulpturen aus Arsameia am Nymphaios", in Dörner-Goell, Arsameia I, 197–227, and especially on the emblems shared between king and gods, p. 218 ff.
[62] Dörrie, o.c., pp. 29–30.
[63] On this sanctuary see Humann-Puchstein, Reisen, 255–372; and for later excavations (on which the final publication by Dörner-Goell is awaited) T. Goell, "The excavation of the 'hierothesion' of Antiochus I of Commagene on Nemrud Dagh (1955–1956)", BASOR 147, 1957, 4–22. Humann-Puchstein, o.c., Taf. XIX, show Nimrud Dagh from the valley of the Nymphaios; and Taf. XXI, XXII give general views of the tumulus and terraces. For fine aerial photographs of the tumulus and east terrace see Waldmann, Kultreformen, Taf. XIII; Dörner, Götterthrone nnd Königsgraben, Abb. 34; Merkelbach, Mithras, Abb. 1 (and cf. Abb. 3).

In the main inscription there (which is given the signature "N") the Nimrud Dagh complex is called a *hierothesion*.[64] This word, meaning, it seems, something like "tomb-sanctuary", is unknown in Greek outside Commagene, and was perhaps coined for this particular and unique shrine. At its centre, on the mountain's peak, a vast tumulus was piled up, and covered over with a deep layer of gravel. Within this the actual tomb-chamber remains to this day undiscovered. The tumulus, which despite centuries of weathering is still over 50 m. high, was encircled by a retaining wall of stone, whose broad top provided a processional way between three great terraces which flanked it. The terrace on the north side remained unfinished; but those on the east and west were richly furnished with monuments, and matched each other as exactly as the mountain slopes permitted, apart from there being a huge altar on the east terrace alone. This terrace was the first to be made, and was evidently the chief place of worship, where rituals could be conducted in the full light of the morning sun. All the monuments have been damaged, by weather, earthquakes and the hand of man, those of the east terrace having suffered most; but archaeologists have succeeded in reconstructing the original plan even there. On its highest level were "the most awesome of the sculptured remains",[65] five colossal enthroned figures, 7 to 8 metres high, flanked on each side by a huge eagle and lion.[66] These colossi have their backs to the tumulus and gaze out over the terrace beneath, to receive the worship offered there; and they were evidently the first of the sculptures to be carved, for they were made from the limestone chiselled out of the mountainside to form the terraces.[67] One of the figures represents Antiochus himself; and below them was a line of *dexiosis*-reliefs, showing the king greeting each of the four divinities thus enthroned beside him. Before each of these reliefs was an altar for offerings. The main inscription runs along the backs of the colossi's thrones;[68] and in it Antiochus declares: "I chose to consecrate this place as a sacred seat for all the gods to share, so that there may be not only this heroic band of my

[64] N 36, 126, 130.
[65] J. H. Young, art. cit. in n. 14, p. 32.
[66] Humann-Puchstein, o.c., Taf. XXIII–XXVII, XXIX–XXXI; Waldmann, o.c., Taf. XIV–XV.1, XVI–XX.
[67] Young in Dörner-Goell, Arsameia I, 226.
[68] Photograph, Humann-Puchstein, o.c., Taf. XXVIII.2. This inscription is found on both east and west terraces. See Humann-Puchstein, o.c., pp. 262–78. Improved readings by Dörner in Dörner-Goell, Arsameia I, 54–6 are incorporated by Waldmann, o.c., pp. 63–77. On the placing of the inscription see below, p. 343.

ancestors which you see established by my care, but also the divine semblance of manifest deities sanctified on a holy summit, and so that this spot may be a witness that shall not fail to tell of my piety. Wherefore, as you see, I have set up these divine images (*agalmata*) of Zeus Oromasdes and of Apollo Mithra Helios Hermes and of Artagnes Heracles Ares and also of my all-nourishing homeland Commagene. And from the same stone, throned likewise among the gracious *daemons*, I have consecrated the features of my own form, and thus admitted a new Tyche to share in the ancient honours of the great gods".[69] In the line of "manifest deities" thus portrayed Zeus-Oromasdes is in the centre, with Apollo-Mithra-Helios-Hermes on his immediate right (as viewed by worshippers), and Artagnes-Heracles-Ares to the right of him. Immediately to the left of the supreme god is Commagene, and to her left—that is, in the humblest of these exalted positions—sits King Antiochus.[70]

The concept of the king's Tyche, thus elevated, has been much discussed, with attempts made to interpret it in strictly Zoroastrian terms; but the observation seems just that "in view of the admixture of Greek ideas it is perhaps impossible to determine the precise Persian equivalent : Antiochus means something like Hvareno or Fravashi or δαίμων".[71] As to the gods concerned, the key to their grouping and the combinations of their names, as well as to Antiochus' own elevation among them, is provided by a fifth relief beside the four *dexiosis* ones. This, which has been considered the strangest and most impressive of all the sanctuary's sculptures,[72] shows a lion, larger than life-size, who stands turning towards the viewer his chest and head, framed in a thick wavy mane.[73] On his body, in the curve of his tail-tip, and by his forepaws are nineteen stars, the number then assigned by Babylonian astronomers to the zodiacal sign Leo; across his chest, like a torque, is a crescent moon, with above it Regulus, the chief star of Leo; and above his back are three large stars, named in Greek as those of Zeus, Apollo and Heracles—i.e. the planets known to the Romans as Jupiter,

[69] N 59–63. The last lines of the English tr. above are those of F. C. Grant, Hellenistic Religions, New York 1953, 22 (quoted by Young, art. cit. in n. 14, p. 34).
[70] The correct order of the colossi could not be established by Humann and Puchstein, because of the damage which the statues have suffered.
[71] A. D. Nock, σύνναος θεός, Harvard Philological Studies 41, 1930, 26.
[72] Puchstein in Humann-Puchstein, o.c., p. 345.
[73] Photographed from the better-preserved exemplar on the west terrace, Humann-Puchstein, o.c., Taf. XL, and often reproduced, e.g. Waldmann, o.c., Taf. XV.2; Cumont, TMMM, II 188 fig. 8; Merkelbach, Mithras, Abb. 13.

Mercury and Mars.[74] The horoscope thus represented is interpreted as marking a time when all these three planets, and the moon, passed by Regulus (Greek Basiliskos), held to be the star under which kings were born. The central date for such conjunctions has been calculated as 7 July 62.[75] The great significance of this stellar event for King Antiochus was evidently that the planets concerned could, with priestly learning and ingenuity, be linked with gods much venerated by the king, while Regulus could be interpreted as his own celestial representative. Revered divinities thus appeared, through heavenly conjunctions, to be offering divine greetings to Antiochus, exalting him above all other mortals.[76] It was evidently only possible, however, to associate with the horoscope all the gods particularly worshipped by the Perso-Macedonian king by deliberate syncretism—a true syncretism that went beyond the standard "translation" of Iranian divine names by Greek ones, and sought to fuse the concepts of Greek and Iranian gods into a single deity, the object of a unified cult, with one invocation, statue and altar. The basis for this development was provided by beliefs about the planets concerned, since both Iranians and Greeks had followed Babylonian example in associating every planet with a god or gods.

Here matters were simpler on the Iranian side, since the Iranian priestly astronomers named each planet for a single divinity. In one case this was true of the Greeks also, so that the syncretism of Ahura Mazda and Olympian Zeus was straightforward. But whereas the Iranians knew Mars simply as the planet of Verethraghna, the Greeks assigned it either to Heracles or to Ares. Heracles was evidently worshipped by Antiochus himself, while the name Ares was given in Seleucid Syria to several local warlike gods.[77] Accordingly there were three names for the divinity of Mars in the new cult : "Artagnes-Heracles-Ares".

With regard to the planet Mercury, matters were still more complex. For Iranians this planet belonged to Tiri (who was much worshipped, at least in Sasanian times, in neighbouring Armenia[78]), while the Greeks assigned it either to Apollo or to

[74] Puchstein, o.c., p. 329 n. 1; see in more detail below, p. 536 with n. 140.
[75] See O. Neugebauer and H. H. van Hoesen, Greek horoscopes, 14–16. A few days before 7.7.62 Mars passed Regulus; on 5 or 6.7 Mercury reached his closest approach to Regulus; on 7.7 the moon passed by Regulus; and finally, a few days later, Jupiter moved by Regulus.
[76] On the lion-horoscope and the king's star see further Dörrie, Königskult, 205; Waldmann, Kultreformen, 151–2.
[77] Seyrig, Syria XLVII, 1970, 110 ff.
[78] Cf. HZ II 33; Russell, Zoroastrianism in Armenia, 575 s.v. Tir.

Hermes. It seems very possible, therefore, that Antiochus' magi first proposed a syncretism Tiri-Apollo-Hermes (on the same pattern as that of Artagnes-Heracles-Ares). But the king was evidently deeply devoted to Mithra, most probably as his patron *yazata*;[79] and so presumably it was necessary to bring the great Ahura into the new cult. In stellar terms this was impossible, since Mithra's planet, the sun, was distant at the time of the conjunction of the other four planets with Regulus; but on the level of the "translation" of Iranian by Greek divine names there was no difficulty in simply replacing Tiri by Mithra, since Mithra and Apollo were regularly equated. This was mainly, it seems, because both were solar divinities;[80] and presumably for this reason Helios was introduced into the Nimrud Dagh syncretism, thus making plain the basis for their link with each other, and with Hermes—for there is evidence that in ancient Semitic astrology the planet Mercury was itself known as the "star of the sun".[81] So, although Tiri had been ousted, the fourfold syncretism still had its association, through these two Greek gods, with the horoscope.

There is a small piece of evidence that seems to support this hypothesis. At Arsameia, at the foot of the processional way which Antiochus built to lead up to his father's tomb, he erected an unusually large stele, showing himself in *dexiosis* with a god in Iranian dress;[82] and the text on the back includes the statement that he has appointed a priest "for Mithra Helios Apollo Hermes, who shall serve this god".[83] These names appear in the same order on a smaller stele set up beside this one, which likewise bears on the front a *dexiosis* scene of the king and god;[84] but here in the inscription on the back a space is left between the second and third names, which thus appear as "Mithra Helios Apollo Hermes". The order and setting out of the names here seem designed to bring out the

[79] It is standard practice in traditional Zoroastrianism for individuals to look to a particular *yazata* as their personal patron (in much the same way as many Christians look to a patron saint), directing prayers and petitions especially to him, and seeking his protection and favour. See J. J. Modi (ed. and tr.), The Persian Farziāt Nāmeh . . . of Dastur Dārāb Pāhlan, Bombay 1924, 3.27–30/4.
[80] See further below, p. 479 ff.
[81] G. Hoffmann apud Humann-Puchstein, o.c., p. 329 n. 1, citing the Hebrew name given by Biruni, Chronology of ancient nations, 172.
[82] At Sockelanlage II. See Young in Dörner-Goell, Arsameia I, pp. 199–202 with Abb. 28 and Taf. 18 52b, c; Waldmann, Kultreformen, Taf. XXX; Dörner, "Mithras in Kommagene", Ét. mithriaques, 123 ff. with Pls. III–V; Merkelbach, Mithras, Abb. 5.
[83] As 78–9. Text in Dörner-Goell, o.c., p. 45 ff.; Waldmann, o.c., p. 102 ff.
[84] At 12–13. On this stele see Dörner-Goell, o.c., p. 96 ff.; Young, ib., p. 208 f.; Waldmann, o.c., p. 109.

fact that Mithra's proper link was with the sun, and that it was through the sun, Helios, that he was associated with Apollo and his companion, Hermes, and hence with Mercury. It therefore appears significant that the relief on the large stele is judged (from details of workmanship and the god's apparel) to be early[85]—earlier than the Apollo-Mithra *dexiosis* at Nimrud Dagh, perhaps earlier even than the colossi there, certainly made long before the carving of the great inscription on the backs of their thrones.[86] It seems very possible that this was the order of names first chosen by Antiochus' priests for the Mercury divinity, and that it was altered thereafter at Nimrud Dagh, the centre of the new cult, because the king's devotion to Apollo did not allow of that god's continuing to occupy third place in invocations. In the rearrangement Mithra's name was kept beside that of Helios, and this brought Apollo's to stand first. This change does not seem, however, to have been made by the priests at Arsameia, because the little stele there, still dedicated to "Mithra Helios Apollo Hermes", is judged on stylistic grounds to be relatively late.[87]

Another factor which presumably further enabled the Commagenian magi to replace Tiri, lord of the planet Mercury, by Mithra, Lord of the sun, was that in Seleucid times Apollo, Mithra's regular counterpart, was identified (for a variety of possible reasons) with Babylonian Nabu, lord of Mercury, who for Iranians was the counterpart of Tiri; and this was the basis, it has been argued, on which, in western fringes of the Zoroastrian world, Mithra and Tiri were themselves sometimes associated locally in Greco-Roman times, perhaps even identified with one another.[88]

[85] Young, o.c., pp. 225–6.

[86] On the date of this inscription see below, p. 343.

[87] Whereas on the large stele Mithra "is in his conception and proportions (which make no concession to naturalism) an Oriental work, and awakes thereby an impression of power and strength", on the little one his representation is more graceful and hellenized (Young, o.c., p. 220). This accords with a general development at Nimrud Dagh and Arsameia of an art blended of Greek and Oriental elements, in which the latter predominated at first, but which became strikingly more hellenized as time went on. This is well demonstrated by differences between the sculptures of the east and west terraces at Nimrud Dagh.

[88] P. Bernard, "Vicissitudes au gré de l'histoire d'une statuette en bronze d'Héraclès entre Séleucie du Tigre et la Mésène", JdS (forthcoming). [That Tiri was awkwardly adopted into Zoroastrianism already in the Achaemenian period is shown by various Middle Iranian forms of the Zoroastrian calendar. But Professor Beck has convinced the writer that the Iranians are most unlikely to have known of the existence of the planet Mercury before they were taught of it by the Babylonians, it being so difficult to observe. She would accordingly modify the theory put forward in HZ II 32–3 to the extent of postulating that, having learnt of this luminary from Babylonian astrologers, Persian magi then coined their own name for it, and adopted with its veneration elements of the cult of its guardian divinity, great Nabu.]

As for the fourth planet of the horoscope, the moon, this, connected through its waxing each month with seed-sowing and fertility, must, it seems, have had for corresponding divinity the spirit of Antiochus' "all-nourishing homeland", Commagene. For Greeks (but not for Iranians) the moon was female; and this being is the only one of the colossi to be presented in Greek and not Iranian guise, as a cornucopia-carrying Tyche. Antiochus—or more probably his priests—chose to represent the moon by Commagene, it is suggested,[89] so that this figure could stand generally for all female divinities of the land—among them Kubaba and the "goddess of Argand". Further, the adjective "all-nourishing" of the land or earth (*gē*) of Commagene would have enabled Iranians to venerate through her their own bounteous *yazata* of the earth, Spenta Armaiti, who in their religious mythology likewise sits on the left hand of Ahura Mazda.[90] It is true that such verbal allusions would have appealed only to those of Antiochus' subjects who were hellenized; but the goddess' badge, set on her headdress and duly worn also by Antiochus in *dexiosis* with her, is the pomegranate, a symbol of fertility which was thoroughly familiar to Zoroastrians and much used in their rituals.[91] Presumably the priests of Nimrud Dagh were ready moreover to expound to all who came there, Zoroastrians and others, every aspect of the king's new cult. They may well indeed have sought also to help worshippers of Tarhuis, now identified as Zeus Dolichenos, to see their own god in Antiochus' Zeus-Oromasdes, aiming in this way at uniting all the inhabitants of Commagene in veneration both of the king himself and of the "great gods" whom he had invited to dwell in their land. (That Antiochus' new cult had a political as well as a religious aspect, in so far as it tended to strengthen and exalt his own kingship in the face of menacing powers at his borders, is generally accepted.) An indication that there may have been a positive attempt to attract the worshippers of Dolichenos is that at Nimrud Dagh Zeus-Oromasdes has for his emblem a winged bundle of lightning flashes, set on his tiara, diadem and scabbard;[92] and this created a visual link with Tarhuis, who is regularly shown holding lightning flashes in his outstretched hand. Somewhat perplexingly,

[89] Puchstein in Humann-Puchstein, Reisen, 336; H. H. Schaeder, Urform des manichäischen Systems, 139.

[90] Cf. HZ II 93. Antiochus' "Tyche of productivity" was identified as Spenta Armaiti by L. A. Campbell, Mithraic iconography and ideology, EPRO 11, Leiden 1968, 133.

[91] Young, o.c., p. 219; Merkelbach, Mithras, Abb. 6. On the pomegranate in Zoroastrian rituals and domestic observances see Modi, CC, 276–7; Boyce, Stronghold, index s.v.

[92] Young, l.c.

Mithra bears this same emblem on diadem and necklace[93]; but conceivably he as sun god, and the *yazata* most beloved by Antiochus, was being drawn visually into a double syncretism with the mighty Commagenian divinity, who is regularly portrayed with the sun-disk also. It is noteworthy that there is no indication that Antiochus sought to make the worship of his great tetrad exclusive rather than dominant. On the contrary, in the main inscription at Nimrud Dagh itself he deliberately invokes "all the family gods of Persis and Macedon, and of the land of Commagene".[94]

The question of how far there was a true blending of Greek and Iranian elements in the divinities of his new cult will be considered later in this chapter.[95] It is plain, however, that in its general character this cult belonged essentially to the Hellenistic age, a grandiose development of the Seleucid ruler-cult made possible through the pseudo-science of astrology; and in it veneration—evidently sincere—of chosen ancient gods was linked with enormous pride in himself and his ancestry.[96] He revered, he declares, "the likenesses of the gods' forms", fashioned in detail according to ancient lore transmitted to him by "Persians and Hellenes—the most happy stock of my house";[97] and he gave his vaunted genealogy impressive visual form by flanking the east terrace with the two rows of stelae bearing portraits of that "heroic band' of his ancestors to which he refers in the main inscription. On the north side (and facing therefore south, for Zoroastrians the auspicious direction) were his Persian forbears, beginning with Darius the Great and coming down, through selected Achaemenians, to Araondes (= Orontes) and his more immediate predecessors. On the south were his Macedonian ancestors, beginning with Alexander (commonly annexed to the Seleucids) and continuing through selected Seleucids to Antiochus VIII and his daughter Laodice. The Orontids' claim to such distinguished ancestry went on both sides through the distaff line, and several queens seem to have been portrayed on the stelae.[98]

[93] Young, l.c.
[94] N 204–6.
[95] Below, p. 345 ff.
[96] A close association of consecrated human beings with long-worshipped gods was general in the Hellenistic world, see Nock, art. cit. in n. 71, pp. 1–30; but in Antiochus' cult the human being was exceptionally exalted.
[97] N 27–32.
[98] The subject of each relief was named on the back of the stele; but the stone used, as generally on Nimrud Dagh, was a soft sandstone, and though the reliefs have their counterparts on the west terrace (necessarily somewhat differently aligned), both sets have suffered severe damage, and there are gaps in them. On the reconstruction of the two royal lines see Dörner, "Zur Rekonstruktion der Ahnengalerie des Königs Antiochos I von Kommagene", Ist. Mitt. 17, 1967, 197–210 with Taf. 20–21; T. Fischer, "Zum Kult des Antiochos' I von Kommagene für seine seleukidischen Ahnen", Ist. Mitt. 22, 1972, 141–4.

As for the question of how much that was genuinely Iranian survived in the new cult, one significant point has generally been underrated. This is that it is laid down in the *nomos*, that is the law which was to regulate the new religion (and which takes up the major part of the main inscription) that when the high priest officiates at public ceremonies he is to wear "the Persian garments with which my favour and the ancestral tradition of our race have clothed the priests".[99] This has been dismissed as a superficial requirement, indeed as one whose triviality marked a certain slighting of the Iranian religion, reduced thus to the merely external[100]; but in fact, in almost all cultures and epochs, clothes define the priest and show what religion he serves. If for example—as can happen in England today—one sees a Buddhist monk by the altar of a Christian church, or a Jewish rabbi, or a Shinto priest, one does not for a moment suppose that these men, each distinguished by the garb appropriate to his own vocation, are performing acts of Christian worship, but recognizes that each is making his contribution to an inter-religious service, and is praying according to his own beliefs. Were it not so, they would not have worn their distinctive clothing. So it would have been in the past also: a magus declared himself by his garments. Hence if the priests of Antiochus' cult were clad as magi, the immediate and general assumption would have been that they were solemnizing a Persian rite. It seems reasonable to deduce, therefore, that the priests who served Antiochus, and who evolved the basis for his new cult, were themselves hellenized magi, descendants presumably of hereditary family priests of the Orontids (who could probably have produced as long a sacerdotal lineage as Antiochus a noble one); and that by the requirement that the priests of his cult should always wear Persian dress the king was seeking to maintain the dominance of the Zoroastrian tradition. That the leading magi of Commagene should in the first century B.C. have spoken Greek is no cause for surprise, nor that they should have been adept in the astrological lore which, though Chaldean by origin, had long before this been acquired by members of their own professional body, to the point where magi were often characterized as astrologers. The deduction

[99] N 135–7.
[100] So first Puchstein in Humann-Puchstein, Reisen, 340 ("an insignificant accessory").

that hellenized magi played the leading part in shaping Antiochus' astral religion does not of course exclude the likelihood that Hellenes, and other hellenized Asiatics at his court—philosophers, rhetors, jurists—contributed their share to drawing up the text of the great Nimrud Dagh inscription, which in its elaborate style and rhythms has been shown to be a good example of contemporary Greek rhetorie.[101]

The deduction leaves open, moreover, the question as to how much that was Zoroastrian persisted in the new cult, with its deliberate fusion of Irano-Greek elements. To continue with externals, the earliest of the Iranian ancestors on the Nimrud Dagh stelae wear the Persian royal *tiara* with diadem;[102] and among the enthroned colossi two also wear this *tiara* with diadem, namely Zeus-Oromasdes and Apollo-Mithra-Helios-Hermes. "Since they wear this *tiara*, they are manifestly thought of here as the Iranian gods Oromasdes (= Ahuramazda) and Mithra."[103] Later members of the line of Iranian ancestors wear the conical *tiara*, the headgear of the Commagenian Orontids Sames and Mithradates Kallinikos; and this *tiara* is worn by Antiochus himself as a colossus. (This is the only place where he is shown not wearing the "Armenian" *tiara*. Among the gods, perhaps, this symbol of power would have been felt to be unseemly.) The conical *tiara* is worn also by the enthroned Heracles, who like Oromasdes and Mithra appears here in Iranian dress, though still holding his club. It is striking that at this focal point in the Nimrud Dagh cult he too should be presented as an Iranian god, as "Artagnes" rather than Heracles. (It is only among the *dexiosis* reliefs below the colossi that he appears again in Greek guise, as the naked Heracles.[104]) The fact that he wears the *tiara* of the Commagenian kings marks the hero-god as less in dignity than Zeus-Oromasdes and Apollo-Mithra, even as the Orontids were less in dignity than the Achaemenian Great Kings; and this accords also with the position of Verethragna in Avestan mythology, where he attends on Mithra.[105]

Since, as it appears, the original invocation of the Mercury divinity was "Mithra-Helios-Apollo-Hermes", then both in this and in the invocation of the god of Mars the name of the Zoroastrian *yazata* stood first when the cult was founded. As for the order

[101] J. Waldis, Sprache und Stil der grossen Inschrift vom Nemrud Dagh in Kommagene, Zürich 1920.
[102] Young, art. cit. in n. 14, p. 29.
[103] Young, ib., p. 30.
[104] Humann-Puchstein, o.c., Taf. XXXIX.2; Waldmann, o.c., Taf. XXI.3.
[105] Cf. HZ I 62, 63.

of names for the Jupiter divinity, this was presumably decided by the usage (which regularly affects the pairings of Iranian divine names) whereby a markedly shorter one is always placed first. The sculptures at Nimrud Dagh leave no doubt, however, that it was the concept of Ahura Mazda that nevertheless dominated in the syncretism "Zeus-Oromasdes". The hugest of the colossi, fittingly, is that representing the supreme god, whose throne, in the central position, juts forward from the general line. His majesty is further declared by the fact that in the *dexiosis* reliefs he alone is shown still enthroned, sceptre in his left hand, turning to give his right hand to the likewise besceptred mortal king.[106] As a colossus Zeus-Oromasdes has no sceptre, but instead his left hand, resting on his knee, holds a "short grooved bundle", interpreted from the first as being one of twigs, i.e. the *baresman*;[107] and this has been discovered to be true also of the enthroned Apollo-Mithra, and of Antiochus himself.[108] In his *dexiosis*-relief Apollo-Mithra (still, unlike Artagnes-Heracles, in Iranian costume) holds the *baresman* by its middle in his left hand, which is hanging down, whereas Antiochus, as in all these reliefs, has there his sceptre;[109] and among the Persian ancestor-reliefs the early Achaemenian kings hold each an empty offering bowl in the right hand, the *baresman* in the left, in the same manner as Apollo-Mithra in the *dexiosis* relief.[110] In each case it is the short *baresman* that is represented,[111] though later, under the Sasanians, a figure identified as Mithra is shown holding the long *baresman* in his right hand.[112] —It is well known that in former times Zoroastrian nobles as well as priests made use of the *baresman* during acts of worship[113]; and the fact that Antiochus himself is shown carrying it in his representation as colossus undoubtedly indicates that the Zoroastrian element in the ritual of the new cult went beyond merely the garments of its priests. The great

[106] Humann-Puchstein, o.c., Taf. XXXIX.1; Waldmann, o.c., Taf. XXII.1; Cumont, TMMM,II 188 fig. 11.
[107] Humann-Puchstein, o.c., p. 255, cf. the sketch of the restored colossi, p. 328.
[108] Young in Dörner-Goell, Arsameia I, 217.
[109] Humann-Puchstein, o.c., Taf. XXXVIII.2; Waldmann, o.c., Taf. XXII.3; Cumont, TMMM, II 188 fig. 10; Merkelbach, Mithras, Abb. 4.
[110] Humann-Puchstein, o.c., p. 324 with Taf. XXXVI.1; Waldmann, o.c., Taf. XXIII; Merkelbach, Mithras, Abb. 11. For the representation with *baresman* and offering bowl cf. the figures on the Bünyan altar, above, p. 265.
[111] Cf. above, p. 265 n. 43.
[112] A. Christensen, L'Iran sous les Sassanides, 2nd ed., Copenhagen 1944, 256 with fig. 28, compares this relief with the Nimrud Dagh Apollo-Mithra *dexiosis* one.
[113] See M. Boyce and F. Kotwal, "Zoroastrian *bāj* and *drōn* II", BSOAS XXXIV, 1971, 298–302.

Achaemenians—Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes—being also shown with *baresman* declares that Antiochus and his priests were conscious of maintaining Persian religious tradition in this respect; and that Zeus-Oromasdes and Apollo-Mithra also hold it is a striking way of manifesting the dominant Zoroastrian element in the concept of these two divinities.

In one version of the basic Zurvanite myth Zurvan, god of Time, bestows the *baresman* on his son, Ahura Mazda;[114] and on other grounds several scholars have sought to interpret the Iranian element in Antiochus' cult as Zurvanite. Zurvanites, it appears from a variety of sources, worshipped their godhead as a tetrad,[115] venerated in its most abstract form as God, Light, Power and Wisdom; and it was this theological concept, it has been suggested, which lay behind the evolution of Antiochus' tetradic cult, with Zeus-Oromasdes representing God, Apollo-Mithra-Helios-Hermes his hypostatized Light, Artagnes-Heracles-Ares his Power, and Commagene, as the divinized religion of the land, his Wisdom.[116] Even without pressing these exact correspondences, one can readily suppose that Antiochus' priests would, if accustomed to believing in a divine tetrad, have the more easily given the astrological data of 7.7.62 a theological interpretation, creating thereby a partly new tetradic cult.

There is, moreover, a striking passage in Antiochus' preamble to the *nomos*, in which he says of his cult: "It is commanded to the generations of all men whom boundless time (*chronos apeiros*) shall, through its destiny for the life of each, set in later possession of this land, that they keep it inviolate".[117] *Chronos apeiros*, it has been pointed out, exactly renders Avestan *Zurvan akarana*;[118] and Boundless Time, represented here as an active and conscious force, has been duly identified as the Iranian god.[119] That the Zoroastrianism

[114] For the texts see Zaehner, Zurvan, 424/5, 426.
[115] Cf. HZ II 236–7.
[116] So Schaeder, Urform, 159.
[117] N 111–115 (excerpted by Zaehner, o.c., pp. 449–50).
[118] On this concept cf. HZ II 231 ff.
[119] So Schaeder, o.c., pp. 139–40. His interpretation was endorsed by Moulton, EZ, 107; Nyberg, Rel., 390; BCM I 67–8; O. von Wesendonk, Das Weltbild der Iranier, Munich 1933, 257; Christensen, o.c., p. 149; and Widengren, Rel. Irans, 219. He and von Wesendonk went further, following H. Junker, Über iranische Quellen der hellenistischen Aion-Vorstellung, Vorträge des Bibl. Warburg 1921–1922, 151, who sought to see a reference also to the Zoroastrian concept of limited time, *zurvān ī dagrand xwadāy*, in Antiochus' wish, expressed in N 20, that his body might rest in its tomb "for countless generations" (*eis ton apeiron aiōna*). A. D. Nock, "A vision of Mandulis Aion", HTR 27, 1934, 80–1, reasonably objected, however, that the use in both contexts of the adj. *apeiros* (with, moreover, a

of Commagene should have been of the Zurvanite tendency accords with the evidence from neighbouring Cappadocia and Cilicia for the predominance there of this heterodoxy in Roman imperial times, a legacy presumably of the late Achaemenian age. It is also consonant with the fact that Zurvanism, which appears in its evolved form to have linked together concepts of time and fixed fate, is generally thought to have been developed by western magi, who assimilated to their Zoroastrian beliefs not only Semitic monistic ideas but also Chaldean astronomical lore.[120]

Despite the fact that, theologically, Zurvanite monism was radically opposed to orthodox dualism, the human capacity for entertaining conflicting ideas simultaneously seems to have brought it about that this heresy did little to undermine for its adherents the main body of Zoroastrian beliefs. Unfortunately the Nimrud Dagh inscription has little to say directly about beliefs; but there is one utterance in it which is considered to be orthodoxly Zoroastrian. This is Antiochus' statement that he has built this *hierothesion* near the heavenly throne so that the outer husk which is his body may rest there for countless ages, after it has sent his spirit (*psyche*), dear to the gods, up to the heavenly throne of Zeus-Oromasdes.[121] That this concept of the blessed soul's ascent to the throne of God is Zoroastrian, and not Greek, has been generally accepted; although, it has been pointed out,[122] Antiochus here speaks only of the separation of soul and body and does not look beyond this, as a true Zoroastrian might be expected to do, to their reunion through the resurrection of the body at the Last Day. The king was concerned, however, with ensuring that his cult, his monument, and his kingdom should endure; and it is hardly likely therefore that in his graven words he would refer to the end of time, when all such

different substantive) hardly bore out this interpretation. On these grounds Duchesne-Guillemin, Ormazd et Ahriman, 123–4, rejected a Zurvanite interpretation for either passage; but because Junker pressed the case too far is no good reason for rejecting it wholly. Subsequently Dörrie, Königskult, 194–6, while conceding that Antiochus' priests were probably familiar with Zurvanite terminology, rejected the interpretation of *chronos apeiros* as a proper name on the grounds that *chronos* appears elsewhere in Antiochus' inscriptions as the common noun "time"; but in the Avesta *zurvan* also appears both as a common noun and as the name of the divinity, the context being the deciding factor (cf. HZ II 231, 237–9), so that this argument is without force.
[120] Cf. above, p. 278, and further below, p. 348 n. 187.
[121] N 36–44. According to Vd. XIX.31, AVN XI.1, it is Vohu Manah who, rising from a golden throne, receives the soul at its entry into Paradise; but he then leads it on into the presence of Ahura Mazda himself, who is unquestionably also enthroned.
[122] Nock, art. cit. in n. 71, p. 27.

things will have reached their term, and Ahura Mazda alone will reign.

That Antiochus in fact believed in the Last Day can, however, be deduced from a passage which occurs towards the end of the long inscription which he had carved at Arsameia-on-the-Nymphaios.[123] This, and a similar inscription at Gerger, are very largely identical with the main one at Nimrud Dagh, and like it are much taken up with the *nomos* of the cult. That at Arsameia has, however, some additional matter, including the passage in question, which has long been recognized to be in a strikingly Zoroastrian vein, despite overtly Greek elements.[124] In it Antiochus, having threatened any man who violates the sanctuary with the wrath of all the gods,[125] declares more specifically that the unerring arrows of Apollo and Heracles shall pierce his heart, that he shall suffer punishment through the anger of Hera, and that his family and descendants shall burn "through the lightning of Zeus Oromasdes."[126] In contrast, those who are clean of unrighteous ways and zealous for holy works, and who also maintain his (Antiochus') cult, are promised a "good life" (*bion agathon*), and assured that "Zeus Oromasdes shall hearken to their pious prayers and they shall have him for a gracious fellow-fighter (*synagōnistēn*) in their good acts, and by him as helper Hera Teleia, and also Artagnes Heracles, and Apollo Mithra, and Helios, and Hermes who among the gods is the most many-voiced (*polyphōnistaton*). They shall always find all the images of the kindly spirits [i.e. their ancestors] (*pantas te daimonōn eumenōn charakteras*) as undeceiving announcers of a happy life and as fellow fighters in good undertakings".[127]

Charakter in this context, it is pointed out,[128] means that which is engraved, here a sculptured reproduction or portrait, almost a synonym for *eikon* "image". Antiochus evidently thought of the carved reliefs which he had set up at all his sanctuaries as being

[123] It has the signature A. For it, collated with the badly damaged one at Gerger (signature G) see Dörner, Arsameia I, 40–59, with German translation; reproduced by Waldmann, Kultreformen, 83–97 (with Gerger, pp. 124–30). For photographs of A see Dörner, o.c., Taf. 9–17. The inscription at Arsameia is 256 lines long and survives virtually intact.

[124] This was first commented on by Cumont in a review (Syria 18, 1937, 218–19) of the publication by G. Jacopi, Dalla Paphlagonia alla Commagene, Rome 1936, of an inscription on a stele (Sy) from Samosata, which has (Verso 21–8) the same text as the then still undiscovered A 248–56. On Sy, with subsequent bibliography, see Waldmann, o.c., pp. 28–32.

[125] A 221.

[126] A 228–38.

[127] A 248–56.

[128] By M. Chuvin in a private communication.

truly the representatives of the divinities and ancestral spirits which they portrayed, in whose very presence the worshippers thus made their offerings. Such an attitude was wholly alien to primitive Zoroastrianism, which had no man-made icons, but it was probably general among the religion's western adherents by this late period in the Hellenistic age. There are other elements in the passage, moreover, which belong essentially to the Iranian faith. The *bios agathos*, "good life", which Antiochus promises the righteous provides, it has been remarked, a clear parallel to Avestan *vahišta- ahu-* "best life", which became the Zoroastrian term for Paradise (Persian *beheśt*),[129] and the concept of the beneficent gods and ancestral spirits fighting side by side with good people, in "good undertakings", that is, against evil, is a wholly Zoroastrian one, rooted in that religion's cosmic and ethical dualism, and without counterpart in Greek thought.[130] This concept implies belief in a cosmic struggle of good against evil, and involves also belief in the final triumph of the good, that is, in the Last Day or Frašo-kereti; for Antiochus clearly trusted in the efficacy of the gods whom he worshipped, and so must have held, with Zoroaster, that they would in the end gain the victory.

Zoroastrian dualism divided the *yazatas* of the kingdom of Ahura Mazda above the sky from the evil powers, the *daevas*, of that of Anra Mainyu beneath the earth, the latter never to be invoked or looked to for aid in any way; and this is presumably why, whereas the Greeks usually called on gods of the underworld to punish wrongdoers, this is not the case in this Arsameia passage.[131] Yet neither is it orthodox in the Iranian religion to conceive of the gods as chastising the wicked, for according to Zoroaster's teachings Ahura Mazda and the *yazatas* of his creating are wholly beneficent, and retribution comes inevitably to sinners from the Evil Spirit and his legions, uninvoked.[132] There may therefore be a measure of

[129] So F. G., developing the arguments of J. Duchesne-Guillemin (in Ét. mithriaques, 190–1) against Dörrie, o.c., p. 122 f., who interpreted *bios agathos* as a materialistic concept, implying no more than a pleasurable existence in this world, *la dolce vita*. For such a sense, M. Chuvin opines, the expected expression would be rather *bios kalos*.

[130] So Dörrie, o.c., p. 121, who, however, on the basis of ll. 246–8, understands Antiochus here to be merely exploiting Zoroastrian beliefs for his own ends. For him, Dörrie argues, people's activity was "good" only in so far as it tended towards the proper maintenance of his own cult; but this narrow interpretation does not seem justified by Antiochus' own words.

[131] This is pointed out by Dörrie, o.c., p. 115.

[132] In Y. 36.1, the ancient reworking, it seems, of a still older liturgy, the Zoroastrian Ahura Mazda appears to have taken over the role of punisher from a pagan Mithra or Varuna, cf. HZ I 51. The concept of *yazatas* as punishers of the unjust also persists in the *yašts*, which have marked pre-Zoroastrian elements.

compromise here between Zoroastrian and Greek thought.

In the main, however, it appears to have been Zoroastrian beliefs which provided the doctrines and moral theology of the new cult, and Zoroastrian concepts which were the essential ones in the evolution of its syncretized divinities—as was to be expected from the lucubrations of magi, even if hellenized. This then makes it seem all the more puzzling that in the strikingly Zoroastrian passage just quoted the names of Greek gods should occur repeatedly; and that not only should some of these gods be invoked without Zoroastrian equivalents, but one of the essential syncretisms of Antiochus' cult should be deliberately broken up, with invocation of "Apollo Mithra, and Helios, and Hermes"—yet a third variation in the case of this most artificial of the astrological combinations. Exactly the same formula, with the two "ands" ([*kai*] . . . *te*), occurs in this passage as it is reproduced on a stele (regarded as relatively late) at Samosata.[133] The epithet given to Hermes, "most many-voiced", further emphasizes the distinctiveness of this Greek god through his function of patron of heralds and interpreters (a function which would have had an especial importance in Commagene, where probably at least three languages—Aramaic, Persian and Greek—were spoken at court).[134]

An inscription on Nimrud Dagh itself shows, moreover, that even at Antiochus' own sanctuary it remained possible after the founding of his cult to think of the Greek and Iranian gods of its syncretisms as separate beings. This inscription is carved on a stele set up by one of the processional ways that wound up the mountain to the *hierothesion*[135]; and after greetings and admonitions for those approaching, it ends with a threat for the sanctuary's protection: let any evildoer leading an enemy army, or coming with plundering or thieving intent, survey "these images of Delphic power"; "he shall here pay the Galatian atonement to the being [i.e. Apollo] who made likewise the Parnassian rocks; and, pierced through his wicked heart by the unerring arrows of Apollo and Heracles, he . . . shall feel bitter pain". The allusion is to an attack on Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi by Galatians in 279 B.C., which, it was believed, was punished by the god himself; and Antiochus thereby both compares his own mountain sanctuary with that at Delphi, and seeks protection for it also from Apollo.[136]

[133] Sy, verso l. 25, partly restored by Dörner, see Waldmann, Kultreformen, 28–32.
[134] Observation by M. Chuvin.
[135] Np (found by Dörner in 1954). Text with German tr. in Waldmann, o.c., pp. 70–1, 76–7.
[136] Waldmann, o.c., pp. 77–8.

Before any attempt can be made to assess such apparently anomalous data, it is necessary to consider briefly Antiochus' other monuments and inscriptions at Arsameia and Gerger, and also the actual observances of his cult which are enjoined in the *nomos* inscribed at all three places.

The monuments and inscriptions at Gerger and Arsameia

Antiochus, as he himself states,[137] completed and further adorned his father's burial place at Arsameia, and he refers both to it and to the burial place of his ancestors at Gerger as *hierothesia*, like his own tomb-sanctuary.[138] Gerger has suffered much damage, and the actual graves of the early Orontids have yet to be discovered. The main inscription there, which is in many places illegible, is cut in a rock-face between the inner and outer gateways of its citadel; and from the outer gateway a steep path leads round to a relief carved in a west-facing cliff. This relief, four metres high and visible afar, shows a figure in Iranian dress, wearing the conical tiara; and beneath it an inscription declares it to have been made by Antiochus the Great (all his other titles follow) for his grandfather King Sames, god-fearing, just, son of King Ptolemaios.[139]

The works which Antiochus undertook at Arsameia, to judge from the known remains, were more elaborate and costly, the offerings of a pious son for his father's soul. In order that multitudes could visit the tomb on appointed days of observance, Antiochus built a broad processional way, some 7 m. wide, which led in a zigzag up the steep hill to Mithradates' mausoleum;[140] and at the mausoleum itself the buildings were lavishly enlarged and decorated to receive and impress the worshippers.[141] At the foot of the processional way there was a little terrace,[142] on which were erected the large and small stelae already discussed, that show Antiochus (whose representation has been almost wholly defaced) in *dexiosis* with "Mithras Helios Apollo Hermes". These stelae themselves are most probably older than the enlargement of the processional way. At the sharp bend in this way, halfway up the hill, there is another little terrace[143], built before a large open hall hewn out of the rock,

[137] A 35–9.
[138] A 28, G 13. For the occurrences of this term in the Commagenian inscriptions see Waldmann, o.c., pp. 131–3.
[139] G f, see Waldmann, o.c., p. 141 with Taf. XXXVI.
[140] Dörner-Goell, Arsameia I, Taf. 6; Waldmann, o.c., p. 81 (sketch-plan).
[141] Dörner-Goell, o.c., pp. 125–6.
[142] I.e. Sockelanlage II.
[143] Sockelanlage I; Dörner-Goell, o.c., Taf. 19b, 20; Waldmann, o.c., p. 112 fig. 10.

with a small enclosed chamber behind it. Both these are quite empty, and undatable. By this terrace two more stelae were erected, one again larger than the other, and both bearing reliefs of Antiochus. Both are inscribed on back and sides, but the inscriptions are badly weathered.[144] At the top of the way is a third terrace, the largest of the three, where people could gather.[145] In the rock-face here is carved a fine relief of Antiochus in *dexiosis* with Heracles, naked with lionskin and club.[146] This, being markedly Hellenistic in style, is regarded as relatively late—probably of the same date as the little Mithra-stele at the foot of the processional way. It is widely held that the king chose to have himself represented at this particular place with Artagnes-Heracles (Kallinikos) in tribute to his father, Mithradates Kallinikos.

At the further end of this top terrace from the path continuing on up to Mithradates' tomb is the entrance to a remarkable rock-hewn tunnel, over 150 m. long and again quite empty. This leads down deep into the hill, coming to an abrupt end some 75 m. below its surface.[147] It has been described as a technical masterpiece,[148] but yields no clue as to its purpose. The entry to an apparently similar tunnel has been found at Gerger, but its use too is as yet unknown. The main inscription at Arsameia is carved in the rock-face above the entrance to the tunnel there.

Antiochus' evident devotion to Mithra[149] has led to attempts being made to see the tunnel at Arsameia, and also the rock-hewn chamber by the second terrace there, as *mithraea*[150]; but there is no justification for seeking any connection between Antiochus' publicly declared veneration of Mithra (presumably as his patron *yazata*), which was part of a state religion in which all his subjects were enjoined to take part, and the Mysteries of Mithras, secret, exclusively for men, of which Mithras was the eponymous divinity.

[144] Waldmann, o.c., pp. 97–100.
[145] I.e. Sockelanlage III.
[146] Dörner-Goell, o.c., Taf. 27.48–51; Waldmann, o.c., Taf. XXXI. On Antiochus' five-pointed tiara Heracles' animal-badge, the lion, is very clear (cf. below, p. 347).
[147] Dörner-Goell, o.c., Taf. 28–33; sketch-plan, Waldmann, p. 120 fig. 15.
[148] Dörner, art. cit. in n. 82, p. 132.
[149] There are further small signs of this, in addition to those already considered, notably that Mithra is portrayed wearing an oval medallion round his neck, and Antiochus wears exactly the same ornament (as do also his remote Iranian forbears, the great Achaemenians).
[150] Among those who have worked closely on the Commagenian materials Dörner has argued strongly for the link with the Mithraic mysteries (see especially his article cited in n. 82), while Dörrie, Königskult, 192–3, has vigorously rejected any such association.

Mithra was openly worshipped, under Ahura Mazda, by all Zoroastrians, and there is no evidence of unorthodoxy in Antiochus' devotion to him, except in so far as all the syncretisms of his new cult were in a measure unorthodox.

Religious observances under Antiochus

The earliest evidence for religious observances under Antiochus is provided by the stele from Sofraz Köy, which, as we have seen[151], was set up before 62 B.C. Its inscription thus sheds light on practices enjoined by the king in the early years of his reign, and predates the *nomos* of his new cult. (The text has been altered in one respect to conform with a later ordinance about a new religious festival, but this change has been detected.) The practices thus set out are very much the same as those laid down in the *nomos*; and since Antiochus had then been on the throne for four years at the most, the likelihood is that most of them go back to before his own time. Indeed, probably his first main innovation was to have images of the gods, in *dexiosis* with himself, carved and set up in the open-air *temene*. The *temene* themselves were probably mostly already sacred, that is, local holy places (as is verifiable in the case of that at Ancoz); but no trace has yet been found of any graven image of an Iranian or Greek god in Commagene before the reign of the half-Macedonian Antiochus. This makes it all the more likely that an essentially orthopractic Zoroastrianism prevailed till his father's day at the Orontid court, with open-air worship and the natural "creations" for icons. (Even Antiochus seems to have stopped short of the further innovation of building houses for the gods. All his known sanctuaries are open-air ones.[152])

The inscription at Sofraz Köy declares that the king has set up icons of the gods, and his own likeness, and appointed a priest and temple-servants to attend them.[153] He has also assigned estates from whose income costs are to be defrayed of incense and sacrificial animals. If his descendants maintain the cult, he prays that the gods will be gracious to them, and likewise to others who bring

[151] Above, p. 321.
[152] It is one of the puzzles of Nimrud Dagh that no traces have yet been found on that exposed peak of any substantial buildings to shelter cult objects, priests or worshippers.
[153] For the text, corroborated and in places amplified by the much more damaged one from Adiyaman, and a fragment (Cb) from Çaputlu Agaç Küllük, found in 1969, see Wagner-Petzl, art. cit. in n. 51, pp. 213–23 (with German tr. and commentary). On the other 2 texts cf. Waldmann, o.c., pp. 5–7, 46–7.

offerings to the sanctuary's altars, and who honour the gods' icons and his likeness. Against those who harm the sanctuary or images, he invokes the anger of the gods.

The sanctuary, with its stipendiary priest, was presumably always accessible to individuals who wished to pray and make offerings there; and, in the light of the strongly Zoroastrian elements in Antiochus' own cult, it seems probable that at most *temene* (though perhaps not at Sofraz Köy itself, with its dedications to Apollo Epikoos and Artemis Dictynna) the Zoroastrian feasts of obligation were regularly celebrated, as well as such festivals as Mithrakana. The king's endowments were, however, for special observances in his own honour. The chief of these was to be held on the anniversary of his birthday, the 16th day of Audnaios (the third month of the Macedonian-Seleucid calendar, corresponding to November-December). This was to be celebrated "by all the people" (*pandēmei*), "each going to the sanctuary near to him",[154] and taking part in the feast there. The importance attached to their birthdays by the ancient Persians is commented on by Herodotus;[155] and the sixteenth day of the Zoroastrian month happens to be dedicated to Mithra, so if in Commagene the Zoroastrian and Macedonian calendars were kept in some sort of correspondence, Antiochus may have been born on Mithra's nameday,[156] and therefore have chosen him for his patron *yazata*. But in also establishing a public festival on the sixteenth of each month Antiochus appears to have taken over an observance of the Seleucid royal cult; for in *II Maccabees* it is recorded that during Antiochus IV's persecution of the Jews "people were driven by harsh compulsion to take part in the monthly ritual meal commemorating the king's birthday".[157] Perhaps to spread the cost, however, and also the interruption to working lives, in Commagene those who took part in these monthly feasts were to be only "those whose turn it was" (*hoi kata meros*),[158] presumably, that is, the various *temene* scattered through the kingdom had endowments for these particular feasts for different months of the year.

Subsequently, as it is laid down in the *nomos* of his new cult,

[154] Ll. 15–16. The term *pandēmei* occurs only here in the Commagenian inscriptions, but, as M. Chuvin comments, the injunction is likely to have applied all over the kingdom.

[155] I.133: "The day which every man most honours is his own birthday".

[156] This was first pointed out by Puchstein in Humann-Puchstein, Reisen, 342.

[157] II Maccabees 6:7.

[158] L.14. This translation of the phrase (another Commagenian hapax) is M. Chuvin's, in a private communication, with *meros* taken as "turn" in preference to Wagner-Petzl's "district".

Antiochus endowed a second annual feast to be celebrated by all the people on the tenth day of Loos (i.e. in June), which was the anniversary of his coronation. The inscription at Sofraz Köy was altered accordingly; and the fact that the text there was allowed to stand, with only this one change, after the establishment of Antiochus' new cult shows that this cult brought about no radical break with the religion of his early days, but only developed elements already in it, with a new elaboration of the ruler-cult, and new syncretisms of chosen gods of two acknowledged pantheons.

In the *nomos* of the new cult, centred on Nimrud Dagh, Antiochus set out a little more fully rules for the celebration there of the endowed feasts.[159] These were to last two days, and after animal sacrifices and incense offerings there were to be lavish banquets, at which all were to be welcomed and generously entertained. The meat of the sacrifices was undoubtedly eaten then; and wine was to be served unstintingly, with music played as long as those present wished. The musicians were to be women permanently attached to the sanctuary; and those of their children, and children's children, who learnt their craft were to remain in its service—a provision in harmony with Antiochus' general striving for stability and continuance. These musicians seem counterparts in his cult of those maidens famed among the Greeks for celebrating Anahit's worship on Mount Tmolus and along the Halys.[160]

Antiochus clearly had a practical end in view in making the celebrations of his cult as joyous and delightful as possible, so that the people would take part in them eagerly—even to the point of toiling up the steep slopes of Nimrud Dagh, winter and summer, for the major festivals there; but though in these respects the *nomos* reads almost materialistically, banquets and merriment at holy places are in fact entirely concordant with Zoroastrian worship, the basic belief being that joy belongs to the good creation, and that to increase it pleases the *yazatas* and afflicts the Evil Spirit.

Virtually nothing is said in the *nomos* about the religious rites that undoubtedly preceded the celebrations of the endowed feasts; but these were presumably established ones of the Zoroastrian religion, modified a little to accommodate image-worship and the ruler-cult; and as such they would have belonged to the sphere of the magi, and have required no new regulations. The appointment of a high priest and servitors is again laid down; and the great stepped altar

[159] N 124 ff.

[160] Above, pp. 204, 271. Duchesne-Guillemin, loc. cit. in n. 129, seems justified in doubting the deduction made by Dörrie (Königskult, 84), from the fact that these women musicians might have children, that they were sacred prostitutes.

at the eastern edge of the east terrace at Nimrud Dagh attests the solemn performance of acts of worship. (This altar has been seen as reminiscent of the massive stepped altar facing east on the acropolis of Aï Khanum[161], and it can also be compared to the monumental one belonging to the cult of Zeus Stratios on the hilltop at Ebemi in Pontus[162].)

The *nomos* was also, as we have seen, part of the main inscriptions at Arsameia and Gerger; but in the preamble to it preserved at Arsameia Antiochus declares that he has established an eternal memorial, with the approval of the gods, for the spirits (*daimones*) of his ancestors, and for his own cult.[163] The endowments in land are accordingly made the inviolable possession not of the gods (as at Nimrud Dagh[164]) but of the ancestral spirits.[165] Such piety towards the dead can be seen as equally appropriate in a Zoroastrian ruler, observing the prescribed rites for the *fravašis*, and in a Hellenistic king, maintaining the cult of the divinized spirits of his royal forefathers.

Nimrud Dagh itself, however, has an essentially unZoroastrian character; for deliberately to create a religious sanctuary around a tomb is an act fundamentally alien to the Iranian faith. Technically Antiochus was not thereby infringing the purity laws, for if a person keeps 10 metres from a corpse, his purity is not thereby affected; and the huge tumulus was undoubtedly big enough to give worshippers on the terraces around it more than ample ritual protection from the impurity of the body that would one day lie within. (The gravel covering was perhaps a further precaution, since the deep layer of small stones would have been regarded as an excellent barrier against such contagion.) Religious rites are known, moreover, to have been carried out at the tombs of Zoroastrian kings. Yet these, as far as they are recorded, were specifically for the souls of the departed.[166] The idea of creating at the same place a tomb and a sanctuary for the gods, hence one for general public worship, seems wholly foreign to the Iranian religion; but it appears so much in accord with Antiochus' concept of his own grandeur, in death as in life, that this is perhaps to be regarded as a deliberate break by him himself with family traditions; and it may be because it was an

[161] Above, p. 182.
[162] Above, p. 299.
[163] A 8–11.
[164] N 191–200.
[165] A 168–9. At Arsameia the annual feasts were held to celebrate his father's birthday and his own (ll. 69–72).
[166] Cf. HZ II 70–1, 118.

innovation that the term *hierothesion* was coined specifically to describe this complex. Since Antiochus added monuments to the older burial places at Arsameia and Gerger, and encouraged large public gatherings there, these too became "tomb-sanctuaries", to which the new word could also be applied.

As to the form of Antiochus' own grave, a tumulus in a high place had been widely used over centuries for the burial of great men in the Greek world,[167] and it seems possible that Nimrud Dagh represents the fusion of this custom with the Zoroastrian one of hill-top worship. Yet so little is known of royal graves in Hellenistic times that it is impossible to tell if the design of his great mountain sanctuary, with its terraces and sculptures set around the vast burial mound, was unique, or whether perhaps it had had some more modest prototype elsewhere.

Some conclusions concerning Antiochus' religion

At Nimrud Dagh, the focal point of his own royal cult and that of his chosen gods, Antiochus, towards the end of his life, set the long inscription which has already been repeatedly cited here. Until then the sanctuary itself had been almost anepigraphic, which accorded well with the traditional rejection by the magi of the use of writing for holy purposes. The brief inscriptions which identified the ancestors were set in traditional Commagenian fashion on the backs of the stelae, so that the only writing which worshippers could have descried when on the terraces would have been the names, inconspicuously carved, of the three planets above the lion's back in the horoscope relief. Otherwise they would have seen only the hugely imposing colossi, the reliefs and the altars, all framed by sky and mountain, and far below the fair land of Commagene, with its forests and fields and gleaming rivers. Except for the man-made icons, it was a perfect place for traditional Zoroastrian worship, with the "creations" majestically displayed. When finally the long inscription was carved, it too was set where it was invisible to those engaged in worship, namely along the backs of the colossi's thrones. The choice of this place may hardly have been a choice at all, since no other large smooth surface was available; but it was also a practical site, allowing the literate to read and ponder the king's words as they stood on the retaining wall of the great tumulus, which passed behind the thrones and provided a processional way between the terraces.[168]

[167] Puchstein in Humann-Puchstein, Reisen, 227–8.
[168] Cf. above, p. 322 (based on Goell, art. cit. in n. 63, p. 18 with fig. 5.).

What Antiochus has to say in his great inscription has the character of a last testament, in which he sets the seal on his efforts to ensure the continuance of his cult and kingdom. In the opening passage he praises "piety", *eusebia*. This is the word by which the Greeks of Arachosia rendered Aśoka's *Dhamma*, for which the Zoroastrians there used Aramaic *qsyt'*, most probably for Iranian *aša*.[169] "I believe", the king declares, "that piety is not only for us humans the surest possession of all that we can own, but also the sweetest joy. . . . My whole life long I have stood before the people of my kingdom as one who holds piety for his truest defence and his inimitable joy".[170] It was through piety, he affirmed, that he had "escaped against all expectation from grave dangers", had "skilfully survived desperate situations", and had lived long.[171] What he had most vividly in mind with these words, it is suggested,[172] was being besieged by a Roman army in 38, holding out for months against heavy odds, and buying in the end a diplomatic peace.[173] It was probably in the next year that he died, for his son, Mithradates II, is known to have been reigning then.[174]

This striking passage is also engraved on the back of a stele from Samosata;[175] but it does not appear in the largely parallel main inscriptions at Arsameia and Gerger (both of which, incidentally, are carved conspicuously on convenient rock-faces at places where worship probably did not take place). Here Antiochus says instead that his ancestor Arsames "by his foresight and his resources" had made an "impregnable refuge" and "for our lives an abode inviolable by war".[176] Both the Arsameias, being upstream from Samosata, were shielded by it from the Roman forces which were the main threat to Commagene in Antiochus' reign; and in these lines the king, having endured the dangers of the Samosata siege, seems to be gratefully acknowledging the greater safety of these two Orontid foundations.[177] On this basis, and that of general probability (since they have so much in common in content and style) it seems reasonable to deduce that all three long inscriptions were

[169] Above, p. 146.
[170] N 11–20.
[171] N 20–3.
[172] M. Chuvin, in a private communication.
[173] Above, p. 313.
[174] It is possible, however, that father and son had a period of joint rule, see Sullivan, ANRW II. 8, 775–6.
[175] Sx 9 ff. (for bibliography see Waldmann, Kultreformen, 17).
[176] A 22–7; Gerger 8–12 (largely restored on the basis of A, but the traces fit).
[177] This interpretation, with the consequent deduction as to the date of the Arsameia inscriptions, is M. Chuvin's.

composed and engraved in the last year of Antiochus' life; though evidently the *nomos* of his cult, which each embodies, was drawn up and made known throughout the kingdom many years before.[178] Antiochus probably continued to have work done at Nimrud Dagh and the two Arsameias throughout his reign, since all three sites were important for the royal cult. It was natural, then, that he should have concluded his undertakings by setting at each a version of his final proclamation.

A consequence of these deductions is that data provided by these three inscriptions are to be treated synchronically. Consideration of the divine names in them leads therefore to the conclusion that the explicit syncretism of Greek and Iranian divinities made in connection with the horoscope of 62 became effective—a part, that is, of general awareness and actual worship—only where gods of the two pantheons were paired, and the identifications were moreover standard ones, already familiar. Where, because of astrological considerations, more than one Greek divinity was identified with an Iranian god at Nimrud Dagh, then in the Arsameia inscription the additional ones were either omitted (as in the case of Ares) or their separateness was positively stressed (as with Helios and Hermes).[179] Moreover, instead of Commagene (whose concept was perhaps too artificial, and required to embrace too much), Hera Teleia is invoked, directly after Zeus-Oromasdes, as one of the divine fellow-fighters at the side of good people. In this markedly Zoroastrian passage it is highly probable that Hera, named in her aspect of protector of marriage, "translates" Zoroastrian Spenta Armaiti, guardian of virtuous women and a being very close to Ahura Mazda[180]; for she, as we have seen, as guardian also of bounteous earth, was most probably worshipped by Zoroastrians in Antiochus' cult through the concept of the "all-nourishing land" of Commagene. Thus one may conclude that no divinity appears among the nine named in the Arsameia inscription who is not understood to be among the ten who make up the Nimrud Dagh tetrad, Ares not being represented. The correspondences are as follows:

[178] Not only do some of its prescriptions continue those inscribed before 62 at Sofraz Köy, but its opening lines were set on the back of the large Mithra stele at Sockelanlange II at Arsameia, which as we have seen (above, p. 326 with n. 85) predates many, if not all, the sculptures on Nimrud Dagh.
[179] Cf. above, p. 336.
[180] For an instance in the Achaemenian period where Hera appears to represent Spenta Armaiti see HZ II 236.

Nimrud Dagh	*Arsameia*
1. Zeus Oromasdes	1. Zeus Oromasdes
2. Apollo Mithra Helios Hermes	2. Apollo Mithra
	3. Helios
	4. Hermes
3. Artagnes Heracles Ares	5. Artagnes Heracles
4. Commagene	6. Hera Teleia

The garb and appurtenances of the Nimrud Dagh colossi show, as we have seen, that in the syncretisms declared there it was in general the Zoroastrian concepts which were dominant, as one would expect with magi shaping and serving the cult. It seems reasonable, therefore, to see the Helios and Hermes who appear as distinct divinities at Arsameia as predominantly "translations" of Hvar and Tiri;[181] and to explain the disappearance of Ares on the grounds that the Zoroastrian pantheon has only one *yazata* of war. There is an interesting general consideration involved, moreover; for it seems that it was only at Nimrud Dagh, the centre of Antiochus' own royal cult, that the magi insisted still, in 37, on all the astrological combinations of divine names that had made possible the original interpretation of the horoscope. At the Arsameias the priests had come apparently in the course of decades to use two of the Greek names concerned in a more generally accepted way, that is, to "translate" those of Iranian divinities; and to substitute, according to this same pattern, Hera for Commagene. Syncretism was abandoned, that is, for interpretation, which implied a likeness only, not identity; and this development suggests how difficult—if not impossible—true syncretism was.

There is evidence nevertheless from the monuments of efforts to create a real fusion of divine concepts. Thus when Antiochus exchanges the *dexiosis* with Zeus-Oromasdes, the god is clad in Iranian attire, but the badge which the king wears on his *tiara* is the oak-leaf of Grecian Zeus.[182] When he faces Apollo-Mithra, he wears Apollo's laurel-leaf, and the god's own Iranian mantle is trimmed with a border of laurel-leaves.[183] Moreover, though the god is clad in Iranian fashion, he has a youthful, beardless countenance which seems more suited to the concept of Apollo than of the Ahura Mithra, Judge of all the world.[184] Artagnes-Heracles, like Zeus-

[181] Against this assumption might be set the epithet "most many-voiced" of Hermes; but this would not have been inappropriate also for Tiri, who as patron of scribes (cf. HZ II 33) was necessarily also multi-lingual.

[182] Young in Dörner-Goell, Arsameia I, 219.

[183] Ib.; laurel leaves are set in the same way on the mantles of Antiochus' ancestors, the first 3 Achaemenian kings, thus linking them too with Greek Apollo.

[184] Cf. the youthful Apollo representing Mithra on coins of eastern Iran, above, pp. 163, 164.

Oromasdes, is heavily bearded; and when Antiochus is shown at Arsameia exchanging the hand-clasp with him, the king wears on his *tiara* not Verethraghna's boar but a lion, presumably the Nemean lion of the Greek hero-god. There thus appears a general significant mixing of Greek and Iranian elements.

Nevertheless, throughout Antiochus' reign Apollo Epikoos seems to have been worshipped in the *temenos* at Sofraz Köy, represented there in Greek fashion. The wayside stele on Nimrud Dagh, invoking Delphic Apollo against marauders, also suggests that Antiochus continued to conceive the Greek god as a distinct divinity; and the *temenos* apparently dedicated to Apollo and Artemis on Direk Kale was made with stones from the same quarry that yielded stones for Nimrud Dagh, being created, it seems, while work on the king's great *hierothesion* was in progress. These puzzling facts emphasize the enormous difficulty of achieving an effective fusion between major gods of two different pantheons. Mithra and Apollo had each his sphere of activity, his ancient myths, his divine associates, his customary invocations and liturgies; and what the two had in common, as solar divinities, was only a small, if by the Hellenistic age important, part of their concepts, and was clearly not sufficient to enable them to become truly one.

Further, these data do not support the common supposition that in establishing his cult Antiochus was elaborating and making official a general Greco-Iranian syncretism that already existed in Commagene before his day.[185] On the contrary, the evidence points to the syncretism which he himself introduced being limited to the beings of his own great tetrad, and even so only partly effective. A strong barrier to the natural development of such syncretisms in Commagene must have been formed by the magi, with their training from childhood in the beliefs, liturgies and traditions of their own faith; and even though the court magi seem to have provided the astrological foundation for the new cult, there were probably others of their fellowship who kept its observances only reluctantly. Yet they, like every other person in the land, were evidently required to do so. According to its *nomos*, however, those observances were not exacting, amounting to no more than taking part twice a year in annual festivals, and more occasionally in one of the monthly ones. At other times (to judge by Antiochus' own general invocations[186]) the citizens of Commagene were free to worship whatever gods they pleased, presumably in any way they chose.

[185] E.g., R. Turcan, Mithras Platonicus, Recherches sur l'hellénisation philosophique de Mithra, EPRO 47, Leiden 1975, 13.

[186] Cf. above, p. 328.

In this respect Antiochus' cult shared the general character of Hellenistic ruler-cults, which made limited and clearly defined demands on heterogeneous populations. Its unusual complexity was due to the fact that the Perso-Macedonian king sought to link worship of himself with veneration of gods of two distinct pantheons, finding justification for this in the stars. His cult appears, moreover, to have been more profoundly religious than most ruler-cults, containing in itself, beside political and hugely egotistical elements, a genuine sense of awe before the divine, and with this awe a hope of salvation for the soul, to be attained by acting in this life according to *eusebia*, that is *aša*, and striving against evil.

The doctrinal and ethical elements in the cult, which gave it this depth, appear, as we have seen, to be essentially Zoroastrian; and this points to the Orontids of Commagene having remained loyal to their ancestral faith (in its Zurvanite form) down to the time of Antiochus' father, Mithradates Kallinikos. The beginnings of cultural hellenization in Commagene go back presumably to the third century B.C., when the Seleucids established themselves in neighbouring Syria; but it was not until much later that Greek religious beliefs and forms of worship were brought directly into the Orontid family through Mithradates' marriage to Laodice. It was, presumably, through her that Antiochus learnt from boyhood to worship Greek gods as well as Iranian *yazatas*. The court magi evidently also became hellenized to the point of becoming familiar with the Greek language and pantheon, and knowing the standard identifications of Greek and Zoroastrian divinities; and through these, and through their Chaldean astrological lore,[187] they were able to create for the king his new cult—and thus (which was perhaps largely their intention) to retain their own control over his religious life, and to dissuade him from developing any further his purely Greek predilections. Though the cult thus seems to have been the work of magi, since they were hellenized magi, serving a hellenized king, it belonged essentially to the Hellenistic age, with its ruler-worship and superficial syncretisms. Through it the citizens of Commagene must have come generally to know more of Zoroastrian beliefs and forms of worship; but conversely a door was forced open for the

[187] The lion-horoscope seems likely to belong in the tradition of Babylonian celestial divination, in which celestial phenomena were regarded as a means by which the gods communicated their will to men (here, that Antiochus should be exalted among their divine selves), with no component of causation being attributed to the stars themselves. In contrast, Greco-Roman horoscopic astrology claimed that "the motions of the celestial bodies were not only indications but actual (efficient) causes of change on earth", F. Rochberg-Halton, "Elements of the Babylonian contribution to Hellenistic astrology", JAOS 108, 1988, 53.

dilution there of Zoroastrianism itself through alien elements and practices. Compulsory worship at the *hierothesia* and *temene* on days of general observance, in the press of an ethnically mixed throng, must have brought about an end to any strict observance of the Zoroastrian purity laws, and tended to undermine the religious conservatism of those of Iranian stock.

After Antiochus the Great

Antiochus bequeathed to his son a kingdom that was intact and cohesive[188]; and though little is known of Mithradates II, his surviving monuments, both *hierothesia*, suggest that he followed piously in his father's footsteps, without seeking to rival his magnificence.

One of these *hierothesia* was for his mother, so that it is very possible that it was at least begun by Antiochus.[189] This, at Karakuş, was set on a fairly high hill from which both Nimrud Dagh itself and Arsameia-on-the-Nymphaios are visible. On its summit a tumulus was raised, as over Antiochus' own tomb, smaller in scale but similarly covered with a deep layer of gravel.[190] Around this were set three groups of three pillars, Greek in style (it being perhaps significant that three is prominently the Zoroastrian sacred number). These were placed on the north-west, north-east and south of the tumulus; and an inscription high on the middle pillar of the north-east group records that this was the *hierothesion* of Isias, mother of Mithradates, and of his sister Antiochis and her daughter Aka. On a pillar of the north-west group is carved a "parting-*dexiosis*", showing Mithradates clasping the hand of his sister Laodice, who left Commagene to marry Orodes II of Parthia, and who probably met a violent death towards the end of his father's reign.[191] The two figures are identified by an inscription beneath.[192] Karakuş, designed presumably for Isias, thus became a

[188] Sullivan, ANRW II.8, 770.

[189] This may provide a parallel for the solitary tomb built by Cyrus for himself, with one nearby for his queen Cassandane (if this particular hypothesis about the Zendan-i Suleiman is correct, cf. HZ II 58–9).

[190] On the tomb and site see Humann-Puchstein, Reisen, 217–20 with Taf. XV.2; Waldmann, Kultreformen, 56–7 with Taf. II, III; Wagner, art. cit. in n. 25, pp. 189–212 with Abb. 8 and Taf. 51.

[191] Cf. above, p. 313.

[192] This inscription is set so high up that it remained unread until by chance suitable mechanical equipment happened to be nearby when Wagner visited the site in 1979. He was thus able to establish that the "Mithradates the Great" who erected the monument was Antiochus I's son, the relationships between him and the royal ladies buried there then following. See Wagner, l.c.

tomb or a cenotaph for two queens and two princesses. Associated with the pillars are a carved eagle, bull and lion. These creatures, and the pillars themselves, have been seen as elements of Greek funerary art;[193] but the placing of them not by a grave but around a hill-top tumulus has no known parallel in the hellenized world.

What is thought to be Mithradates' own *hierothesion* was set further to the south, beyond the Singas river, where a similar tumulus was raised on only a slight eminence.[194] The site acquired its name, Sesönk (Kurdish for "Three Pillars") from three pairs of pillars set round it at the same compass-points as the groups of three at Karakuş. There are no inscriptions at this tomb; but on the architrave over the north-east pair of pillars two figures are enthroned, flanked by eagles. These figures, which are much damaged, are held to represent Mithradates II himself and his queen. He wears the conical *tiara*, as does Antiochus among the colossi, and in his left hand, which rests on his knee, he too appears to be holding the *baresman*—an interesting testimony to the continuing Zoroastrian character of the Orontids' religion. On coins Mithradates II wears the "Armenian" *tiara*, like his father;[195] and there, as at Karakuş, he still uses the title "great".

No other Orontid monuments have yet been found in Commagene, and beyond a meagre coinage there are few sources of information for Mithradates' successors.[196] They continued intermarrying with other royal families, the Ariarathids of Cappadocia among them. Mithradates III, who followed Antiochus II on the throne c. 20 B.C., wedded a daughter of Artavasdes I of Atropatene, named Iotape; and from this marriage came six queens and princesses named Iotape, in Commagene itself, Emesa and Judea.[197] Nothing is known of the religion of the Orontids during this time, or how it developed. On the one hand Rome's growing dominance gave powerful political backing to a continuing cultural hellenization; on the other Parthia, across the Euphrates, was a strong force to encourage the maintenance of Zoroastrianism, while among the families with whom the Orontids intermarried those of Cappadocia and Atropatene were either Zoroastrian or of Zoroastrian descent.

[193] Puchstein in Humann-Puchstein, o.c., p. 231. Lion and eagle are prominent at Nimrud Dagh, but the bull seems to appear only here.
[194] Humann-Puchstein, o.c., pp. 212–16, with sketches; Waldmann, o.c., p. 58 with Pl. IV; Wagner, art. cit., pp. 213–14.
[195] Alram, Nomina, 84 with Taf. 8.247.
[196] Cf. above, pp. 313–14.
[197] Sullivan, art. cit., p. 781.

The last king of Commagene was Antiochus IV, son of Antiochus III. (The dropping of an alternating Iranian name indicates the family's ever-increasing hellenization, attested also by this king's coinage.[198]) He married his sister Iotape during a time when both were living in Rome (after the temporary annexation of his kingdom by Germanicus); but when he was finally deposed by Vespasian, in 72 A.C., it was to the Parthian court that he first went for refuge. Thereafter, however, this westernized prince returned to Rome, where he was graciously received and lived the remainder of his life in some state. He used the names C. Julius Antiochus Epiphanes, and was allowed to keep the title of king. His two sons, both calling themselves Antiochus Epiphanes, continued to enjoy high positions in Greco-Roman society; and the elder of them is held to have been the father of the celebrated poetess, Julia Balbilla, granddaughter of the prefect of Egypt, T. Claudius Balbillus, a famed astrologer, who had himself possibly married a Commagenian princess.[199] Under Septimius Severus a man bearing this family name, Ti. Julius Balbillus, was a highly respected priest of the god Sol. In all of this there have been seen slight but pleasing last links with the devotion of the Commagenian Orontids both to astrology and to the worship of a sun-god.[200] Meantime Julia Balbilla's brother, known as C. Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus, built himself a miniature Nimrud Dagh on the Mouseion Hill in Athens, where he set up his own statue, "flanked by those of Antiochus IV as the last Commagenian monarch, and Seleucus I Nicator as his version of the first".[201] He evidently then no longer thought it appropriate or desirable to mention his family's still older and grander Persian connections.

Jupiter Dolichenus and the Orontids

A few objects (stelae, seals, bronze plaques) survive in Commagene to testify to the fact that the cult of ancient Tarhuis, transformed into that of Zeus Dolichenos/Jupiter Dolichenus, continued to flourish under the Orontids.[202] Some of his representations

[198] Cf. above, p. 313.
[199] Sullivan, art. cit., p. 796; slightly differently J. Gagé, "Basiléia", les césars, les rois d'Orient et les mages, Paris 1968, 75 ff. (himself correcting Honigmann), who sees this Antiochus as Julia's husband.
[200] Gagé, l.c.
[201] Sullivan, art. cit., p. 797.
[202] A sketch-map of the find-sites relating to the god's cult in Commagene and neighbouring lands is given by Hörig-Schwertheim, o.c. in n. 39, Abb. 1.

at this time show Iranian influence, with his traditional garb of helmet, short-sleeved tunic and turned-up shoes being replaced by *tiara*, long-sleeved tunic, trousers and boots. After Rome acquired Commagene, the god was given Roman military attire but kept the *tiara*; and he appears thus on some of his numerous monuments in other parts of the Roman empire.

He is also shown, in Commagene itself, in *dexiosis* with another god or with a Roman emperor, a gesture foreign to his traditional iconography.[203] In one such representation, on a plaque from Dülük,[204] the two figures clasp hands over what looks like a modified form of the fire-holder depicted in the Achaemenian tomb-reliefs. It consists, that is, of a rectangular shaft decorated with two rectangular panels, one within the other, giving a three-fold effect, and a two-stepped top and base. The top has little upright projections at either side, and from it there rises a cone of fire. This object is presumably a genuine flat-topped altar for offerings (altars of various other shapes appear on Dolichenus' monuments in the Roman world); but conceivably the Dülük one owed its outward look to the imitation of fire-holders used by the Zoroastrians of Commagene.

The Sun and Moon figure regularly on Dolichenus' monuments, representing, it is held, through their continual following of one another by day and night the "eternity of times", hence the god in his cosmic aspect. (In some of his Latin invocations he receives the adjective *aeternus*.) It is possible to speculate whether, along with such overt borrowings as the Iranian *tiara*, ritual *dexiosis*, and perhaps the shape of his altar, Dolichenus did not also acquire some of the doctrines of Zurvanite Zoroastrianism, for it is highly probable that Antiochus' imposition of his own cult on all his subjects led to lengthy discussions between its priests and those of other gods. Virtually nothing is known, however, of Dolichenus' worship as it developed under Iranian rule in Commagene, before being carried by that country's soldiers, and by Syrian traders, far and wide through the Roman Empire. No more can be said, therefore, than that the possibility exists that among the elements which the Mysteries of Mithras and the worship of Dolichenus had in common may have been some beliefs of Zoroastrian origin.[205]

[203] See Hörig-Schwertheim, o.c., nos. 5, 8, 10, 12, 13, 17, 22; and on Tarhuis above, p. 315.
[204] Ib., no. 5.
[205] So Cumont, CAH XI, 608.

Syria

The irregular hilly landscape of southern Commagene, in which Doliche stood, continued on into Syria, which under the Achaemenians had stretched as an administrative unit all the way south to Egypt. Syria remained a single province under Alexander and for a little time after his death. Then in 321 it passed into the possession of Antigonus, and twenty years later, after the battle of Ipsus, was acquired by Seleucus; but Ptolemy had meantime occupied South Syria, and refused to give it up. Syria remained therefore divided until 200, when the Seleucids at last made themselves masters of it all.[206]

South Syria was thus a comparatively late addition to the Seleucid empire, whose heartland was North Syria. Here Seleucus himself created four cities—his capital of Antiochia-on-the-Orontes, and Apamea, Seleucia and Laodicia—all new foundations with a European citizen body. Twelve other Hellenistic cities are known there, and the Seleucid army was largely based in this region, either garrisoning its towns or settled as reservists in military colonies. Hellenization, although intensive, seems in the main to have been confined to these urban centres, where Greek was commonly spoken. The country people appear to have been little affected by the cultural change, and continued to speak Syriac and to follow their traditional ways. Despite its political importance, little is known of Syria under Macedonian rule, and even the process of hellenization is mainly to be traced in the one community which has preserved some records from this time, namely the Jews of South Syria.[207] Since they were mainly a farming people, living in a mountainous area off the main trade-routes, they were probably only slowly affected by Greek culture. "Yet even among them by the beginning of the second century B.C. Hellenism had established its hold on the aristocracy",[208] while in Jerusalem, according to *II Maccabees*,[209] "the hellenizing process reached such a pitch that the priests ceased to show any interest in the services of the altar". Yet even there, and still more in the

[206] Cf. above, pp. 24, 31. On Syria in the Hellenistic period see Bevan, House, I 206–37; H. Bengtson in Hellenism and the rise of Rome, P. Grimal and others, 241–50; Jones, Cities, 226–49.
[207] See, notably, Schürer, HJP, I–III; Abel, Histoire de la Palestine, I; Bevan, Jerusalem under the High Priests, London 1912; S. Appelbaum, "Judaea as a Roman province", ANRW II.8 (1977), 355–96, esp. pp. 370–3.
[208] Jones, Cities.
[209] II Maccabees 4: 13–15.

Judean countryside, others held stubbornly to traditional ways and to the traditional worship of Yahweh.

Similarly in North Syria veneration of the ancient gods continued widely, even though they were often disguised by Greek names and iconography. The dearth of evidence makes it impossible to trace the whereabouts of most of the descendants of Iranian colonists of Achaemenian days; but they evidently likewise continued their worship of Ahura Mazda, for still in the third century A.C. Kirder recorded finding sacred fires and magi "in the provincial capital Antioch and the province of Syria, and the districts dependent on Syria".[210] One particular area where the presence of Zoroastrians may reasonably be assumed is around Damascus, for this, according to Berossos, was one of the places where Artaxerxes II had set up a statue to "Anaitis".[211] Under the Achaemenians various parts of Syria were governed by native rulers who were subject to the Great Kings, but at the time of Alexander's conquest Damascus had a Persian governor;[212] and an Iranian community, providing worshippers for its Anahit temple, may safely be presumed to have flourished there, both in the city itself and in its fertile territories, where streams fed by the snows of the Anti-Lebanon would have made it easy to find a fitting place for a sanctuary of this *yazata* of the waters.

The presence of Persian colonists in and around Damascus also accounts for the story told by Polyaenus of a stratagem used by Antiochus I to take that city from a Ptolemid force.[213] He ordered his army and the whole countryside round about to celebrate "a Persian festival" with the utmost lavishness. This caused the Egyptian commander to slacken his vigilance, and Antiochus was able to surprise and take Damascus. No doubt the "Persian" festival—that is, a Zoroastrian one—fell due at that time, and Antiochus, himself half-Iranian and with Bactrians in his army,[214] would have been aware of this and able to exploit it; while the citizens of Damascus for their part, after two centuries of Persian rule, must have been well able to explain to the Ptolemid general the nature of the revelry taking place beyond their walls, and so

[210] Cf. above, p. 255.
[211] Cf. HZ II 217.
[212] Jones, Cities, 234.
[213] Polyaenus IV.15. This event could have taken place in 274, see Will, Pol. hist., I 147. (The doubt expressed about the authenticity of the text by W. G. A. Otto, Beiträge zur Seleukidengeschichte des 3. Jahrhunderts vor Chr., Abh. d. Bayer. Akad. 34.1, Munich 1928, 13 n. I, is based on lack of knowledge of the Iranian background.)
[214] Cf. above, p. 26.

contribute, unconsciously, to the success of Antiochus' ruse.

Libanius, orator and teacher, who was born in Antioch in 314 A.C., tells a story which associates an Achaemenian king with that city.[215] Cambyses, he relates, camped at the site of Antioch on his way to his Egyptian war. His wife, "Meroe", who was with him, found there a temple in disrepair which had been built by Semiramis, and persuaded the king to restore it and herself endowed it with treasure. It was served by priestesses, who regularly celebrated a festival in Meroe's honour. Libanius identified this temple as one dedicated to Artemis which was still standing in his day in a suburb of Antioch. What the basis for this tradition was, there is no means of telling; but there is certainly no reason, despite the claimed Achaemenian link, to regard its goddess as the Persian Artemis, i.e. as Anahit.[216]

Malalas, who compiled his "world chronicle" in Antioch in the sixth century, also told a tale that connected the city with the Persians. According to it, "Perseus, king of the Persians" founded a temple dedicated to "undying fire" on Silpius, the mountain which towers over Antioch.[217] This used to be taken as referring to a Zoroastrian temple there;[218] but elsewhere Malalas writes of Perseus dedicating the temple on Silpius to Zeus Keraunios, whose worship in Antioch he mentions more than once; and it has been deduced that the Antiochians adopted a legend of the wandering Greek hero as founder of their city (rather than the all too recent Seleucus), and that this Perseus legend brought for Malalas in its train ideas about Persians and hence about a fire temple.[219]

The existence of a fire temple in such a place would not, however, be in itself surprising; for though this Seleucid city was "intended by its founders to serve as a centre of Greek civilization on the oriental frontiers",[220] Antioch is judged never to have been a purely Greek *polis*. From the first its population included non-Hellenes; and still in Roman imperial times wealthy and prominent Iranians appear among its citizens. Two inscriptions there of 73/74 A.C. have yielded the names of more than twenty well-to-do Antiochians, and among them are two familiar Persian ones,

[215] Oratio antiochena, p. 291; Downey, History of Antioch, 49.
[216] So, somewhat vaguely, Bevan, House, I 226; contra, Wikander, Feuerpriester, 79 (who also rightly rejects attempts by other scholars to associate Anahit in some way with the Syrian goddess Anath).
[217] Malalas, pp. 37.17–38.16, cited by Downey, o.c., p. 50 n. 18.
[218] Bevan, House, I 291.
[219] Downey, l.c.
[220] Downey, o.c., p. 11.

Bagadates and Pharnaces.[221] Further, the names of a number of people from Antioch—presumably Syrian Antioch—are recorded who died in Athens, among whom are a Mithres, an Artapates, and the son and daughter of an Artaxias.[222]

These Iranian names suggest that still in Roman imperial times their bearers were proud to keep their ethnic identity; but it cannot of course be deduced that they were still Zoroastrians. Indeed Malalas tells another story, this time more credible, of an Artabanios of Antioch who was evidently, despite his name, thoroughly hellenized;[223] for under Commodus (180–192) he was appointed Syriarch, i.e. president of the Provincial Assembly of Syria, and he also served as Alytarch or president of the games at Daphne—the wooded sanctuary of Apollo near Antioch. Yet the existence of these prosperous Iranians in Roman times gives indirect support to Kirder's claim to have found co-religionists in Antioch and its surrounding lands; and there is no cause to doubt that Zoroastrian fire-temples, with their worshippers, continued to flourish there, unharassed, until Christianity gained effective power.

The eclecticism and tolerance of the old religions of the land is demonstrated by the fact that some association seems to have developed of Zoroaster himself, as "Zaradušt", with the famous temple of Atargatis at Mabug. This ancient North Syrian town stood in a plain not far from the west bank of the Euphrates, on one of the roads leading from Antioch to that river; and according to one tradition it was Seleucus himself who refounded it as Hierapolis, the "Sacred City". Under this name it was celebrated in the second century A.C. by Lucian of Samosata in his *De dea syria*; but its old name continued in use in the Greek form Bambyce, and survives as Bambij or Mambij. According to a curious story, set down in Roman imperial times,[224] the priests of Atargatis identified one of the many images in their temple as that of the Iranian prophet; and claimed that a lonely place in the forest which then surrounded the city was where he had withdrawn to seek solitude. They thus vied, apparently, with Atropatene and other places within Iran itself in trying to attach the legend of Zoroaster to their

[221] D. Feissel, "Deux listes de quartiers d'Antioche . . .", Syria LXII, 1985, 77 ff., esp. pp. 96–9.

[222] Feissel, art. cit., p. 99. There is also an otherwise unknown Namousiamachos, analysed by F. Grenet apud Feissel, p. 99 n. 77, as having possibly an Iranian second component.

[223] Malalas, p. 285.17–19, 289.13 ff.; Downey, o.c., p. 232 n. 151.

[224] BCM I 39; II 94–5; A. H. Harmon, Loeb tr. of Lucian's works, Vol. IV, p. 354 n. The authority, Pseudo-Meliton, is a Syriac text held to have been composed at Mabug itself under Caracalla or Eliogabalus.

own neighbourhood. They told, moreover, a tale about a well in Mabug's citadel—how Zoroaster, by exercise of his magic powers, had succeeded in imprisoning there the unclean spirit which haunted it. This he is said to have accomplished together with the "Thracian magus", Orpheus, who was likewise worshipped at the temple with an image, which some attributed to the god Nabu. Nabu, it is suggested, having been assimilated to Apollo, was probably represented here with a lyre, hence the interpretation of his statue as that of Orpheus. The image assigned to Zoroaster is said to have been that of a little-known local god, Hadran. Why this particular statue should have been identified as his remains a mystery; but possibly the veneration of Orpheus by that of Nabu attracted to a neighbouring image that of his fellow "magus", Zoroaster.[225] The worship of their prophet as divine is unacceptable to orthodox Zoroastrians; but the data suggest some genuine knowledge among the priests of Mabug of the legendary life of Zoroaster (going back probably to Achaemenian times), and a respect for him and his putative powers. They doubtless also had a utilitarian motive in all this (like the magi of Atropatene), that of trying to encourage Iranians living in North Syria and Mesopotamia, Cilicia and Commagene, and perhaps even further afield, to make pilgrimages to their temple, with due offerings. (Lucian does in fact mention men from Media among those bringing precious stones to the great shrine from distant lands.[226])

For the Seleucids Mesopotamia, bordering North Syria across the Euphrates, was of especial importance as the land-bridge between the eastern and western parts of their empire; and they garrisoned it strongly. Seleucus I founded two Antiochias there, and made a boat-bridge over the Euphrates; and far down that river his satrap, Nicanor, refounded the small town of Dura under the name of Europos. Early in the second half of the second century B.C. the Parthians gained control of Mesopotamia; and this region, and notably the discoveries made at Dura-Europos, will accordingly be considered in the next volume of this history, with Babylonia to the south; for nothing Zoroastrian has yet been discovered in either of these lands from the Hellenistic period.

[225] On the possible mingling of Zoroastrian beliefs with Orphic concepts cf. HZ II 161–2. On the development of a curious legend that Zoroaster was torn to pieces by wolves, as Orpheus was by Bacchantes, see Benveniste, "Le témoignage de Theodore bar Kōnay sur le Zoroastrisme", Le Monde Oriental, 1932, 170–215, at p. 174 (with reference to Mabug).

[226] De dea Syria, 32.

Egypt

The one great Achaemenian satrapy which might be expected, when the empire fell, to kill or drive out all those of Iranian stock was Egypt, which had seen repeated battles and uprisings against the Persians, and consequent harsh repressions; but this does not seem to have been the case. Records from the fifth century B.C. show individual Iranians settling there,[227] and despite all subsequent bitterness and political strife their descendants were evidently allowed to remain. Egypt was in some essentials remarkably stable, and the administrative system appears to have continued working under both the Persians and the various "rebel" Pharaohs who held the country for long periods during the Achaemenian epoch. Even its reconquest by Artaxerxes III left this system intact, to be taken over as it stood by Alexander;[228] and within this firm framework long-established Persian families apparently continued to enjoy an accepted place in Egyptian society. Presumably the same conflicting tendencies were at work in the Persian period as have been noted in the following Ptolemid one—acceptance of individual foreigners and their ways, and hostility towards the foreign nation as a conquering and occupying power. As a result of these contradictory impulses, Egypt, while never abandoning its traditional culture, "proved its vitality by continuing to create syntheses, with other traditions, right up to the Roman period'.[229]

The evidence of this, with regard to Iranians, is inevitably scanty, and is provided mostly by a scattering of Iranian names and the identifying still of individuals as "Persian" or "Mede" in the Ptolemid period.[230] Those concerned were naturally from among the hellenized and well-to-do—notably, towards the end of the period, a Persian gymnasiarch, who must have been a wealthy member of the Greek cultural elite.[231] Among the proper names

[227] Cf. HZ II 71–2, 124–5, 184–5; and to the references given there add E. Bresciani, "Egypt, Persian satrapy", CHJ, I 366 ff.

[228] On Hellenistic Egypt see P. Derchain in Hellenism and the rise of Rome, P. Grimal and others, 207–41; Jones, Cities, 295–309.

[229] Derchain, l.c., p. 210. (His reference, ib., p. 209, to "the odious brutality of the Persians, who killed the sacred animals and took away the statues of the gods" needs to be modified in the light of subsequent research, cf. HZ II 71–4 with nn.)

[230] See in F. Heichelheim, Die auswärtige Bevölkerung im Ptolemäerreich, Leipzig 1925, repr. Aalen 1963; W. Peremans and E. van 't Dack, Prosopographia Ptolemaica, Louvain, 6 vols., 1950–1968; and the other works cited by R. Schmitt, "Einige iranische Namen auf Inschriften oder Papyri", ZPE 17, 1975, 15–19; Bresciani, l.c., p. 372.

[231] F. Preisigke and F. Bilabel, Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten, no. 7246; cited by Jones, Cities, 309. Launey, Armées hellénistiques, 865 f., sought to interpret the attribute "Persian" here as fictive, arguing that in Ptolemid Egypt the gymnasium was rigidly closed against non-Hellenes; but Jones cites evidence against this assumption. By the end of the period, he maintains, the membership of the gymnasium appears to have been socially uniform, i.e. restricted to the well-to-do hellenized class, but racially very mixed, with pure Greek, Greco-Egyptians, pure Egyptians and others.

attested are some (e.g. Mithrobandakes, Daipates, Areios the Persian[232]) that have been welcomed as enriching the store of known Iranian ones; but no significant clusters of names have yet been traced which might make it possible to identify Iranian settlements; nor, in most cases, is there any clue as to whether any of those concerned, in addition to using Iranian names, maintained anything of the Iranian religion.

An exception to this is the son of a Mithradata, named in the third century B.C. in connection with a "mithraion" listed among the temples of Fayoum.[233] This "mithraion" was presumably a Zoroastrian shrine, not to be confused with a mithraeum or temple for the Mysteries of Mithras, a type of sanctuary which first emerges in the Roman period. Presumably it had served a group of Iranians in that region from Achaemenian times, and continued to do so after Alexander's conquest. Generations later, in the second/third century A.C., Bardesanes wrote of descendants of the *magousaioi* being still numerous in Egypt, and practising their ancestral customs there;[234] and in the fourth century a Coptic priest remarked in a letter to a correspondent: "I shall help you, as I helped another who came to me, namely Basilios the Persian. When he came to us and saw us praying in our building, he was amazed at us. I said to him: "Do you not serve God in the same way?" He said to me: "No". I said to him: "How do you believe?" He said: "I believe in the sun and the moon, the water and the fire, which as it were illumines the whole world".[235] This sounds like a genuine Zoroastrian statement concerning traditional worship in the open air through the "creations" (contrasted with Coptic Christian worship in a man-made church with man-made icons);[236] and Basilios' words, as quoted, suggest a belief probably no longer theologically well informed, but supported by the practice of daily prayers and recurrent rituals. This was perhaps maintained by

[232] Discussed by Schmitt, l.c., who interprets them as meaning "Servant of Mithra" (a name already well attested, see ib., p. 18), "Ruler/governor of the land" (< Olr. **dahyu-pati*), and an ethnonym, the "Arian" (< *Haraiva).

[233] Cf. HZ II 186.

[234] See above, p. 256.

[235] Cumont, TMMM, II 20 n. 7.

[236] Very similar statements as to the immediate objects of Zoroastrian worship are to be found in the Syrian acts of Christian martyrs.

some small groups of Zoroastrians surviving in the Egyptian countryside, as their likewise expatriate brethren were doing still at this same period in rural areas of Asia Minor.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

ZOROASTRIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN RELIGION AND THOUGHT IN GRECO-ROMAN TIMES

Introductory

Not an inch of territory conquered by Alexander had not been held before him by the Achaemenians, so that wherever Hellenistic culture established itself in his wake it was on soil where Persians had been living, as members of the ruling people, for generations, and where accordingly their religion had long been represented. There are indications from the very beginning of the Achaemenian period that Zoroastrian doctrines had a fertilizing or challenging effect on thinking men of other cultures in the Near East. The Ionian school of philosophy burgeoned before there was any comparable movement in Greece;[1] and Second Isaiah, brought into contact in Babylon with Persian propagandists, developed in striking ways the belief in Yahweh as God alone and Creator of all, thus, it seems, both vying with Zoroaster's concept of Ahura Mazda as Creator of all that is good and at the same time explicitly rejecting his dualism.[2] Yet however reasonable it may appear to attribute such developments, in part at least, to a quickening impulse from the newly present Iranian religion—powerful not only through its own doctrines but also through its political associations—questions of influence are, by their nature, hard to prove. It is generally acknowledged that influence cannot be effectively exerted where there is not already some sympathy or common ground; and it is also evident that if a strong tradition—such as the Greek intellectual or the Hebrew religious one—makes use of alien ideas, it will assimilate these to its own ways of thinking or its

[1] Cf. HZ II 150 ff. (to which should be added reference to Xenophanes of Colophon, fl. c. 550–480 B.C.).

[2] Cf. HZ II 43–7, 194–5 (where citation should also have been made of D. Winston, "The Iranian component in the Bible, Apocrypha and Qumran", HR 5, 1966, 188–9 with n. 17. On probable Zoroastrian influence on Genesis I (see HZ II 192) add H. Michaud, "Un mythe zervanite dans un des manuscrits de Qumrān", VT 5, 1955, 146 n. 2; Morton Smith, Elr. IV 200.

own beliefs, so that they will tend to appear innate, a natural development.[3]

The difficulty of achieving certainties in this field has not, however, daunted scholars, who for over a hundred years—ever since, that is, the study of Zoroastrianism was established on a scientific basis—have been inquiring into the nature and extent of its contributions to Near Eastern religion and thought, and especially into its relations with Judaism and Christianity. Work in this particular field has progressed fitfully, now furthered by Iranists and Biblical scholars alike, now relatively neglected; but it has been helped latterly both by fuller knowledge of the Iranian religion and by new discoveries of Jewish writings of Hellenistic times. Similar discoveries have greatly increased knowledge of various Gnostic religions and movements; and study of Mithraic monuments, more of which have steadily become known, has added much to knowledge of the Mithraic Mysteries, at least in their developed stage. Clearly it is impossible here to treat the question of Zoroastrianism's contributions in all these areas evenly or at all adequately; and the chief consideration will be given to its links with Judaism, since it is the effect of these which appears to have been the most profound and far-reaching.

It is proposed to continue in this inquiry on historical lines: first, that is, to define as exactly as possible the relevant beliefs which were particular to Zoroastrianism at the beginning of the Hellenistic age; and then to try to trace where and when these beliefs appeared in other religions or systems of thought. The preceding chapters have provided a fair amount of evidence for contacts between expatriate Iranians and other peoples; and here it is intended to add some further materials in this respect, and to consider for the first time literary channels of communication.

The dearth of materials for the late fourth and early third centuries in all the Successors' kingdoms has meant that most historians of religions and ideas in the Hellenistic age hardly look

[3] This was stressed with reference to Judaism by D. W. Bousset in his admirable chapter, "Das religionsgeschichtliche Problem", Rel.Jud., 469–524. See also Winston, art. cit.; G. Widengren, "Iran and Israel in Parthian times with special reference to the Ethiopic Book of Enoch", Temenos 2, 1966, 139–77 (repr. in Religious syncretism in antiquity, ed. B. A. Pearson, Missoula, Montana, 1975); A. Hultgård, "Das Judentum in der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit und die iranische Religion", ANRW II.19.1, 1979, 512–90, with bibliography, p. 583 ff.; J. R. Hinnells, "Zoroastrian influence on the Judaeo-Christian tradition", JCOI 45, 1976, 1–80; S. Shaked, "Iranian influence on Judaism : first century B.C.E. to second century C.E.", CHJ I, 1984, 308–25; J. Duchesne-Guillemin, Western Response, 86–96; id., "Le zervanisme at les manuscrits de la mer morte", IIJ I, 1957, 96–9.

back before the second century; but there is reason to think that it was during the troubled times which immediately followed the Macedonian conquests that Zoroastrians were most active in expressing religious and political thoughts evoked among them by the shocks of those events. This was before the widespread adoption of the Greek language had made communication easy between peoples of the eastern Mediterranean lands, and so had brought about a general cross-fertilization of cultures. It is therefore not surprising that then even expatriate Zoroastrianism should still have been essentially orthodox, i.e. as taught by Zoroaster himself—apart, that is, from obvious contaminations which the religion had undergone locally in the Achaemenian era, notably through the development of Zurvanism and the absorption of Babylonian astral lore.

Zoroastrianism was regularly characterized by Greeks as the "Persian religion", as if it were an ethnic faith like the others which they encountered; but (however true this had become in part[4]) it was in fact a credal religion, the oldest known in history. A person was not born a Zoroastrian, nor did he enter the religious community through a physical rite (such as the Jewish one of infant circumcision); but he became a Zoroastrian on attaining maturity by choosing to profess the doctrines taught by Zoroaster. Among the distinctive elements in these doctrines were:[5] belief in God (Ahura Mazda), the one eternal Being, and in a likewise self-existing, wholly independent Spirit of evil (Anra Mainyu);[6] belief

[4] On the quasi-ethnic character developed by the religion despite its universal message cf. HZ II 65.

[5] For these doctrines see in more detail HZ I, Chs. 8, 9, 11.

[6] The attribution to Zoroaster of the monistic doctrine that Ahura Mazda created the Evil Spirit is a Western misinterpretation of the Gathas, modelled on Zurvanism and nowhere attested before it was put forward in Germany in the 19th century (cf. HZ I 193–4, HZ II 232). This is only one of the misinterpretations imposed on Zoroaster's words with the best of intentions by some Christian scholars, in this instance because Christianity had a long tradition of abhorring dualism, and there was reluctance to ascribe such a doctrine to the revered Iranian prophet. Such misinterpretations have proved singularly unfortunate for the study of Zoroastrianism, since it was on their basis that the unlikely but highly influential theory was evolved that Zoroaster's own followers had wholly misunderstood their prophet's teachings from the very beginning, needing Europe's tuition in this respect. This has allowed those scholars who have adopted this theory more or less to ignore, in their attempts to understand Zoroaster's doctrines, the testimony of the Young Avesta and of Pahl. translations of lost Av. texts (some of which have been included under the general but often misleading label of "9th century books"). The *magisterium* of traditional Zoroastrian belief and observance has been even more ruthlessly disregarded. All this has been possible because centuries of persecution reduced the Zoroastrian community to very small numbers, and destroyed its own schools of priestly learning.—For an analysis of how a Western scholar's religious beliefs can sometimes affect his academic

that Ahura Mazda created the world in order to destroy that Spirit; and that a struggle is being waged here and now by celestial beings, just men and the whole good creation against him and his legions, who have malignly invaded the world; that this struggle will end with the triumph of the good, which will mark the last day of measurable time and human history, this glorious moment being known as Frašo-kereti, the "Making wonderful"; belief that the bones of the dead will then be raised up, so that all humanity, with those still living, can undergo a last judgment by fiery ordeal. The wicked will be thereby destroyed as part of the cleansing of the cosmos from evil, and the earth, likewise cleansed, will be once more wholly good, as Ahura Mazda had created it.[7] Then his kingdom will come upon it, in which the just, made immortal in the flesh, will live in bliss for ever.

Before the arrival of Zoroastrianism in the Near East none of these individual beliefs is to be found in any religion there, still less was anything like Zoroaster's coherent theological system known—a system which has been justly characterized as "strikingly intellectual and lucid",[8] despite its archaic character and visionary base. Of all its doctrines the one that was to have the most widespread effect was probably that of a coming end to time and all natural processes, a dramatic full stop. This concept has not been traced anywhere in the world before it was taught by Zoroaster; and it ran counter to ideas about time to be found in Hellenistic philosophical and semi-philosophical texts, which are that it is infinite, differing from eternity in other respects.[9] With Zoroaster's

judgment of another faith see J. Barr, "The question of religious influence : the case of Zoroastrianism, Judaism and Christianity", J. of the American Academy of Religion LIII, 1985, 203 n. 4.

[7] J. Barr, art. cit., p. 208, in discussing possible Zoroastrian influence on Genesis I, makes an error in assuming that according to Zoroaster Ahura Mazda's creation was a mixture of good and evil; before the assault of the Evil Spirit it was wholly good. On the Gathic doctrine and its later developments see Lommel, Rel., 101–29.

[8] Widengren, "Révelation et prédication dans les Gāthās", Iranica (Naples) 1979, 362. The strongly rational character of Zoroastrianism has been repeatedly stressed by Western scholars. This analysis of them is sometimes countered by others with the argument that if Zoroaster's teachings were indeed profoundly logical and coherent, so many divergences would not have arisen concerning them in the West; but this is to transfer to what is studied the failures of those studying it. For some of the causes of divergence and misunderstanding see HZ I, foreword, and cf. above, n. 6.

[9] See S. Pines, "Eschatology and the concept of time in the Slavonic Book of Enoch", Types of Redemption, ed. R. J. Z. Werblowsky and C. J. Bleeker, Numen Supp. XVIII, 1970, 80 n. 35. On the uniqueness, at its inception, of Zoroaster's teaching see the forthcoming book by Norman Cohn on the origins of beliefs in a purposive world.

own concept of time were bound up all his ideas about the events of the Last Day; and so important were these to him that his religion has been justly characterized as having two foci, one dualism, the other eschatology.[10]

Among Zoroaster's eschatological ideas was his teaching about the "future body", that at the Last Day the bones of the dead will be clothed again in flesh and re-animated by the soul (which has been existing apart, in heaven, hell or limbo, according to the individual judgment passed on it at death). This doctrine of bodily resurrection, it is widely accepted, had its remote origins in the primitive belief of proto-Indo-Iranian hunters (which they shared with other ancient peoples) that the beasts which they slew would, if their bones were properly interred, rise in due course to be hunted again.[11] This belief was developed analogically in human terms by their descendants, and was then given a wholly ethical interpretation by Zoroaster.[12] According to him, each created thing, animate or inanimate, possesses its own indwelling force or spirit; and Ahura Mazda created these spirits first and then clothed them in material forms—a doctrine which, though held to have contributed to Plato's theory of a world of ideas, had its own roots deep in primitive animatism.[13] For Zoroaster, it was the second stage, that of material creation, which brought things to their perfection; and at the end of time there will be a return to that perfection, with the blessed entering into the kingdom of Ahura

[10] W. R. Murdock, "History and revelation in Jewish apocalypticism", Interpretation XXI, 1967, 174.

[11] On such beliefs see A. Friedrich, "Knochen und Skelett in der Vorstellungswelt Nordasiens", Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik 5, 1943, 189–247; Frazer, Golden Bough, 2nd ed., II, 415 ff.; H. W. Robinson, "Bones", ERE II (1909), 791–2; J. Henninger, "Bones", Enc. of Religion, II (New York 1987), 284–5, who observes: "Bones resist decay longer than any other parts of the body. Thus the bones of humans and animals are regarded in many parts of the world as the real seat of life". Traces of this conception, he points out, are to be found in the Old Testament, and can be seen in Ezekiel's vision of the reanimation of bones (Ez. 37:1–14). There is no evidence, however, that, before they met Zoroastrians, the Jews held any expectation of physical resurrection after death, let alone of a general resurrection at the end of time. Cf. Bousset, Rel. Jud., 511; and J. Barr, art. cit., pp. 223–4: "In the Old Testament and earlier Judaism, even if soul and body were two aspects of the human personality, this is not an adequate reason for a belief in resurrection; indeed, over long centuries it had not led to such a belief". On the wide diversity of beliefs about the hereafter which came to be held by different groups of Jews in Greco-Roman times see H. C. Cavallin, "Leben nach dem Tode im Spätjudentum", ANRW II.19.1, 1979, 240–345, with bibliography, p. 325 ff.

[12] Cf. HZ I 110, 236.

[13] This has been treated in some detail in the writer's Columbia Iranian Lectures 1985, Ch. 1 (publication in preparation).

Mazda in the ideal form of a just soul clad in an unblemished body, made immortal and undecaying. Belief in physical resurrection was also a necessary part of his concept of the Last Judgment. This he perceived analogically with the trial by fiery ordeal which was the ultimate judicial process in his own society; he saw it, that is, as taking place through the immersion in a river of molten metal of all humanity—both those still living and those revivified. In this imagined universal ordeal, as in the actual individual one of his own experience, wrongdoers were expected to perish, the just to be saved by divine intervention; but at the last ordeal sinners are to be annihilated absolutely, soul as well as body, as part of making an end of all evil.[14]

The doctrine of a universal resurrection of the dead was thus essential to Zoroaster's theology, and was linked with the fact that his future expectations were fixed upon this loved and familiar earth. It is on it, restored to its original perfection, that the kingdom of Ahura Mazda is to come; and the blessed are to live here eternally in his presence, solid flesh on solid ground. There was no question in his teachings of substantial bodies ascending through insubstantial air to dwell in a heaven above the sky (as seems to have been the belief among the Indo-Iranians before him).[15] It was an end of history that he foretold, not an end of the world.

The importance which the doctrine of bodily resurrection attained in Christianity has given rise to a huge literature concerning it (as there is indeed concerning all major Jewish and Christian beliefs);[16] and numerous attempts have been and still are being made to find antecedents for it in the Semitic world. These have been judged unsuccessful;[17] but elements clearly existed in Hebrew tradition which made its adoption possible for some Jewish groups,

[14] Cf. HZ I 242–3.

[15] Such a concept formed no part of known Iranian tradition. Zoroastrian legends concerning great men who are believed to be already immortal in body have them passing their days in some hidden place here on earth—remote fortress or deep cave—whence they will reappear at the end of time to take their part in the last great battle against evil (cf. HZ I 290–1). On spirit journeys made by the living to heaven and hell see below, p. 430 n. 333.

[16] The sheer volume of this literature and its often confessional character are probably as daunting to most students of Zoroastrianism as are the unfamiliarity of the Zoroastrian materials and the dearth of standard translations to most Biblical scholars.

[17] E.g., E. Spronk, Beatific afterlife in ancient Israel and the ancient Near East, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 219, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1986, with the rejection of his conclusions by M. S. Smith and E. M. Bloch-Smith, "Death and afterlife in Ugarit and Israel", JAOS 108, 1988, 277–84. Cf. the summing up to his study by Cavallin, art. cit., p. 323, b.

already probably in the Achaemenian period, notably the legends of the bodily ascension, while still living, of Enoch and Elijah. Similarly, expectation of a Last Day and the coming kingdom of Ahura Mazda could be assimilated to Jewish belief in the coming "Day of Yahweh", first proclaimed by Amos in the eighth century B.C.[18] This is to be a day of judgment and retribution, in which the nations will perish because of their iniquity; but it was not seen as an end to history—a remnant at least of the Jews will be saved, and "Judah will be inhabited for ever, and Jerusalem for generation to generation",[19] while the spirits of even the just, when they die, will still go down to Sheol.

Among all the subjects of the Achaemenians and Macedonians it is the Jews who appear to have absorbed most from Zoroastrianism; and this was presumably because of prolonged propinquity in different regions, and because, despite profound differences, they had certain strong affinities with the Iranian religion (notably a shared conviction in the strict justice of one God).[20] In nearly every case where there seems to have been borrowing, it was a matter of Zoroastrian doctrines being associated (as in the instances just cited) with somewhat similar Jewish ones, and being developed in Jewish ways by re-interpreting the Old Testament. In no instance, therefore, "can the end product be described as simply Persian".[21] Yet the harmonization of these end products with earlier Hebrew thought often seems forced and lacking adequate causation within the structure of an avowed monotheism. Conversely, the monism adopted by Zurvanite Zoroastrians (probably in the fifth-fourth centuries B.C.) from the Semitic world remained intellectually irreconcilable with their own deeply ingrained dualism. The difficulties of grafting Semitic concepts on to Iranian stock, and vice versa, are palpable.

Although the impact of Zoroastrianism appears to have been felt most profoundly among the Jews, the effect of some of its doctrines can be traced widely in the Hellenistic world. The concept of an end of time now emerges also in Babylonia and was adopted here and there by Greeks, together with the belief that some major part was then to be played by fire. This latter Zoroastrian belief prob-

[18] Amos, 5:18–20, 8:3–14.

[19] Joel 4:20, 21.

[20] On such affinities see, e.g., Bousset, Rel. Jud., 478–83, 506–24; E. Schweizer, "Gegenwart des Geistes und eschatologische Hoffnung bei Zarathustra, spätjudischen Gruppen, Gnostikern und den Zeugen des Neuen Testaments", Festschrift C. H. Dodds, 482–508.

[21] J. J. Collins, "The mythology of Holy War in Daniel and the Qumran War Scroll : a point of transition in Jewish apocalyptic", VT XXV, 1975, 608.

ably contributed, either directly or through certain of the early Ionian philosophers, to the Stoic teaching, formulated in the second century B.C., that at the end of each cycle of the world's existence matter undergoes conflagration, *ekpyrōsis*, that is, is purified by being converted into fire.

Although the Zoroastrianism which the Greeks first encountered may be presumed to have been essentially orthodox, from Plato's time onward they are likely to have met the Iranian religion in its Zurvanite form. After Alexander's conquests the translation into Greek of Oriental works enabled Greek scholars to learn more of various aspects of Eastern knowledge, notably of Babylonian astronomy and astrology; and this field of learning some among them linked with "Zoroastres", whose name was explained in early Hellenistic times as meaning *astrothutes*, i.e. "star-priest" or "star-diviner", one who foretells the future from the stars.[22] The Chaldeans and the magi of Babylon were confused together by Greeks as adepts of astronomy and astrology; and Zoroaster himself, star-diviner and master of the magi, came to be for them a Chaldean.[23] Further, the respect felt for him by certain Greeks, notably those of the Platonic school, and the keen interest in the study of the heavens in Hellenistic times, combined to make him a much revered figure, even if to a large extent a misapprehended one; and he was drawn into direct contact with the Greek philosophical tradition by a claim that he had been a teacher of Pythagoras. The earliest authority cited for this is Aristoxenus,[24] one of the most eminent of Aristotle's pupils, who wrote mainly between 320 and 300 B.C.; and he is probably its source, in so far as it was presented as a historical fact.[25] The words which can be attributed with confidence to him on this subject[26] are as follows: "Pythagoras went to Zaratas the Chaldean, who explained to him that everything derives from two primordial causes: a father and a mother. And the father is light, the mother is darkness. The constituent parts of the light are hot, dry, light and swift. The parts of the darkness are cold, wet, heavy and slow. Out of all these the cosmos is composed—from female and male. And he says the cosmos is also a musical harmony, and that this is why the sun is so harmonious in its cyclical course".

[22] So, in preference to "star-worshipper", P. Kingsley, "The Greek origin of the sixth-century dating of Zoroaster", BSOAS LIII, 1990, 245–65 at p. 254, who refers to Liddell-Scott-Jones, A Greek-English Lexicon, Oxford 1925-1940, s.vv. *thutēr*, *thutēs*, *thutikos* and *thuō* II.1.—The interpretation was offered in the late 4th century by Dinon and by Hermodorus, one of Plato's "companions", see W. Jaeger, Aristotle, tr. R. Robinson, 2nd Eng. ed., Oxford 1948, 132. Cf. below, p. 523 with n. 81.

[23] BCM I 36 with nn. 2, 3, 6; and see further below, p. 523 n. 83.

[24] By the Christian Hippolytus, Refutation of all heresies, I.2.12.

[25] Kingsley, art. cit., envisages the possibility that a meeting between the two was invented by Aristoxenus' contemporary, Heraclides, one of whose dramatic dialogues was called "Zoroaster". Cf. BCM I 14–15, 81–4; H. B. Gottschalk, Heraclides of Pontus, 111–2. On Heraclides see further below, p. 501 with nn. 21, 22.

[26] See Kingsley's analysis, art. cit., on the basis of content and vocabulary, sentence structure and style.

What Pythagoras is here said to have learnt from "Zaratas" (an Aramaic form of Zoroaster's name[27]) is judged to represent in fact early Pythagorean doctrine as seen through the eyes of an early Aristotelian.[28] The belief in a cosmic harmony was a cornerstone of that doctrine, and the idea that the cosmos was a combination of male and female also belonged to it. There is evidence also for an early Pythagorean division of existence into light and darkness, and this doctrine, together with the assigning of everything to two primordial causes, could well be held to have been learnt by Pythagoras from the Iranian seer. In one version of the basic Zurvanite myth Ahura Mazda is described as bright, Anra Mainyu as black,[29] while Aristoxenus' colleague, Eudemus of Rhodes, reported that the magi referred to the primal unity (i.e. Zurvan) "either as Place or as Time. This then becomes differentiated into a good god and an evil spirit, as some say. According to others this is not the first stage but the primal duality is one of light and darkness".[30] Eudemus appears to be seeking here to represent magian beliefs objectively; but Aristoxenus, to judge by Hippolytus' citation, seems concerned rather to use perceived similarities between Zoroastrian and Pythagorean teachings to enhance the authority of the latter by claiming Zoroaster, with his great reputation for wisdom, as their ultimate source. Similar use of the prophet's name came to be made without any such rational justification, and was one of the factors which brought about the large-scale creation in Hellenistic times of Zoroastrian pseudepigrapha, as is shown in the Excursus which concludes this volume.

The importance for the history of Zoroastrianism of the story of a meeting of Zoroaster and Pythagoras is that it set the Iranian prophet in the sixth century B.C. Aristoxenus, hostile to much that was taught in Plato's Academy, probably, it is thought, took pleasure in replacing the impossibly ancient dates for Zoroaster

[27] On it see Bousset, Hauptprobleme, 374–7; BCM I 37–8.

[28] For this and what follows see Kingsley in art. cit.

[29] Eznik of Kołb, apud Zaehner, Zurvan, F 1.

[30] Cited by Damascius, Dubit. et solut. I.322.8–13 Ruelle; see Clemen, Fontes, 95, Nachrichten, 131–3.

proposed there (such as 5000 years before the Trojan war) with one that seemed rationally historical. The Iranian prophet was thus brought into relationship with Greek learned tradition (a relationship that was long to be celebrated in Europe[31]). Subsequently, in the second century B.C., Apollodorus produced a refined system of chronology.[32] Citations from his works show that when he did not know a philosopher's dates, he took an event with which he had been associated and assumed that he was then at his "peak" (*acme*) or prime, that is, in round numbers, 40 years old. Sometimes just this one date is given for him, he "was" at that historical moment. According to this system, Pythagoras was at his peak at the time of Polycrates' tyranny in Samos, which coincided with the 62nd Olympiad (532–529); he could thus be considered to have been forty in 530, born in 570. By another rough rule, anyone who taught him would be supposed to have been at his own peak in the year of Pythagoras' birth, and hence truly venerable by the time he received him as pupil. This is attested in the case of Anaximander, another of Pythagoras' supposed masters. So in this way it could be postulated that Zoroaster was at his peak, or simply "was", in 570; that is, in terms of the Seleucid era, widely known as the "era of Alexander",[33] which began in 312 B.C., he "was" 258 years before Alexander. This, a formulaic calculation based on a literary fiction, is evidently the origin of the worthless sixth-century date for Zoroaster, which is recorded in these terms. This date came to be adopted in due course by Persian scholastics, who till then had lacked any precise one for their prophet; and though it never, it seems, became widely known to their community,[34] it was transmitted in the western Iranian priestly tradition, to be a source of much confusion in the modern academic study of the history of the faith.

Developments such as these could only have taken place because Irano-Greek exchanges were made easy in the Hellenistic age by the use of Greek as a common language; and this is presumably

[31] F. G. has drawn my attention to the fact that Raphael introduced Zoroaster into his fresco "The School of Athens" (painted 1509/10). Here the prophet, as the putative discoverer of astronomy, is shown beside Ptolemy, both with globes in their hands, Zoroaster holding the celestial one, Ptolemy the earthly. (The prophet is bearded, but has the hat of an Italian gentleman of the time and the features, it is thought, of Raphael's friend Pietro Bembo, a humanist who became a cardinal.)

[32] Again for what follows see Kingsley, art. cit.

[33] A. S Shahbazi, "The 'traditional date of Zoroaster' explaiued", BSOAS XL, 1977, 27 ff.

[34] Shahbazi, art. cit., pp. 25–35.

why Zoroastrian beliefs appear to have become generally more widely known then than in Achaemenian times, when the religion was supported by a great imperial power. The Greeks themselves seem in the main to have made little attempt to learn Oriental languages,[35] and in order to communicate with their new rulers their subjects had to learn Greek; and, clearly, such was the attractiveness of Greek culture that a number came to do so willingly. In Anatolia, with its long history of local Greek colonisation and influence, some Persian families had been well acquainted with the Greek language already in Achaemenian times; and there are indications that use had come to be made of it then by certain Persians for writing, for propaganda purposes, verses in the name of a Persian Sibyl. During the Hellenistic period Sibylline verses became an important channel for the dissemination of ideas, being widely, and in general respectfully, read; and longer oracles composed then by Persian Sibyllists appear to have included the first setting down in written form of major Zoroastrian beliefs. Although very little survives of those oracles, and that only as fugitive verses imbedded in the works of other, i.e. Jewish-Christian, Sibyllists, their apparent importance as a vehicle for making Zoroastrian doctrines familiar to Greek speakers generally justifies their detailed consideration here.

The Persian Sibylline oracles and related Zoroastrian works

The original concept of the Sibyl, unknown to Homer and Hesiod, evolved apparently among Greeks in Asia Minor in attempted rivalry with the oracle at Delphi; and it had for its prototypes Cassandra and the grieving Manto.[36] The Sibylline oracles kept accordingly the sadness of those two prophetesses, and tended to bode ill. The few ancient ones which survive, through citations, are brief utterances, and all are essentially religious. The Sibyl was the mouthpiece of Apollo, and in her oracles prodigies, portents and calamitous events were all related to the will of the gods. They came to be highly regarded as a channel through which divinities spoke to men; and according to Nicholas of Damascus (end of the first century B.C.), using perhaps Xanthus of Lydia (fifth century B.C.),[37] the Persians were made aware of their

[35] Cf. above, p. 54.

[36] V. Nikiprowetsky, La troisième Sibylle, 3 ff.

[37] Nicholas of Damascus, FGrH no. 90, frg. 67–68, from Exc. de virt., I, 345 de Boer. For Xanthus, see the commentary *ad loc.* (frg. 68) by F. Jacoby. The passage is cited by Clemen, Fontes, 30–1; Fox-Pemberton, Passages, 1.

existence at the very outset of their domination of Asia Minor. He tells (modelling his narrative on Herodotus, I.85–87) how the Persian soldiers were preparing to burn the Lydian Croesus; and how they were deterred from doing so, first by a prophetic utterance of the Sibyl ("coming down from some high place"), then because they feared Zoroaster's precepts against burning corpses and polluting fire, prescriptions "which had long ago been established among them". The Sibyl here is presumably the Sibyl of Ephesus, for whom, Nicholas has previously said, Cyrus himself had sent to that city.

As this last statement illustrates, as the Sibyl's fame grew, different cities of Asia Minor claimed her for their own, each attributing to her a distinctive collection of oracles. Ionian colonists carried the concept to other Mediterranean lands, so that during the Achaemenian period a number of Sibyls came to be recognized, all of them composing their utterances in epic Greek hexameters;[38] and among them, it seems, was a Persian Sibyl, probably the first non-Hellenic member of this imagined sisterhood.[39] Almost all that is known of her directly is contained in a quotation from the antiquarian Varro (116–27 B.C.), who listed ten Sibyls and said that of them "the first was the Persian, of whom Nicanor spoke, who wrote of the deeds of Alexander of Macedon".[40] Since Nicanor campaigned with Alexander, it appears that the existence of a Persian Sibyl was already established at the time of the Macedonian conquest.[41] Varro's statement has a further point of interest, in his according chronological precedence to this "barbarian" prophetess. All Sibyls were reputed to have belonged to far-off times; and the two most famous Anatolian ones (of Ionian Erythrae, and Marpessos in the Troad)[42] were said to have been living when the Trojan war was fought. That the Persian Sibyl should be regarded as belonging to a still remoter age strongly suggests—what would in any case have been probable—that she was held to derive her wisdom from Zoroaster himself; for, as we have seen, one Greek calculation as to his date was that he had lived 5000 years *before* the Trojan war.[43] (Later the Jewish Sibyl was said to have

[38] See A. Rzach, "Sibyllen", PW II a, 2 (1923) col. 2096 ff.
[39] The Libyan Sibyl, e.g., belonged to Greek colonists in Libya. On the Persian Sibyl, briefly, see Rzach, art. cit., col. 2097.
[40] Cited by Lactantius, Divine Institutions, I.6.8.
[41] Cf. J. J. Collins, "The place of the Fourth Sibyl in the development of the Jewish sibyllina", JJS XXV, 1974, 372.
[42] See Rzach, art. cit.
[43] Pliny, Nat. Hist., 30.1.4; Plutarch, Of Isis and Osiris , 46. Cf. below, p. 525 n. 88.

learnt her wisdom from Noah,[44] each culture thus setting this mythical figure back to its own beginnings.)[45]

Exactly when the first Persian Sibylline oracles were launched must remain a matter for speculation; but it seems likely that it was late in the Achaemenian period. The fourth century was a politically troubled time, with much negotiation and intrigue between Persian satraps in the west and Greeks; and since Sibylline oracles had become a valuable means for spreading political propaganda, it is very possible that one of those satraps encouraged a Persian or Persians to compose verses of this kind, declaring the will of the "Persian Zeus", i.e. what Persia rather than Greece wished to see come about. Thereafter official support, discreetly given, and the link with Zoroaster's illustrious name would doubtless have helped the concept of a Persian Sibyl to become established among Greeks and Greek speakers in western Anatolia.

Who the first Persian Sibyllists were can only be guessed at; but the greatest likelihood seems that they came from the ranks of temple magi. Persian satraps and Persian high priests must have had many occasions for contact and co-operation—religious, commercial, diplomatic; and some knowledge of Greek at great temples such as Hypaipa and Hierocaesarea probably went back to well before the Macedonian conquest. The Sibylline oracles were traditionally associated with holy places (usually sanctified caves); and if the Persian Sibyl ostensibly derived her mantic wisdom from Zoroaster, then her verses could properly have been allowed to drift into circulation from within some famous Zoroastrian shrine.

Alexander's overthrow of the Achaemenian Empire, with all the shock and sorrow that this brought the Persians, far from ending the activity of the Persian Sibyllists seems to have given them new cause to pursue their craft. We have already met a set of verses which has been plausibly identified as an oracle of the Persian Sibyl, promulgated not long after Alexander's triumph, and prophesying destruction for his race from those "whose race he wished to destroy".[46] These words, as a definition of Alexander's aims, applied only to the Persians, since to the subject peoples of the

[44] Sib. Or. III.823–9, tr. Collins, OTP, 380. That in this as in other respects the Jewish Sibyllists owed something to their Persian predecessors is suggested by parallels between birth-legends of Zoroaster and those told in Hellenistic times of Noah, see Hultgård, art. cit. in n. 3, p. 551 with nn. 197, 198.
[45] The pre-eminence of the Persian Sibyl, because of her fabled antiquity, was honoured long afterwards by Michelangelo, who set her at the head of the 5 Sibyls whom he juxtaposed with Old Testament prophets in the Sistine Chapel.
[46] Above, p. 13.

Achaemenian empire Alexander sought rather to present himself as a liberator.[47] It was moreover only the Persians who experienced loss of sovereignty through his victory, which brought them subjection for the first time in their history;[48] and they, as the only immediate sufferers in this respect, seem to have led the way in giving expression to bitterness at the Macedonian conquest. (In Babylonia, it is suggested, resentment was probably awakened a generation later, with the founding of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris to supersede Babylon;[49] and rebellious feelings in other lands seem to have grown gradually, with different experiences of the new alien rule. Among Jews, for instance, hostility to the Macedonians does not seem to have been seriously roused until the second century B.C.) There was a tradition, evolved evidently under the Achaemenians and known to Herodotus and Ctesias from Persian sources, that three empires had previously divided human history between them, namely the Assyrian, Median and Persian;[50] and there was no doubt expectation then among western Zoroastrians that the Persian empire would endure until the end of time. Alexander shattered this optimism, and, as hope faded of an Achaemenian resurgence, they were forced to admit the reality of a fourth empire, that of Macedon. It seems likely that the new scheme of four world empires was accepted by early in the third century B.C., although the first record of it comes from a century later.[51] Then one Aemilius Sura, in a lost book on the chronology of Rome, is

[47] On Alexander's skill in gaining in this way the initial support of some of the Persians' former subjects see P. Briant, "Alexander the Great", Elr. I 828–9.

[48] This fact is sometimes overlooked by those who see loss of national independence through the coming of the Macedonians as a common element in creating the spirit of the Hellenistic age; e.g. the otherwise penetrating article by J. J. Collins, "Jewish apocalyptic against its Hellenistic Near Eastern environment", BASOR 220, 1975, 27, 34.

[49] A. K. Grayson, Babylonian historical-literary texts, Toronto-Buffalo 1975, 26–7, 35. According to Appian (Syr. 58) Seleucus consulted the "magi" of Babylon to find the auspicious time for beginning to build his new city; but from the context it is apparent that these were Chaldean priests.

[50] Herodotus, I.95, 130; Ctesias apud Diodorus, II.1.34. (Babylonians, it is pointed out, would have thought of a different sequence: Assyria, Chaldea, Persia, while the Egyptians looked back to the Pharaohs, and Greeks to the Trojan War.)

[51] On this scheme, see J. W. Swain, "The theory of the four monarchies, opposition history under the Roman empire", Classical Philology XXXV, 1940, 1–21, and D. Flusser, "The four empires in the Fourth Sibyl and in the Book of Daniel", IOS II, 1972, 148–75, with bibliography of intervening studies, p. 153 n. 22.—Hultgård, art. cit. in n. 3, pp. 524–5, attributes the scheme to the Seleucids rather than the Persians, but in so doing ignores the fact (see below) that Macedon was treated as an evil empire, preceding the eschaton. This appears also as a weakness in the argument on this point of A. Momigliano, "Daniele e la teoria greca della successione degli imperi", Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti ser. 8, 35, 157–62 (cited with approval by Barr, art. cit. in n. 3, p. 211 n. 16).

reported to have written: "The Assyrians were the first of all races to hold power, then the Medes, after them the Persians, and then the Macedonians. Then when the two kings, Philip [V] and Antiochus [III], of Macedonian origin, had been completely conquered, . . . the supreme power passed to the Roman people".[52] This notice has been dated to between 189 and 171 B.C., that is, to within a decade at most of Antiochus III's defeat at Magnesia;[53] and it has been suggested, with a good deal of plausibility, that some Roman may have acquired this Persian view of world history (which was not then current among Greeks) in the aftermath of that battle, which was fought on the Hyrcanian Plain, within sight of Hierolophos and not far from Hiera Kome (through which the Roman army would have passed on its way to meet Antiochus).[54]

The calm objectivity of Sura's account is not to be looked for from those Persians who had witnessed, generations earlier, power being wrested by Alexander from their own Great King. As Zoroastrians they were accustomed to view life in terms of a struggle between good and evil; and their predecessors, as the Avestan *yašts* and Achaemenian inscriptions show, had tended to look on non-Iranians who took up arms against Iranians, the chosen people of Ahura Mazda, as naturally wicked, creatures of Wrath, like the aggressors whom Zoroaster himself opposes in the Gathas. Some Persians—very probably again magi—now evidently took this tendency to its grand conclusion, and saw the Macedonians, who had acted in this way more violently and successfully than any other non-Iranians, as representatives of the hosts of evil which will gather at the end of time, terming Alexander himself one "made by Wrath" (*xešm-kerd*);[55] and as hope vanished for their political overthrow at the hands of a Persian prince, they began to look instead for their defeat by the World Saviour, the Saošyant. He, leading the forces of good (i.e. primarily the Iranians) to victory, would help establish the fifth and last kingdom, that of Ahura Mazda, to endure for ever on a restored and perfect earth.[56]

[52] Apud Velleius Paterculus, I.6.6, see Swain, art. cit., p. 2.

[53] Swain, ib., pp. 2–3, 5.

[54] Swain, ib., pp. 11–12 (who, p. 4. also envisages the possibility that the concept was taken to Rome by someone from the province of Asia who sought to flatter the Romans by associating their city with the great empires of the east).

[55] Dk. VIII.0.20, ed. and tr. by Sanjana, Vol. XV, pp. 6/7; ed. Madan. p. 679.18; Bailey, Zor. Prob., 134.

[56] This expectation of a coming Saviour, established evidently before the 6th cent. B.C. (cf. HZ I 293), and probably much earlier, had plainly not yet then been modified by the development of a doctrine of 3 successive Saviours, perhaps evolved by Magian scholastics in Babylon in the late Hellenistic period; cf. Boyce, "On the antiquity of Zoroastrian apocalyptic", BSOAS XLVII, 1984, 67–9.

Linking the theory of four world empires with the ancient Zoroastrian expectation of the kingdom of Ahura Mazda to come at the end of time made a dramatic and profoundly impressive theme; and this theme appears to have been developed by the Persian Sibyllists, seeking to hearten their co-religionists after Persia's defeat by this prophecy of ultimate triumph for the Iranians. They thus made powerful use of the salvation teachings of their prophet, which he himself had uttered, as the Gathas show, in troubled and violent times. These teachings had necessarily shaped the expectations of Zoroastrians in every generation; but under the Achaemenians it is highly unlikely that their priests or poets had dwelt unduly on the nearness of the Last Day. The reign of the Persian Great Kings was to be regarded as stable and enduring, a part of the rule of *aša*; and it was its overthrow by Alexander which created for Zoroastrians a situation in which some of them turned despairingly to this doctrine in the devout hope that Ahura Mazda's kingdom was indeed nigh.

There was a development at this time in the genre of Sibylline oracles which allowed the Persian Sibyllists to treat this theme expansively. Short cryptic oracles continued to be uttered in response to those seeking divine guidance on particular matters;[57] but works going under the title of Sibylline oracles came to be extended into narrative poems of considerable length and scope.[58] None of these has survived intact, but they were sometimes cited by Christian apologetists, who drew on them to show that what they themselves held to be revealed truths had also been uttered, and thus confirmed, by "pagan" prophets. Only one Zoroastrian work of this extended kind is known by name, being referred to as *Hystaspes* or the *Book of Hystaspes* or the *Oracles of Hystaspes*;[59] but this evi-

[57] We have already seen (above, p. 259) how in 205 B.C. Rome was guided by "the Sibyl" to seek the cult statue of the Phrygian "Mother of the gods"; and still, e.g., in Roman imperial times Lucian of Samosata, in his satire *Alexander the false prophet*, 11, has Alexander enhance his reputation by a short oracle attributed to "the Sibyl".

[58] This development, as belonging to the Hellenistic period, has to be deduced from scattered data. Comparison is generally made with the *Alexandra* of Lycophron (fl. in the first half of the 3rd cent. B.C.), a long, highly allegorical and obscure poem, in which the history of the fall of Troy is told by Cassandra as *ex eventu* prophecy; but whether this work influenced or was influenced by the extended Sibylline oracles remains uncertain.

[59] The chief study of this work is by H. Windisch, Die Orakel Hystaspes. Further on it Cumont, "La fin du monde selon les mages occidentaux", RHR 103, 1931, 64–93; BCM I 217 ff., II 361 ff.; Widengren, Rel. Irans, 199 ff.; and (for an important revision of some of the conclusions reached by these scholars) D. Flusser, "Hystaspes and John of Patmos", Irano-Judaica, ed. S. Shaked, 12–73. For additional literature see Schürer, HJP III i, 656, and add C. Colpe, "Der

dently enjoyed prestige and popularity far down into Roman imperial times. It is mentioned by more than one Christian writer as having authority equal to that of the Sibyls, and it appears to have been translated from Greek into a Latin prose version.[60] In a work pseudonymously attributed to St. Paul, the apostle is represented as saying: "Take also the Hellenistic books, read the Sibyls, . . . and taking Hystaspes, read";[61] and certain Christian predictions, it is claimed, must be true because "since Trismegistus and Hystaspes and the Sibyls have foretold the same destinies, it is indisputable".[62] Together these products of the Hellenistic world could be regarded as representing the ancient wisdoms of Greece, Persia and Egypt, and the coincidence of what they predicted thus appeared as proof positive of the truth of similar Christian doctrines.

Explicit citations from *Hystaspes* were made by two Christian apologetists, both born of pagan parents, Justin Martyr in Samaria about 100, and Lactantius in Africa about 250; and either *Hystaspes*, or poems of the Persian Sibyl, or perhaps both, appear to have been used also by Commodianus, a Christian Latin poet who lived probably a little earlier than Lactantius, and who like him was born a pagan in Africa. All three writers were zealous in justifying their new faith, but none is considered to have been wholly sound theologically.

Lactantius' citations from *Hystaspes* are the fullest extant,[63] and

Begriff 'Menschensohn' und die Methode der Erforschung messianischer Prototypen", Kairos 2, 1970, 81–112; J. R. Hinnells, "The Zoroastrian doctrine of salvation in the Roman world : a study of the Oracles of Hystaspes", Man and his salvation, ed. E. Sharpe and J. R. Hinnells, Manchester 1973, 125–48; H. G. Kippenberg, "Die Geschichte der mittelpersischen apokalyptischen Tradition", St. Ir. 7, 1978, 49–80. The fullest title of the work is given only once, in the Theosophy of Aristokritos, 5th cent. A.C. (text in BCM II 363–4.)

[60] See Windisch, o.c., p. 95. That the original *Hystaspes* was in Greek verse—presumably the standard Sibylline Greek hexameters—can, *pace* Windisch, hardly be doubted. Verse was held to be the only proper vehicle for prophecy until well down into the Roman period, cf. Plutarch, The oracles at Delphi no longer given in verse (= De Pythiae oraculis), 24 (406).

[61] Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, VI.5.43.1; text, BCM II 362; tr. W. Wilson, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, XII, 1869, 328.

[62] Lactantius, Epitome of the Divine Institutions, VI.15.9; text, BCM II 364; ed. and tr. by E. Blakeney, London 1950, 120.

[63] Flusser, art. cit., argued that the *Hystaspes* cited by him was not the Greco-Persian work of that title, composed presumably in Hellenistic times, but one based on it by a Jewish writer who lived probably about the beginning of the Christian era, and who took over very little from his Zoroastrian original. Flusser reached this conclusion by analysing those parts of Lactantius' Divine Institutions, Bk. VII, which had previously been attributed very largely to *Hystaspes*, and showing that these were in the main profoundly Jewish in character, having

from them it emerges that its frame-story was a dream dreamt by Zoroaster's princely patron Hystaspes (Vištaspa), who is described as "a very ancient king of the Medes".[64] In Zoroastrian tradition Vištaspa is himself involved in mantic activity, since before his conversion Ahura Mazda caused him to drink a potion that put him into a trance, during which his spirit ascended to the highest heaven and saw its glories, clear-sightedly.[65] But in the *Book of Hystaspes* the king needs to have his dream interpreted to him, and the interpreter is a boy who, it has been argued, would have been none other than the youthful Zoroaster himself, here representing, according to convention, the openness of the young and innocent to divine visitations.[66] The dream duly contained, in Sibylline fashion, a prophecy of impending doom for a victorious western power, in which in the version known to Lactantius Rome had come to replace Macedon. (It was presumably this prophecy, "that the Roman empire and name would be taken away from the world",[67] which caused the evidently popular *Hystaspes* to be set among the

indeed much in common with *Revelation*. The present writer accepted his arguments (see her "The Persian Sibyl and the Zand i Vahman Yašt", Mélanges G. Lazard, Cahiers de St. Ir. 7, 1989, 59–77); but F. G. has since convinced her that there is in fact no justification in Lactantius' text for attributing all that he writes about the last days (VII.16.1–18.1) to *Hystaspes* simply on the grounds (Flusser, p. 22) that this comes between his two explicit citations of that work. Lactantius indeed states that there are many authorities for these predictions (14.17: "These things that are said by prophets and seers . . . I will subjoin, being collected and accumulated from all quarters". Flusser's note on this, p. 22 n. 30, does not bear close scrutiny.) The passages (15.19, 18.1–2) which Lactantius explicitly cites from *Hystaspes* are, as F. G. points out, perfectly compatible with an Iranian source, and in the second instance, not so with a Jewish rewriting. (So even Flusser, pp. 39–40: "It is hard to imagine that a Jewish author, even in order to give the impression that his work is a Gentile prophecy, called God 'Zeus'"). It thus appears reasonable to accept Lactantius' own indications that he made direct use of *Hystaspes*, together with the Sibyls (whom also he sometimes names as his source, sometimes draws on without acknowledgement, see, e.g., Flusser, p. 57). But as a result of Flusser's penetrating analysis, less in Lactantius' citations can now be attributed to this particular Zoroastrian work, and more has to be seen as Jewish or taken from other sources. Thus he showed (pp. 62–4) that VII.17.9–10 (with 19.5–9) which has similarities with IV Ezra 1–13, 25–38, belongs to Jewish tradition, thus incidentally destroying the thesis of M. Philolenko, "La sixième vision de IV Esdras et les 'Oracles d'Hystaspe'", L'Apocalyptique, ed. M. Philolenko, 127–37, that both had an Iranian basis.

[64] Div. Inst., VII.15.19; text, BCM II 366; tr. W. Fletcher, Works of Lactantius I, Ante-Nicene Library, XXI, 1871, 465. (Fletcher's translation of the relevant parts of Bk VII is reproduced entire by Flusser, art. cit., pp. 24–9.)

[65] Dk. VII.4.83–6; PRDd. XLVII.27–32; text and tr. given by Molé, Légende de Zoroastre. pp. 58/59, 120/121.

[66] E. Benveniste, "Une apocalypse pehlevie : le Žāmāsp-Nāmak", RHR 106, 1932, 337–80; BCM II 367; and generally on the *vaticinans puer* Windisch, o.c., pp. 48–9. Somewhat differently Flusser, art. cit., p. 16.

[67] Lactantius, l.c. in n. 62.

books proscribed by Rome[68].) The Christian writers were naturally even more interested to bring together prophecies of what was to happen thereafter, on the Last Day; and Justin Martyr records that "the Sibyl and Hystaspes hath given out that this whole system of incorruptibles shall be destroyed by fire".[69] As attributed to *Hystaspes*, this appears to reflect the Zoroastrian doctrine that evil will be destroyed at the end of time, although other elements were certainly mixed in with this teaching in general Greco-Roman thought.[70]

Lactantius too writes of fire at the end of time, though he makes no explicit reference to *Hystaspes* at this point, and may rather have been drawing on utterances of the Persian Sibyl. However this may be, the concept which he describes is strikingly Zoroastrian, namely that of fire by which God will try humanity. This fire, Lactantius says, "lives by itself, and flourishes without nourishment; nor has it any smoke mixed with it, but it is pure and liquid, and fluid, after the manner of water;" and at the Last Judgment "they whose sins shall exceed either in weight or in number, shall be scorched by the fire and burnt; but they whom full justice and maturity of virtue has imbued will not perceive that fire. . . . So great is the force of innocence, that the flame shrinks from it without doing harm; which has received from God this power, that it burns the wicked, and is under the command of the righteous".[71] Similar predictions are to be found in the poems of Commodianus, who in one passage declares that in the end "God will judge the world by fire, which will avoid the pious and fall upon the sinners. This tempest of fire will be as dew for the righteous, but for the others a verdict of death".[72] In another he says that "God will judge the sinners in the flame of fire; the fire will not touch the righteous, but only lick them. The ardour will be so great, that the stones will melt".[73] In one place Lactantius explicitly cites *Hystaspes*

[68] Justin Martyr, Apologia, I.44.12 (BCM II 361–2): "By the agency of evil demons the penalty of death was set for those who read the books of Hystaspes or the Sibyl or the prophets".

[69] L.c.

[70] Notably the Stoic doctrine of *ekpyrosis*, cf. above, p. 368.

[71] Div. Inst. VII.21. This is one of the passages which Flusser concedes derives from the Greco-Persian *Hystaspes* (art. cit., p. 35, where he cites GBd. 34.18–19). F. G. points out that the lack of smoke is a significant detail here, the Evil Spirit being explicitly said in Zoroastrian tradition to have polluted earthly fire with smoke when he first attacked the good creation (GBd. 4.27).

[72] Carmen, de duobus gentibus, 995, 1008, 1018–41, summarized by Flusser, ib., p. 34.

[73] Instructions, I.48.9–19, again summarized, l.c., by Flusser.

in speaking unambiguously of the ultimate extinction of sinners: "*Hystaspes* says that the pious and faithful, being separated from the wicked, . . . will implore the protection of Jupiter, that Jupiter will look to the earth, and hear the voices of men, and will destroy the wicked".[74]

The Jupiter of this Latin citation presumably renders the Zeus of the original Greco-Persian poem, which in turn would have been a "translation" of Ahura Mazda; and this apparently small point brings out a very important aspect of the Persian Sibylline works. Not only were these composed in Greek, but in them Zoroastrian teachings took on a Greek guise. The names of the prophet himself and of Vištaspa naturally remained to give the Persian oracles their authority and claim to antiquity; but Greek renderings had long before been established for the major Zoroastrian divinities, and could readily be used. Further, the religio-political message of the Persian Sibyllists had an over-riding eschatological concern; and hence those Zoroastrian doctrines which, in their ancientness and essentially Iranian character, were least assimilable by other peoples (notably that of the links between the Heptad and the seven physical "creations"[75]) were irrelevant to their immediate purposes. It is probable therefore that these writers, concentrating on the Zoroastrian salvation teachings, played a notable part in making these not only more widely known but also more generally acceptable in the Hellenistic age; for, as has been said, "cultures can best mix when the thought of each has become sufficiently emancipated from particular local, social and national conditions to assume some degree of general validity and thereby become transmissible and exchangeable".[76] Moreover, the spread in this way of Zoroastrian beliefs would have been helped by the fact that "the very ancient could always count on a respectful curiosity on the part of the Greek public."[77] The Persian Sibyllists of the Hellenistic age presumably wrote chiefly for their Greek-speaking co-religionists of Asia Minor, and secondly for other Greek-speaking Asians; but Sibylline utterances seem to have circulated freely, and those of the Persian Sibyl evidently came to be read also by Greeks, in among the others of her ever-increasing sisterhood (for "barbarian" and other Sibyls multiplied at this time).

[74] Div. Inst., VII.18.2.

[75] On these see HZ I 194 ff. J. Narten, Die Ameša Spentas im Avesta, Wiesbaden 1982, has sought to establish that the doctrine of the Heptad was not part of Zoroaster's own teachings; but for a criticism of her thesis by the present writer see BSOAS XLVII, 1984, 159–61.

[76] H. Jonas, The gnostic religion, 4.

[77] Ib., p. 19.

One other detail is given by Lactantius from "Hystaspes", just before the passage about "Jupiter" and the destruction of sinners. There he says that Hystaspes "described the iniquity" of the last age,[78] but he makes it plain that he was not alone in doing so: "That these things will thus take place, all the prophets have announced from the inspiration of God, and also the soothsayers at the instigation of the demons".[79] There was certainly abundant material available on this melancholy theme, to which he devotes two chapters.[80] Predictions of coming woe were, as we have seen, the hallmark of the Sibylline oracles themselves. Then there were the tremendous denunciations by Hebrew prophets of human wickedness and its inevitable punishments; and there were Babylonian prophetic works. These, it is thought, at this time of "the proliferation of Sibyls, the multiplication of oracles, the birth of the horoscope and much else of the same kind" are likely to have aroused enough interest to have been translated into Greek.[81] They "foretold" the seven ages that will follow the Flood, each to be under the influence of a metal, i.e. a planet. Each will degenerate steadily until by the last age everything, both in nature and among men, is inverse to its proper state. Then a heavenly liberator (Marduk) will restore all to its original felicity and good order, and the whole cycle will begin again.[82] Such Babylonian prophecies may well have influenced the verses of the Chaldean Sibyl, who is sometimes identified with the Persian Sibyl (possibly because of the constant association of the magi with Babylon),[83] and sometimes with the Jewish Sibyl, and some of whose verses appear to survive, like those of the Persian Sibyl, incorporated in the *Jewish-Christian Sibylline Oracles*.[84]

[78] L.c.

[79] Div. Inst. VII.18.1.

[80] I.e. Chs. 16 and 17. Widengren (Rel. Irans, 201) thought that he had detected a particularly Zoroastrian touch in VII.17.9, where instead of Fletcher's "no one shall reverence hoary locks" for *non canos quisquam reverebitur* he translated "no one shall respect dogs"; but Flusser, art. cit., p. 27 n. 52, pointed out that "Lactantius speaks about *cani* (old men with grey hair) and not about *canes* (dogs)", the prophecy being thus a very general one.

[81] W. G. Lambert, "The backround of Jewish apocalyptic", Ethel M. Wood Lecture, University of London 1977, London 1978, 13–16.

[82] See, with bibliography, A. K. Grayson, o.c. in n. 49, p. 13 ff.

[83] Cf., e.g., the prologue to Sib. Or. (tr. Collins, OTP, p. 327): "First the Chaldaean, that is to say the Persian, who is also called by the proper name Sambethe". On the complex problems of the Chaldean Sibyl, and this name, see Rzach, PW II a 2, cols. 2097–102; Schürer, HJP III.1, 622–6; Nikiprowetzky, La troisième Sibylle, 9, 33 ff.

[84] Notably Sib. Or. III.381–7, tr. Collins, OTP 370, where a "Babylonian" utterance immediately precedes the Alexander-oracle attributed to the Persian Sibyl (which in turn is directly followed by lines derived from *Daniel*).

Prophecies of woes and iniquities in the last age are alien to orthodox Zoroastrianism, for Zoroaster's fundamental message was that the triumph of goodness would come when evil had been progressively weakened through the concerted efforts of the just, who heeded the revelation he had brought mankind from Ahura Mazda. This teaching shapes the predictions about the last age to be found in several Zoroastrian eschatological passages. According to them, human virtues, such as justice, faith, liberality, joyfulness, will then be increasing throughout the world, and vices such as tyranny, enmity, heresy and injustice will dwindle away, while in the natural world water will be abundant, plants and cattle will flourish, and the wolf-species disappear.[85] Such optimism could reign, theoretically at least, as long as the Achaemenians ruled over most of the known world; but once the magi had identified the infidel Macedonians as creatures of the Evil Spirit, then Zoroastrians living under their rule had every encouragement to see it as a wretched time, whose conclusion, through the coming of the Saošyant, would be like sunrise after darkest night. So it is said in one Zoroastrian text: "That wicked Evil Spirit will be very oppressive and tyrannical, then when it becomes needful to destroy him" (*ōy druwand ganāg mēnōg ka be abāyēd abesīhēnīdan, stambagtar ud dušpādixšātar bawēd*).[86]

There was probably accordingly a general growth, in the late fourth-early third centuries, throughout the Zoroastrian community of a literature denouncing the evils of the present time and offering hope of the coming kingdom of Ahura Mazda. Presumably this literature had its origin at a particular place, where some magus or groups of magi formulated this interpretation of events and wove together the strands that composed it; but whether the Persian Sibyllists led the way in this or took their inspiration from others of their co-religionists, there is no means of knowing. In the Iranian languages too this literature was evidently a poetic one, and its great theme, in part political, would undoubtedly have been taken over also by minstrels, and so have reached all Zoroastrian ears.[87] Iranian dialects did not differ enough to make rigid barriers

[85] For a table of such predictions, with references to the Pahl. works in which they occur, see H. G. Kippenberg, art. cit. in n. 59, pp. 54–6. By the time of the final redaction of these works belief in 3 Saošyants (cf. above, n. 56) had long been accepted, and so these signs proper to the last age had to be distributed awkwardly at the ends of 3 periods.

[86] ZVYt IV.66.

[87] Cf. above, pp. 60–1. Iranian oral literature was predominantly in verse; and the poetic character of one of the surviving works of this particular genre was established by Benveniste, RHR 106, 1932, 337–80.

to comprehension, and in early Hellenistic times expatriate Iranians can be assumed still to have had Persian or another Iranian language as their mother tongue. Travel, as we have seen, appears to have been generally unrestricted under the Seleucids,[88] and it was probably not until after the Roman victory at Magnesia, in 190 B.C., that the Zoroastrians of the west began to be cut off from Iran, region by region.

The deduction that Iranian apocalyptic was much cultivated in the early decades after Alexander's conquest is supported by small indications in the surviving Pahlavi texts.[89] The chief representatives of this regrettably ill-preserved genre are the works known as the *Zand i Vahman Yašt* and the *Ayadgar i Jamaspig* (Ch. 16).[90] Both consist essentially of *ex eventu* prophecies,[91] which in the first (a composite work), like those of the *Oracles of Hystaspes*, are conveyed through a dream, here dreamt by Zoroaster and expounded to him by Ahura Mazda. The *Ayadgar i Jamaspig* puts its prophecies in the mouth of Jamaspa, Vištaspa's chief minister, in response to questions put to him by Vištaspa. (According to tradition, Jamaspa, at Vištaspa's own prayer to Ahura Mazda, had been endowed with the gift of all knowledge.) We thus have here, as in *Hystaspes*, pseudonymous apocalyptic compositions going back, it was claimed, to the time of the prophet; and this claim was not without some foundation. The first chapter of the *ZVYt* is taken, it is stated, from the *zand* i.e. commentary on the (lost) *Sudgar Nask*, which was

[88] Above, p. 148.

[89] The term "apocalyptic" is used here in a strictly limited sense, parallel to its original use in Jewish–Christian studies to distinguish from O. T. prophecies the "revelation" offered by intertestamental writers and John of Patmos. Similarly in Zoroastrian studies it can usefully be used to distinguish secondary "revelations", as found in Yt 19 and onwards, from those to be traced in the Gathas themselves. On the antiquity of Zoroastrian apocalyptic see articles by G. Widengren, T. Olsson, A. Hultgård and S. Hartmann in Apocalypticism, ed. D. Hellholm, and by M. Boyce, BSOAS XLVII, 1984, 57–75. Contra, J. Duchesne-Guillemin, "Apocalypse juive et apocalypse iranienne", La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell' Impero Romano, ed. U. Bianchi and M. J. Vermaseren, Leiden 1982, 753–61; P. Gignoux, "Nouveaux regards sur l'apocalyptique iranienne", CRAI 1986, 334–46, and "Snr l'inexistence d'un Bahman Yasht avestique", J. of Asian and African Studies, Tokyo, 32, 1986, 53–64, both of whom would make Zoroastrian apocalyptic dependent on Jewish.

[90] On ZVYt see Widengren, "Leitende Ideen und Quellen der iranischen Apokalyptik", in Hellholm, Apocalypticism, 77–162; P. Gignoux, art. cit.; W. Sundermann, "Bahman Yašt", Elr. III 492–3; Boyce, art. cit.; on AJ XVI, see T. Olsson, "The apocalyptic activity. The case of Jâmâsp Nâmag", in Hellholm, Apocalypticism, 21–49.

[91] This type of prophecy, common also to the Sib. Oracles and Babylonian prophetic literature, is widely found in the ancient literatures of the world, see Chadwick, Growth of Literature, I, 451–3, 473 n. 33; III, 844–6.

itself an Avestan commentary on the Gatha Y. 31; and this Gatha contains Zoroaster's words to Ahura Mazda: "I ask Thee, Lord, about those things which indeed are coming and shall come" (*tā θwā pərəsā ahurā yā zī āitī jīnghaticā*).[92] Zoroastrian apocalyptic does in fact derive essentially from the prophet's own vision of the future, even though it contains inevitable accretions acquired through the centuries.

The main part of the *ZVYt* comes, it is indicated in the text, from the *zand* of a lost hymn or *yašt* to Vohu Manah (Vahman)[93]; but there is no mention in it of the great Ameša Spenta himself, and it seems likely that the apocalyptic work concerned was added to the commentary on his *yašt* simply because he was believed to be the bestower of mantic wisdom. Zoroaster attributed to him his own first enlightenment,[94] and he was held to have bestowed illumination also on certain among his followers.[95] (This, it was suggested above,[96] may perhaps explain why "Vohu Manah" in various dialect forms seems to have become popular as a personal name among Zoroastrians in Greco-Roman times, when there were so many oracular utterances.)

All the Pahlavi apocalyptic texts were rehandled in the early Islamic period, being re-used then to strengthen the Zoroastrians under the calamity of a second foreign conquest; but elements of the older layer of composition can be discerned, including (as with the Persian Sibylline Alexander-oracle) a fierce denunciation of the Macedonian conqueror: "The wicked Alexander, the impious, will perish on account of false religion and depart, vanquished and lost, from the world" (*ān ī druwand *Alaksandar ī *kilisyāgīg az jud dīn be absīhēd ud az gēhān wany ud apēdāg šawēd*).[97] It is noticeable that this denunciation, after generations of presumably priestly oral transmission, lacks the vivid immediacy of the Sibylline one, and is couched in purely religious terms. The *topos* of the four world

[92] Y.31.14 (tr. by S. Insler, The Gathas of Zarathustra, Acta Iranica 8, 1975, 41). On its link with the ZVYt see E. W. West, SBE XXXVII, 181 n. 1; Boyce, BSOAS XLVII, 1984, 58 ff.

[93] See Ch. III.1 (cf. also II.1). On the existence of this *yašt* see Boyce, art. cit. in n. 63. Contra Gignoux, art. cit. in n. 89.

[94] Y.43.7, cf. Zadspram XXI.22.

[95] For Pahl. passages associating Vohu Manah with prophecy see Widengren, The Great Vohu Manah and the Apostle of God, Uppsala 1945, 46–7, 49, 69.

[96] P. 270.

[97] ZVYt III.26. For the restored readings see Darmesteter, ZA i, 82; Gignoux, "Apocalypses et voyages extra-terrestres dans l'Iran mazdéen", in Apocalypses et voyages dans l'au-delà, ed. C. Kappler, Paris 1987, 358 n. 19. The position of this prophecy in the ZVYt, set in the reign of "Valakhš the Arsacid", can be justified, F. G. points out, on the basis of DkM IV.412 (Sources, p. 114 § 2), where it is said that Valakhš will make good some of the havoc wrought by Alexander.

kingdoms, which also occurs in these Pahlavi texts, likewise shows the effects of such transmission, for it has been re-interpreted to fit the Zoroastrian version of Iranian history, that is, it has become narrowly national and ecclesiastic. The four kingdoms are assigned to Vištaspa, to an Achaemenian "Ardašīr" (presumably Artaxerxes II, a notable patron of the faith[98]), to the Sasanian Khosrow I, and to the "demons of the seed of Wrath" (*dēwān ī . . . xēšm-tōhmag*).[99] This last phrase, inspired by Zoroaster's own words concerning the ancient *daēvas*,[100] was evidently applied originally to the Macedonians, whose fourth kingdom is duly seen to be the last, preceding the coming of the Saošyant. This will take place, Ahura Mazda declares, "when it is the end of thy millennium, O Spitaman Zardušt";[101] The concept of a span of ten centuries from the prophet's lifetime till the Last Day was presumably developed by Persian magi in the Achaemenian period, when contact with Babylonian priests stimulated their interest in chronological speculations; and, like that of the four kingdoms, it became a *topos* of the Hellenistic age as representing the span of world history (diversely interpreted as ten centuries, or ten generations, or ten "weeks", or ten reigns of world kings).[102]

In Zoroaster's dream, as recorded in the *Sudgar Nask*, the four kingdoms are symbolized by four branches of a great tree—an image which seems natural to Iranians, who venerated noble trees; but, in the confusing manner of apocalyptic, another concept has become blended with it, namely that of four metallic ages, and the tree's four branches are accordingly said to be each of a different metal. It is generally held that the concept of these metallic ages was adopted by western Iranians from the Greeks, since its oldest attestation is in Hesiod (with ages of gold, silver, bronze and iron); and indeed his *Works and Days*, with its focus on the farming year, is a poem likely to have appealed strongly to Persians who read Greek, probably from Achaemenian times.[103] A striking change has

[98] On the importance of his reign in Zoroastrian history see HZ II, Ch. 13, with summary, p. 263.

[99] ZVYt I.8–11.

[100] Y.30.6, with 32.3.

[101] ZVYt I.11 (cf. III.29).

[102] D. Flusser, art. cit. in n. 51, p. 162 ff., gives many occurrences of this theme in works of the Hellenistic age. On its Zoroastrian origin cf. K. Kerényi, "Das persische Millennium im Mahabharata, bei der Sibylle und Vergil", Klio 29, 1936, 1–35; Collins, OTP, 323.

[103] A direct use of Works and Days has been traced in Jewish–Christian Sibylline Oracles I and II, which also clearly owe elements to the Persian Sibyllists, see A. Kurfess, "Homer und Hesiod im I Buch der Oracula Sibyllina", Philologus 100, 1956, 147–53; Collins, OTP, 334.

occurred, however, in the Zoroastrians' use of the idea, for instead of describing the fourth and last age as one of iron—a prized and handsome metal—they characterize it as of "iron mixed with clay" (or earth, dust) *āhan ī xāk-gumēxt*.[104] The key to this expression is given in a description of that age as one when "non-Iranians will be mixed among Iranians" (*anērān andar ērān gumēzīhēnd*);[105] it means, that is, that the soft clay of infidel strangers will be mixed with the good strong iron of their own believing race, thus weakening the whole society.

The Pahlavi texts describe in detail the iniquities of this last age, foretelling, like Lactantius, that all things both in nature and in human society will go awry. Far from being more abundant, "the water of rivers and springs will shrink and have no increase"; cattle and plants will be stunted, and the sky will grow dark. All men will become deceivers, and all good things—fidelity to the faith, prosperity, security, joy—will come to nothing, while Zoroastrians themselves "will desire death as a boon, because of the evil demands of misrule".[106] Since despairing prophecies of this kind were an integral part of the Babylonian concept of the seventh age of the world-cycle, and were contrary to orthodox Zoroastrian expectations, it seems probable that knowledge of Babylonian prophetic texts—through Aramaic or Greek—helped Zoroastrian poets to express their grief at their people's subjection, and to darken their picture of the time before Frašo-kereti.[107] This probability is strengthened by the fact that in another, longer version of Zoroaster's dream, contained seemingly in the *zand* of the *Vahman Yašt* itself, the great tree has seven branches of seven metals, symbolizing seven world-kingdoms, with the seventh the evil one.[108] For this and other reasons it seems not improbable that it was among the magi of Babylon that Zoroastrian apocalyptic was strongly developed at this period. Under the Achaemenians, Babylon had been one of the great strongholds of the magi, and there they had had to take part in the city's surrender to Alexander and witness the passing of Persian power. Since Babylon stood at a meeting of highroads, they would have heard news there from all quarters,

[104] This is another excellent restoration by P. Gignoux, CRAI 1986, 342, who proposed reading 'PL' (*xāk*), assuming a confusion between this and the postposition *abar*, written originally as *'pr*, and only later with the ideogram QDM. On the construction see further Boyce, Cahier de St. Ir. 7, 1989, 73 n. 58.

[105] AJ. XVI.5. (The plural verb shows that *anērān* is pl. here of *anēr*, hence *ērān* likewise of *ēr*.)

[106] ZVYt IV.7–60; AJ XVI.4–26.

[107] Cf. K. Kohler, "Eschatology", The Jewish Enc. V (1925), 211.

[108] ZVYt III.19 ff.

during Alexander's campaigns and the Successors' wars, of battle, bloodshed and pillage; and if it was they who were thus driven to consider the age as a last time of iniquity, then Iranian travellers along those highroads—priests and minstrels among them—could readily have carried their verses by word of mouth, east and west, to the whole Zoroastrian community.

Zoroastrian apocalyptic of the Hellenistic age appears truly of its time in its readiness to absorb elements from other cultures. Yet its priestly poets subordinated such borrowings to their own tradition when they identified Macedonian rule as the fourth and last world kingdom. Early in the Hellenistic age this interpretation of events was possible only for those who looked on history with Zoroastrian eyes, seeing it as having not only a beginning but also an absolute end.

The spread of Zoroastrian eschatological ideas

The earliest datable evidence for the adoption of Zoroastrian eschatological ideas outside the Zoroastrian community comes in fact from Babylonia. This is in the work of Berossus, who published his Greek history of his native land in the reign of Antiochus II, in 250 B.C. In this work (known only from citations) he used the Babylonian tradition of the Flood as a fixed point, listing the kings who had reigned before and after it; but he spoke also of a second destruction to come, by fire; and according to a reference by Seneca, he assigned dates to both past flood and future fire (*conflagrationi atque diluvio tempus adsignet*).[109] He thus drew evidently on sources which predicted the time of the latter; and these, at his own period and place, are likely to have been Persian, with the date of the fire being reckoned by Babylonians not, naturally, from Zoroaster's day, but presumably in ten chronological segments from some event that was locally more immediate. As has been pointed out by more than one scholar, this is the first reference to a final cosmic disaster known in Babylonian literature.[110] The two Zoroastrian concepts—the original one of the fiery ordeal of the Last Day, and the later one of that day coming at the end of Zoroaster's own millennium—were presumably taught by magi in Babylon in later

[109] P. Schnabel, "Apokalyptische Berechnung der Endzeiten bei Berossos", OLZ 1910, 401–2 (discussing Seneca, Nat. Quaest., III.29.1). On Berossus generally see S. M. Burstein, Elr. IV 165–6 (with bibliography, including his own The Babyloniaca of Berossus, Malibu 1978).

[110] E.g. W. G. Lambert, "Berossus and Babylonian eschatology", Iraq 38, 1976, 171–3.

Achaemenian times; but possibly Berossus himself acquired them rather from a source written in Greek, that is, from verses of the Persian Sibyl.

Berossus was indeed drawn improbably into relationship with the Sibyls through a declaration that he was the father of the "Babylonian" Sibyl.[111] Clearly he was far too recent a historical figure to be seriously cast as the father of any of this supposedly ancient sisterhood; and the existence even of a Babylonian Sibyl—i.e. of writers attributing verses to such a being—has not been certainly established.[112] Berossus may, however, have been associated thus with Sibylline utterances because of certain elements in his work—notably this treatment of history as having an end, which became a recurrent theme in Sibylline verses generally in the later Hellenistic age. Berossus' own writings were evidently another of the channels by which this Zoroastrian concept was diffused, to become gradually part of a common stock of ideas.

The concept was carried into the heart of Greco-Roman civilization when it was adopted by poets of the Sibyl of Cumae (Greek Kyme).[113] This town was one of the oldest Greek settlements in Italy, and its Sibyl was chosen by Virgil as Aeneas' guide to Hades. In the fourth of his *Eclogues* (compiled c. 37 B.C.) he refers to the "last age" (*ultima aetas*) of the Cumaean Sibyl; and in his commentary on this eclogue the grammarian Servius, writing c. 400 A.C., went into more detail, saying that "the Sibyl from Cumae divided the generations by metals; she also said who will rule in each generation, the Sun being the last, i.e. the tenth ruler. She also said . . . that after the end of all generations, everything that had been would be repeated".[114] It has been suggested that it was Servius himself who was responsible for introducing here Stoic ideas about cyclical time, which contradict the Zoroastrian ones about ten ages and the last time;[115] but it is also possible that there was a fine eclecticism already in the Cumaean oracles, with older Perso-Babylonian ideas becoming juxtaposed with Stoic ones well before Servius' own day. In either case some contribution from a Persian source, most probably the Persian Sibyllists, seems evident.

[111] Pausanias X.12.1–9; Rzach, PW, IIa, 2, cols. 2099–100.

[112] See Collins, "The Sibylline Oracles", in M. E. Stone (ed.), Jewish writings, 361. A Babylonian Sibyl is not mentioned in the oldest texts. On her see Rzach, art. cit., cols. 2100–01. Against earlier attempts to find verses of a Babylonian Sibyl in Sib.Or. III see Nikiprowetzky, La troisième Sibylle, 15–36.

[113] On her see Rzach, art. cit., cols. 2091–5.

[114] Flusser, art. cit. in n. 51, p. 163 with n. 59 (giving Servius' Latin text); Clemen, Fontes, 30.

[115] Flusser, ib.; cf. Collins, JJS XXV, 1974, 371.

Actual examples of these Sibyllists' work survive, however, only as a few fugitive verses in certain books of the Jewish-Christian Sibyllists. These are the only long Sibylline oracles still extant, and since they lead us into details not yet discussed of Jewish-Zoroastrian contacts in the Hellenistic age, they call for separate consideration here.

Zoroastrian elements in the Jewish-Christian Sibylline Oracles

The oldest datable verses composed in the name of a Hebrew Sibyl belong to the second century B.C.,[116] that is, to about a century later than Berossus. These, their content shows, were written in Egypt; but in which of the eastern Mediterranean lands oracles were first published in this Sibyl's name is not known.[117] Some which appear to be among the oldest originated evidently in Phrygia—a region which happens to be near the homeland of the concept of the Sibyl, and where evidence exists of close and harmonious contacts between expatriate Zoroastrians and Jews.[118] There may have been Jews at Sardis, in neighbouring Lydia, from early in the sixth century B.C.,[119] but the first reliable records of their

[116] On the Jewish or Hebrew Sibyl see Rzach, PW II a, 2, cols. 2097–102; Schürer, HJP III 1, 618–54; and on the dating of her oldest verses cf. Collins, OTP, p. 355.

[117] A high proportion of those which survive were composed evidently in Egypt; but "study of the Sibylline oracles has . . . suffered from the tendency to reduce the Jewish oracles to a uniform product of Egyptian Judaism. In fact the Jewish oracles were not confined to Egypt and were not uniform even there", J. J. Collins, "The development of the Sibylline tradition", ANRW II 20.1, 1986, 454.

[118] Hultgård, art. cit. in n. 3, p. 517, justly stressed that the question of religious influence between Zoroastrians and Jews "should not be divorced from political, cultural and social connections"; but like most other scholars he concentrated his consideration of this question on the late Hellenistic period, when datable Jewish writings again appear, and when, with the rise of the Parthians, new Zoroastrian materials are to be found in Iran itself. But he cited (p. 518 with n. 28) M. Molé, Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien, Paris 1963, 4 ff., and G. Widengren, "Zervanitische Texte aus dem "Avesta" in der Pahlavi-Überlieferung . . .", Festschrift W. Eilers, Wiesbaden 1967, 278–81, who argued for the legitimacy of a discriminating use of Pahl. materials for the study of Zoroastrianism in Achaemenian and post-Achaemenian times. Cf. Nyberg, Rel., 1–18; Boyce, "Middle Persian literature", HbO, I.2.1, 1968, 31 ff.; S. Shaked, "Qumran and Iran: further considerations", IOS 2, 1972, 443–4 with n. 46. The value of the Avesta itself for this purpose, together with the testimony of classical writers, has been re-emphasized by the Biblical scholar J. J. Collins, "The mythology of Holy War in Daniel and the Qumran War Scroll: a point of transition in Jewish apocalyptic, VT XXV, 1975, 604–5, in which he argued cogently against the attempt by R. N. Frye ("Reitzenstein and Qumran re-visited by an Iranian", HTR 55, 1962, 262–8) to preclude the possibility of discovering Zoroastrian influences with any accuracy in Jewish texts.

[119] Schürer, HJP III 1, 20; A. R. Seager and A. T. Kraabel, "The synagogue and the Jewish community", in Hanfmann, Sardis, 178–9.

presence in western Asia Minor come from Seleucid times. Groups of Jews are mentioned in Ionian cities under Antiochus II;[120] and in about 200 B.C. Antiochus III brought two thousand Jewish families from Babylonia and Mesopotamia (where some at least may already have been acquainted with Persians) "to the fortresses and most important places" of Phrygia and Lydia, to counter unrest there.[121] Some sixty years later, under the Roman republic, a wide scattering of Jews is attested in Asia Minor;[122] and those of the province of Asia are mentioned specifically by Cicero in his defence of its ex-governor Flaccus.[123] From his words, and other data, it has been calculated that there were then several thousands of Jews in the province,[124] to whom (it is claimed in a record from Sardis of 44 B.C.) "many great privileges" had already been granted.[125] Philo (born about 15 B.C.) declared that Jews inhabited every town in Asia Minor in great throngs;[126] and Paul, travelling through the province of Asia in the first century A.C., found a synagogue in every town he entered.

In contrast to this relatively abundant literary evidence, few material traces of Jews had been discovered until recently, even at places where a large Jewish community is known to have existed. One reason for this is evidently that they, like the Iranians, became culturally so much hellenized that, adopting Greek names and customs, they merged into the surrounding society. Literary sources show that this hellenization began early and penetrated deeply;[127] and archaeology has confirmed that Asia's Jews were fully at home in its open, ethnically highly diverse society. The richest complex of data has come from the synagogue, discovered in 1962, at Sardis.[128] Any older synagogue there was presumably destroyed, with most of the rest of the town, by the great earthquake of 17 A.C.; and eventually the Jews obtained for themselves a big building in the very centre of the rebuilt city, which they converted into the largest known synagogue in the Roman world. In accordance with its prominent position, its forecourt with foun-

[120] Josephus, Antiquities, XII.125 ff.
[121] Ib., XII.147–53.
[122] I Maccabees 15:23.
[123] Pro Flacco, 28.67.9; Schürer, o.c., p. 118 n. 45.
[124] G. Kittel, "Das kleinasiatische Judentum in der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit", TLZ 69, 1944, 9–20.
[125] Josephus, o.c., XIV.259 (cf. XIV.224 ff.).
[126] Legatio 33 (245); Schürer, o.c., p. 17 n. 31.
[127] See, e.g., Kittel, art. cit.; Morton Smith, "The image of God: notes on the Hellenization of Judaism", Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester 40, 1958, 473–512.
[128] See, with bibliography, Seager-Kraabel, l.c., pp. 168–90.

tain remained, it seems, accessible to all citizens,[129] while the adapted building had unusual features (such as no separate gallery for women). Over eighty (that is, almost all) of the inscriptions found there are in Greek,[130] mostly recording gifts by donors, all but two of whom bore Greek or Latin names. A number of these donors identified themselves simply as citizens of Sardis; nine were members of the city council; and three held positions in the Provincial Assembly of Asia, and were thus evidently men of wealth and distinction. In that Assembly they would have sat together, as we have seen,[131] with the *archimagos* of Hypaipa. At one end of the synagogue hall was a large apse, in which stood the table for unrolling the scriptures; this had end-supports decorated with Roman eagles clutching thunderbolts, and was flanked by pairs of marble lions;[132] but where it is thought the Torah was kept there was a marble plaque elegantly incised with a seven-branched *menorah*, a *shofar* and a palm-branch.[133] Parallels thus appear between this synagogue, where a high degree of cultural hellenization was married to traditional Jewish forms of worship, and the Zoroastrian temples at Hypaipa and Hierocaesarea, with their hellenistic architecture and iconography, but also their ancient icon of fire, tended with traditional rites, and their use still in Roman times of (it seems) an Avestan liturgy.

In Sardis, it is evident, Iranians and Jews met as fellow-citizens, on the town council and elsewhere; and this was clearly true also at Hypaipa. Among the donors at the Sardian synagogue was one who described himself as a citizen of Hypaipa, and a member of its council;[134] and the existence of a Jewish community there in Roman imperial times is attested by a single inscription bearing the words: "Of the young Jews" (ἰουδαίων νεωτέρων).[135]

A single Jewish inscription—in that case an epitaph—has come to light likewise at Phrygian Apamea;[136] but from other sources it is known that there was a large and important Jewish community there, going back presumably to at least the time of Antiochus III. The attachment of these Phrygian Jews to their adopted homeland

[129] Seager-Kraabel, ib., p. 169.
[130] L. Robert, Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes I; BASOR 187, 1967, 27–32. There are also a few very short Hebrew inscriptions, of which "only two are legible", Seager-Kraabel, o.c., p. 171.
[131] Above, p. 224.
[132] Seager-Kraabel, o.c., pp. 169–70, 190 with figs. 256–8.
[133] Ib., p. 170 with figs. 249–50.
[134] Ib., p. 171.
[135] Reinach, Chroniques d'Orient, 161–2 (= Corp. Ins. Jud. II no. 755).
[136] Ramsay, Cities, II no. 399.

is strikingly attested in certain Jewish Sibylline verses that tell of Noah and the Flood; for Noah, urging the people to enter the Ark, ends his oration with the prophecy: "O Phrygia, you will emerge first from the surface of the water." Later, when the Flood recedes, comes the declaration: "There is a certain tall lofty mountain on the dark mainland of Phrygia. It is called Ararat. . . . There the springs of the great river Marsyos [sic] had sprung up. In this place the Ark remained on lofty summits when the waters had subsided."[137] This local identification of Mount Celenae with Biblical Ararat persisted, as is shown by coins of Apamea in Roman imperial times. The town had acquired the Greek by-name of Kibotos, the "Chest", and some of its coins have the device of a roped packing-case, while on others Marsyas himself is shown surrounded by such cases;[138] but on another series of coins a similar chest, but with open lid, appears floating upon waves. The name NOE is inscribed on its side, and a man and woman, seated in it, look up at a flying dove with an olive branch in its beak.[139] This adaptation of the city's by-name to the Ararat-Celenae legend, necessarily with the approval of its council, is striking evidence of the importance of the Jews in Apamea, and the harmoniousness of their relations with their fellow-citizens there, who included, as we have seen, influential men of Iranian stock.[140]

Zoroastrians and Jews had plainly enough in common to set them apart from other religious communities and make them respect one another: for each upheld an ancient and ethically noble prophetic religion that was essentially monotheistic, and each sustained it by a regular and (at its strictest) exacting devotional life, with complex purity laws. Yet these very similarities probably engendered also a measure of rivalry; and this was possibly an element in the decision of some learned Jew in Apamea or elsewhere to emulate the magi by making use in his turn of the prestigious Sibylline oracles, composing Greek hexameters in the service now of Jewish propaganda. Like a number of other Jewish writings of Greco-Roman times, the Jewish Sibylline oracles survived because of Christian interest in them; and since the existing collection has been edited and interpolated by Christian writers, it is known as the *Jewish Christian Sibylline Oracles*. Taken together, these extend over almost a millennium (second century B.C. to seventh century A.C.); but although in the matter of survival they

[137] Sib. Or. I.196–8, 261–7 (tr. J. J. Collins, OTP 339, 341).
[138] Head, BMC Phrygia, p. 96 nos. 155–8, Pl. XI.10–12.
[139] Ib., p. 101 no. 182.
[140] Above, p. 245.

have fared better than those of any other Sibylline school, all that remains even of them are two small compilations, now arranged in consecutively numbered books of varying length.[141] Together they have been described as "an extraordinary conglomeration of elements drawn from ancient pagan oracles of various countries and cities, Jewish compositions of widely different dates, and Christian interpolations of didactic and moralizing content. All through this farrago of verses the profession is kept up that they are the utterances of an ancient prophetess, who is sometimes introduced as speaking of herself as a daughter-in-law of Noah—a representation that was purposely adopted to gain credit for the oracles as real predictions."[142] Among the so-called "pagan" oracles are some which appear to have been taken, in certain instances verbatim (an easy matter, when all such oracles were composed in the same language and metre) from works of Persian Sibyllists. These include the "Alexander" oracle in Book III, which appears typical of the older type of Sibylline utterance in its brevity and close interweaving of political and religious themes.[143] Other verses of Persian character were presumably taken from longer "oracles".

The main single contribution of Persian apocalyptic appears to have been the fundamental one of the concept of an end of time. This is repeatedly linked with the *topoi* of four kingdoms and ten periods, the latter becoming indeed "a common means of presenting political ideologies in the Hellenistic age".[144] This was presumably because the first politico-religious writings embodying prophecies against western conquerors were Persian ones, which created a model that continued to be used and adapted. In the *Sibylline Oracles* alone it recurs in Books I and II (which despite their numbering constitute a unit), IV and VIII. Its use is in places almost wholly political; but scattered thinly through the same books are verses concerned with the purely religious elements of Zoroastrian eschatology, namely general resurrection at the Last Day, followed by judgment, and these are treated occasionally in orthodox Zoroastrian terms. The following lines are from Bk. I/II, with its Phrygian Jewish stratum: "and then all will pass through the blazing river and the unquenchable flame. All the righteous will be saved, but the impious will then be destroyed for all ages, as many as formerly did evil. . . .

[141] Tr. with intro. and notes by Collins, OTP 317–472.
[142] B. M. Metzger, "Literary forgeries and pseudepigraphs", JBL 91, 1972, 12. On Noah and Zoroaster in this respect cf. above, n. 44. In other verses, composed in Egypt, this Sibyl is said to have been the "familiar friend of Isis", Sib. Or. V 53.
[143] Cf. above, p. 13.
[144] Collins, OTP 372.

But as for the others, as many as were concerned with justice and noble deeds, and piety and most righteous thoughts, angels will lift them through the blazing river and bring them to light and to life without care. . . . The earth will belong equally to all, undivided by walls or fences."[145] These lines are incorporated in a thoroughly Jewish text, being prefaced by a paraphrase of Ezekiel 37:6–8, 10, and with references interspersed to Uriel, and the raising up of the patriarchs; but their essentially Zoroastrian character is brought out by their being juxtaposed with others offering similar predictions in which the Zoroastrian elements have undergone more radical developments. Here the river of fire loses its function, unfamiliar to Semites, of being the actual instrument of judgment, and becomes instead simply another manifestation of God's destructive wrath, which will burn all men, since all are sinners;[146] and, like Yahweh's punitive fire of old, it comes down from the sky above instead of pouring from earth's mountains: "And then a great river of blazing fire will flow from heaven, and will consume every place . . . All the souls of men will gnash their teeth, burning in a river, and brimstone and a rush of fire in a fiery plain and ashes will cover all."[147] It is only after all have suffered in this way that Michael and other archangels "lead all the souls of men . . . to the tribunal of the great immortal God"[148], where their trial takes place in a manner more familiar to Jews. In the subsequent punishment of sinners another significant change is made. As we have seen, it is essential to the Zoroastrian doctrine that the wicked should perish, for this is part of the general extinction of evil by which Ahura Mazda's great purpose is to be achieved.[149] The Evil Spirit too will be annihilated,[150] and hell will be

[145] Sib. Or. II.252–5, 313–20 (tr. Collins, pp. 350, 351, 353). These verses come from a section of Bk. II studied in detail by A. M. Kurfess, "Dies irae", Historisches Jahrbuch 77, 1958 [for 1957], 328–58, who attributed the Zoroastrian elements in it to the influence of the Oracles of Hystaspes. On the destruction of sinners in that work cf. above, p. 380. On the river of fire as a Zoroastrian motif here cf. Collins, OTP 350 note m 2, 351 note t 2.

[146] For OT passages for Yahweh's punitive fire see Nikiprowetzky, La troisième Sibylle, 161 with n. 2; Hultgård, ANRW II.19.1, 533 with n. 103. (Both scholars took the difference in the function of the fiery river as proof of Jewish independence rather than of Jewish adaptation.) Fully R. Mayer, Die biblische Vorstellung vom Weltbrand. Eine Untersuchung über die Beziehungen zwischen Parsismus und Judentum, Bonn 1956.

[147] Sib. Or. II.196–7, 203–5 (tr. Collins, p. 350).

[148] Ib., ll. 217–19 (tr. Collins, l.c.).

[149] On the destruction of sinners see above, p. 364. The essential Gathic verse is Y.51.9. Cf., in this connection, D. Winston, art. cit. in n. 2, pp. 206, 207 n. 64. Other Gathic verses which allude to Zoroaster's eschatological beliefs are Y.43.4, 12; 47.6; 31.3, 19. On doctrinal continuity in this respect between the Gathas, Young Avesta and Pahl. texts see Widengren, art. cit. in n. 90, p. 78 ff.

[150] On the annihilation of the Evil Spirit see Dk.VII.11.7 (Molé, Légende de

purged to become part again of the good earth, which in this and other ways will be made fit for Ahura Mazda's kingdom to come upon it. There he will reign, omnipotent at last. The Jews for their part, believing in Yahweh's present omnipotence despite the existence of evil, had, it seems, no difficulty in supposing that he would permit certain forms of that evil to continue eternally. Hence a belief evolved in the eternity of hell, with eternal torment for the damned. As a Sibyllist declares: "They will all gnash their teeth, wasting away with thirst and raging violence. They will call death fair, and it will evade them. No longer will death or night give these rest. Often they will request God, who rules on high, in vain, and then he will manifestly turn away his face from them".[151]

The possibility of eternal damnation lent an especial terror to the Jewish development of the doctrine of a Last Judgment; and the Jewish Sibyllists, like other Jewish apocalyptists, drew on predictions by Old Testament prophets concerning the "great and awesome Day of Yahweh"[152] to paint a fearful picture of the last times.[153] The earliest prophecies about the Day of Yahweh had been that it will be "totally dark, without a ray of light";[154] and this bleakness, it was later declared, is to be brought about by "the fire of Yahweh's jealousy", which will consume the whole world, bringing "ruin and devastation . . . darkness and gloom".[155] Hence come the Sibyllist's predictions of an earth reduced to "smoking dust" and "dusty ashes" in which, it seems, little will survive but the "repulsive recesses of Gehenna".[156] This is much at variance with orthodox Zoroastrian expectations of Frašo-kereti, which are of an earth renewed and resembling a "paradise" (a Persian word for a great enclosed park[157]) in all the freshness and beauty of

Zoroastre, 102/3); MX 57.6; ZVYt IV.66. The verb, used with a regularity that indicates a canonical source, i.e. the Pahl. translation (*zand*) of the Avesta, is *abesīh-* "perish, be destroyed". There is crude literalism in AJ XVII.16: *Ahriman . . . be ōzanēnd u-š sar be brīnēnd* "Ahriman . . . will be killed and his head cut off".

[151] Sib. Or. II.305–10 (tr. Collins, OTP 352–3). (Since descriptions of the sufferings of the damned have many parallels in Christian writings, it is not certain that these particular lines are from a Jewish oracle rather than its Christian reworking, but it is thought probable, see Collins, ib., p. 333.)

[152] Malachi 3:23.

[153] Hence the opening lines of Thomas of Celano's great 13th-century hymn: *Dies irae, dies illa, solvet saeclum in favilla, teste David cum Sibylla* (the reference to David being justified by Ps. 109:5 f.: *Dominus a dextris tuis conteret die irae suae reges*, see Kurfess, art. cit., p. 338; but the connection is only in the one phrase).

[154] Amos 5:20; cf. Zechariah 14:7.

[155] Zephaniah I:13–23; cf. Malachi 3:19.

[156] Sib. Or. IV.178–9, 186 (tr. Collins, OTP 388–9).

[157] The word occurs in Enoch as *prds*, see J. C. Greenfield, "Iranian loanwords in early Aramaic", Elr. II 257.

spring.[158] Yet some Jews, having accepted the doctrine of physical resurrection, accepted with it that of God's eternal kingdom to come on earth (which could blend with their own traditional expectation of Yahweh's rule on Zion); and in the Sibylline passage just cited there is an abrupt transition from the description of an incinerated world to an account of resurrection and judgment, after which, it is foretold, "as many as are pious . . . will live on earth again . . . beholding the delightful and pleasant light of the sun".[159] The last words could—and perhaps did—come directly from a Zoroastrian source; but the anomaly of a burnt earth, disfigured by ever-gaping hell, receiving God's glorious kingdom upon it, illustrates in a small way the contradictions that arose when Jews adopted Zoroastrian beliefs without full regard for all their implications. Here the confusion is increased by some Jewish writers using the phrase "end of the world" as synonymous with "last day".[160] For Zoroastrians the last day is to mark the end of time but a glorious renewal of the world; and it is this belief which underlies the hope of God's kingdom to come here below.

Book IV of the *Sibylline Oracles*, which contains the predictions just cited, is thought to have been the work of a Jewish writer of the first century A.C., a member of a group of Jewish baptists living probably, like other such groups, in the Jordan valley;[161] but it is recognized that he made use of older oracles of Hellenistic times,[162] among which appear to be yet others belonging originally to the Persian Sibyl. These combine the *topoi* of ten generations (here counted, as by Berossus, from the time of the Flood), and four world kingdoms (as reckoned by the Persians after Alexander, that is, Assyria, Media, Persia and Macedonia, the last being to come in the tenth generation).[163] These older oracles provided the Jewish

[158] Cf. HZ I 245–6 with n. 74.

[159] Sib. Or. IV.181–91.

[160] E.g. Sib. Or. VIII.91–2 (tr. Collins, OTP 420); "then the end of the world and the last day is near" (although this particular passage may be Christian).

[161] Joseph Thomas, Le mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie, Gembloux 1935, 46–57; Collins, art. cit. in n. 41, pp. 377–9.

[162] J. Geffcken, Komposition und Entstehungszeit der Oracula Sibyllina, Leipzig 1902, 18–19; Flusser, art. cit. in n. 51, esp. pp. 148–53; Collins, art. cit., pp. 370–6.

[163] Sib. Or. IV.49–101 (with a number of evident redactional changes by the Jewish Sibyllist). Many Jews continued to regard Macedon as their western foe after it had been replaced by Rome for the peoples of Asia Minor; but it is in any case thought probable that some at least of the surviving literary expressions of hostility to Rome in the Near East were adapted from earlier utterances against the Hellenes. In addition to the works cited in n. 51, above, see H. Fuchs, Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom in der antiken Welt, Berlin 1938, repr. 1964; A. T. Olmstead, "Intertestamental Studies", JAOS 56, 1936, 242–57; E. Kocsis, "Ost-

Sibyllist with a theme of history proceeding from a beginning to a dramatic catastrophe; and this he adopted to convey his own especial message, that to escape the coming destruction men must be baptized and seek God's pardon.[164]

There is some slight evidence of the Persian Sibyllists predicting the coming of the Saošyant as one of the events of the end time. In the Avesta this World Saviour is portrayed as having priestly power, but also as a mighty warrior who would command the army of the good in the last great battle. In those days kings led their forces in person in the field; and he also came to be thought of (as later texts show) as an invincible king. Finally, since he is to come at the end of time, he is associated in the Avesta with the raising of the dead, that is, he is seen as having divine authority.[165] This great Zoroastrian figure seems traceable in a passage in Book VIII of the *Sibylline Oracles*, at the beginning of an eschatological section in which there are other, scattered, Zoroastrian elements. Here it is prophesied: "Then a holy prince will gain control of the sceptres of the whole world for all ages, he who raised the dead".[166] He has also been seen in a prophecy attributed by Lactantius to Hystaspes, that "a great king" will be sent at the last time, "to the righteous and the followers of truth . . . to rescue them and free them, and destroy all the wicked".[167] This Zoroastrian expectation met with others in the Hellenistic Near East which partly coincided with it. Thus in Egypt there was an ardent national longing for the predicted coming of a saviour king, a pharaoh of Egyptian blood;[168]

West Gegensatz in den judischen Sibyllen", Novum Testamentum 5, 1962, 105–110; and, more generally, E. M. Sanford, "Contrasting views of the Roman empire", American J. of Philology 58, 1937, 437–56. It is likely that "Mithradates of Pontus was the cause of many oracles" against Rome (Olmstead, art. cit., p. 254), but only very little in the surviving Sib. Oracles can actually be connected with him, e.g. Sib. Or. III.70 (H.C.O. Lanchester, in APOT II, 387 n. 470). Against associating with him Sib. Or. III.350–80 (so Geffcken, o.c. in n. 162, p. 8; Lanchester, l.c., p. 372) see Collins, OTP 358.

[164] Sib. Or. IV.163–9, with the comments of Collins, art. cit., pp. 377–8.

[165] Yt.19.10–11, 88 ff. (Sources, p. 90).

[166] Sib. Or. VIII.169–70 (partly echoed in III.49). Biblical scholars have seen in the "holy prince" Elijah, or God himself, see Collins, OTP 422 note x.

[167] Div. Inst. VII.17.10–11.

[168] Sib. Or. III.652–3 runs "and then God will send a king from the sun, who will stop the entire earth from evil war". These lines were quoted from an unspecified Sibyl by Lactantius, Div. Inst. VII.18, and were taken by Reitzenstein in Reitzenstein-Schaeder, Studien, 47 f. to show that the "great king of the last time" in *Hystaspes* was Mithra. In this he was followed by Cumont (RHR 103, 87), Widengren (Rel. Irans, 203), and others. Sib. Or. III is known, however, to be of mainly Egyptian provenance; and the phrase "king from the sun" was used in Egypt for the pharaoh, son of the solar god Re, see Collins, OTP 376 note x3, and further below, p. 465. (In the late Sib. Or. XIII.151 (OTP, 458), Odenath of Palmyra, a city of solar cults, is also said to be "sent from the sun".)

and the Jews nurtured a variety of hopes, of a king of David's line, or a shepherd-prince, or a priestly leader, who would be the prophesied messiah and help to establish Yahweh's ideal kingship over his people. Where, however, there is expectation of an exalted figure who will come at the end of time, dominate the world on behalf of the good, and raise the dead, it seems legitimate to look for some Zoroastrian contribution.

An attempt has been made to trace another, and more fundamental, Zoroastrian teaching in Book VIII of the *Oracles*. This book consists of two distinct parts, each composite. In the first there is, as we have just seen, a passing reference to raising the dead; but its main theme is the destruction of Rome and removal of its wickedness in "the tenth generation", when "the last day is near".[169] The second part, much quoted by Lactantius, is Christian;[170] and in it has been detected a rehandling of a Zoroastrian account of creation.[171] If this interpretation is well founded, the passage in question may consist of Persian Sibylline verses re-used without much change, for in Zoroastrianism eschatology, which was so much the Sibyllists' theme, is bound up with cosmogony, since according to its doctrines the work of salvation began with creation. The Iranian religion taught, distinctively, that the world was formed of seven separate "creations", sky, water, earth, plants, animals, man and fire; and that, as we have seen,[172] all separate things within these "creations", animate or inanimate, had an indwelling spirit, which Ahura Mazda had made before their material forms. The verses in question are incorporated in a paean of praise to God, and begin abruptly with the statement that "they" (the antecedent is lost) "bear witness to each thing which you yourself decide to do and approve in your mind. With your son [i.e. Christ], before all creation, you shared deliberation with equal breasts, fashioner of men and creator of life. . . . All the elements together obeyed your command, and eternal creation was arranged for mortal creature; heaven, air, fire, earth, land and sea current, sun, moon, chorus of stars, mountains, night, day, sleep, waking, spirit and motion, soul and intellect, skill and voice and strength, and wild tribes of living creatures, those of swimming creatures and birds, walking creatures and amphibians".[173] Lines which follow

[169] V. 91, 199.
[170] See Collins, OTP 415–16.
[171] D. Flusser, "A quotation from the Gathas in a Christian Sibylline Oracle", Studies in the History of Religions, Festschrift G. Widengren, Numen, Supp. XXI, 1972, 172–5.
[172] Above, p. 365.
[173] Sib. Or. VIII 438–55 (Collins, OTP 428).

are wholly Christian, with a striking change in tone; but those just cited would fit harmoniously in almost every detail with a Zoroastrian account of creation (apart from the absence of an allusion to plants). The opening verse acknowledges the power of God's reflective activity; and the Zoroastrian name for God, Mazda, rendered usually as "Wisdom", hypostatizes the force or spirit within thinking and reflection. So in one of Zoroaster's Gathas the words occur: "O Mazda, Thou didst fashion in the beginning, by Thy thought, creatures . . ." (*mazdā paourvīm gaēθåsca tašō . . . θwā manaŋhā'*.)[174] The Christian redactor then introduces Christ as co-existent with his Father, but applies to the latter terms used by Zoroastrians of Ahura Mazda, whom Zoroaster calls "creator of life" (*dātar- aŋhāuš*),[175] and whom the Young Avesta celebrates as the one "who fashioned men" (*yō nərəuš tataša*).[176] Then come the words "eternal creation was arranged for a mortal creature"; which have been interpreted as expressing the Zoroastrian doctrine of first an intangible and then a tangible creation.[177] To "arrange" (*viδāraya-*) rather than to "make" was a characteristic Zoroastrian term for the divine act of creation;[178] and "eternal" may have been an interpretation in Greek of the Zoroastrian concept of "of the spirit, immaterial" (*mainyava-*). The Avestan word *dāman-* was used for both "creature" and "creation", and this was perhaps reflected in the Greek word chosen by the Persian Sibyllist.

There follows directly a list of created things, with at its head the four inanimate "creations" of Zoroastrianism (to which air has been added, presumably under the influence of Greek philosophy[179]). What comes then has been compared with lines from another of Zoroaster's Gathas, addressed rhetorically by the prophet to Ahura Mazda: "Who established the course of sun and stars? Through whom does the moon wax, then wane? . . . What craftsman created light and darkness . . . both sleep and activity?"[180], with the unusualness being justly stressed of putting sleep and awakening in a list of created things. The qualities and abilities which are named thereafter "are also unusual in a Christian list of things created, and it is possible that

[174] Y.31.11 (Sources, pp. 38–9, essentially as translated by S. Insler, Gathas, p. 39).
[175] Y.50.11.
[176] Y.1.1.
[177] Flusser, art. cit., pp. 173–4.
[178] E.g. Yt.13.2, 4, 9; cf. HZ I 131.
[179] Often in later Zoroastrian writings "air" is substituted for the original "sky" (conceived as a solid shell, cf. HZ I 132). The apparently random order of the creations in the Sibylline text may owe much to the exigencies of metre, like the hendiadys of "land" and "earth".
[180] Y.44.3, 5; Sources, p. 34 (Insler, o.c., p. 67).

they also originated from a Zoroastrian source . . . understood as hypostaseis."[181] Not only are lists of such qualities or powers wholly characteristic of Zoroastrian texts, but so also is their immediate juxtaposition with animate things—creatures that swim and fly and walk; for Zoroastrian tradition, rooted in a remote animatistic past, made no clear-cut distinction between such categories. The Zoroastrian elements in this short passage thus appear relatively numerous and markedly coherent; and they are not all ones which became part of a common stock of Hellenistic religious ideas. It hardly suffices therefore to say, while acknowledging the justness of parallels drawn with Zoroastrian texts, that this "only proves that religious imagery travels".[182] The resemblances go deeper than imagery, and involve basic doctrine.

The linking of creation to the end of time was a remarkable aspect of Zoroaster's teachings, with his vision of Ahura Mazda pursuing his vast ethical aim throughout cosmie and human history. Much of the strength of Zoroaster's moral theology lay in this doctrine, and in the conscious association of man with the divine powers in the struggle to defeat evil (a concept which we have seen made explicit in Commagenian inscriptions[183]). He perceived the salvation of the world as dependent both on cosmic striving and on the sum of individual human choices; and these two conjoined aspects of his teachings—emphasis on individual responsibility and concern for the whole cosmos—made his doctrines strikingly relevant to the conditions and problems of the Hellenistic age. Old social patterns were then disintegrating with the decay of the city-state, the shifting boundaries of new kingdoms, and the mingling of peoples and cultures; and such changes, often violent and disruptive, led to the destruction of former loyalties and communal bonds, and the development at once of a wider, universalistic outlook and of focus on the individual. The Jews were susceptible to these developments, like other peoples of the time, and a new concern for the salvation of the individual rather than of the Jewish nation is a dominant motif of the Jewish Sibyllists.

The *Sibylline Oracles* help to document these changes in some

[181] Flusser, art. cit., p. 173.

[182] A. Momigliano, Alien Wisdom, 145. It was inaccurate of him to go further and say that Flusser's careful analysis amounted to making a "serious claim that the *Gathas* were read in the Hellenistic Roman world". Gathic teachings permeate the whole Zoroastrian tradition; and Flusser (p. 175) said no more in conclusion to his study than that the passage in question "is a witness for the existence either of a 'mage christianisé' or of a contact between Christians and adherents of Zarathustra, who were probably hellenized".

[183] See above, pp. 334, 335.

branches at least of Judaism in Greco-Roman times; and they are of especial interest for the history of Zoroastrian-Jewish contacts, with a Greek form of expression being adopted successively by Persians and Jews, and providing clearly an easy means for transmitting ideas from one to another. Book IV suggests, moreover, that Jews of Palestine were among those who used this vehicle. The surviving *Oracles* form, however, only a tiny part of the surviving Jewish literature from this epoch; and it is in any case clear that some developments which are then attested in Judaism went far too deep to have been of contemporary growth or brought about by written texts only. In so far as they were owed to the influence of Zoroastrianism, actual contact at some stage between devout Jews and devout Zoroastrians, living side by side and practising their respective faiths, seems an essential prerequisite. Archaeological evidence, as we have seen, shows that conditions for such contact existed in western Asia Minor; and certain Jewish writings of the Hellenistic age support the assumption that similar close associations were to be found elsewhere, going well back into Achaemenian times.

Zoroastrian elements in Daniel, II Maccabees and Tobit

The most important Jewish writing of Hellenistic times, in that it was the only one to be accepted into the canon of scripture, is the *Book of Daniel*.[184] This is in many ways a typical piece of apocalyptic literature, compiled by its unknown author for a specific purpose, namely to strengthen faithful Jews in their resistence to the religious persecution unleashed in 167 B.C. against their community by Antiochus IV.[185] It is partly in Hebrew, partly in Aramaic, and the Aramaic contains a striking number of Persian (as well as Greek) loanwords.[186] The contents also fall into two parts. The first (chapters 1–6) consists of edifying stories about Daniel, a wise and upright Jew with a gift for interpreting dreams, who is supposed to have lived in Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar and the first Achaemenian kings. (The historical details in this part are wildly inaccurate.) It is generally agreed that these stories represent older

[184] This means that it has received a great deal of scholarly attention. See, with bibliographies, Eissfeldt, OT, 512–29; Schürer, HJP III.i, 245–50. The work is held to have been composed between 167 and 165.

[185] See above, p. 33.

[186] On these see W. B. Henning apud F. Rosenthal, A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic, 2nd ed., Wiesbaden 1963, 58–9; W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen, Wiesbaden 1975.

materials, originating among Babylonian Jews in the third century;[187] and Zoroastrian elements have long been seen in them.[188] Thus in a dream dreamt by Nebuchadnezzar there occurs the prophecy of four kingdoms, the last to be that of the Greeks; and this is to be shattered by the power of God, whose kingdom will be established in its place for ever.[189] The pattern is that of Zoroastrian apocalyptic of the early Hellenistic age as it appears through the *Sibylline Oracles* and *Zand i Vahman Yašt*; and the four kingdoms are symbolized by a statue made of four metals which are similar to those of the tree of Zoroaster's dream in the latter work, namely gold, silver, bronze (steel in the *ZVYt*) and iron mixed with clay.[190]

The second part of *Daniel* (chapters 7–12) is concerned with visions seen by Daniel himself and interpreted to him by others. There is much diverse matter here, as in the first part, drawn, it is evident, from Babylonian and Canaanite sources;[191] but through it all the theme persists of the four world kingdoms and the coming kingdom of God. The book reaches its climax with a prophecy imparted to Daniel by the archangel Gabriel "in the third year of

[187] H. L. Ginsberg, Studies in Daniel, 29.

[188] From the time of the pioneering study by E. Meyer, Ursprung und Anfänge, II 174–99.

[189] Dan. 2:31–45, cf. 7:1–8, 15–27. In this Babylonian setting "Chaldea" has been substituted for Assyria, see Ginsberg, o.c., p. 5; Winston, art. cit. in n. 2, p. 190.

[190] Cf. above, pp. 385–6. Although the similarities between the 2 dreams are striking, different deductions have inevitably been drawn from this. Some see the dreams as deriving independently from Hesiod, but then the problem is the "iron mixed with clay", which they have in common instead of his simple "iron". Others have argued for precedence of the *Daniel* story; and E. J. Bickerman, Four strange books of the Bible, New York 1968, 68, suggested that priority should be accorded it because with a statue the detail of feet of iron mixed with clay made sense. "To cast a metal statue a clay core was needed. The clay was then removed. But in order to stabilize very massive hollow metal pieces or their appurtenances, such as the feet of Nebuchadnezzar's colossus, on completion the clay cores were sometimes retained". This ingenious explanation hardly fits the *Dan.* passage, however, where it is said that the feet and toes were "part potter's clay, and part iron", and so, being mixed, were brittle and could be broken. A core of clay within hollow iron feet would have added rather to their strength and resistance. The linking of the Hesiodic scheme of 4 metals with the Persian one of 4 kingdoms is likely, as we have seen (above, p. 382), to have taken place in Zoroastrian apocalyptic early in the Hellenistic age; and while a tree seems a natural symbol for Iranians, so does a statue for Jews—an idol that was to be broken and overthrown, as heathen idols had so often been in the OT (cf. Dan. 5:4). The change of the dream-symbol thus appears readily comprehensible.

[191] The vision of the "Ancient of Days", with the "one like a son of man" (Dan. 7:9–10), appears to derive from Canaanite imagery rather than owing anything to Iran. For the large literature on this see Eissfeldt, OT, 526 n. 47; Collins, VT XXV, 1975, 601 n. 23; Hultgård, art. cit. in n. 3, pp. 535–6.

Cyrus king of Persia".[192] This embodies a more or less factual account of the Syrian wars of the Seleucids and Ptolemids, conveyed in Sibylline fashion as allusive, enigmatic, *ex eventu* prophecy; and it culminates in the reign of Antiochus IV. That "contemptible man" (it is declared) "his mind set against the holy covenant . . . will flatter with smooth words those who act wickedly towards the covenant, but the people devoted to their god will stand firm. The knowledgeable among the people will make the many understand; and for a while they shall fall by sword and flame, suffer captivity and spoliation . . . for an interval still remains until the appointed time. . . . At the time of the end . . . the great prince, Michael, who stands beside the sons of your people, will appear. It will be a time of trouble, the like of which has never been seen since the nation came into being. At that time, your people will be rescued, all who are found inscribed in the book. Many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth will awake, some to eternal life, others to reproaches, to everlasting abhorrence. And the knowledgeable will be radiant like the bright expanse of the sky, and those who lead the many to righteousness will be like the stars for ever and ever."[193] Finally the angelic messenger says to Daniel: "But you, go on to the end; you shall rest, and arise to your destiny at the end of the days."[194]

The essential element in the prophecy is the original Zoroastrian one of a "time of the end", "the end of the days", towards which all events are tending. This concept also informs the dreams of the older narrative part of the book, and represents a radical change from the traditional Hebrew outlook of the Old Testament. How sharp this change was can be seen by comparing the treatment of Antiochus' persecution in *Daniel* with that in the *First Book of Maccabees*, a chronicle of it and of the events that followed, written probably around 100 B.C.[195] The author of *Daniel*, like the Persian apocalyptists before him, knew no parallel to the suffering of his own days. So evil was the epoch that it must be the Last Time

[192] Dan. 10:1. On the identity of the "heavenly being" in this chapter see Ginsberg, o.c., p. 34, and his article "Michael and Gabriel", Enc. Jud. 11, 1488–9.—The translations of *Daniel* passages given here are from The Writings, Kethubim, a new translation of the Holy Scriptures according to the Masoretic text, III, Philadelphia 1982.

[193] Dan. 11:21–12:3.

[194] Dan. 12:12. On the eschatological part of this prophecy see Cavallin, art. cit. in n. 11, pp. 249–51; Hultgård, art. cit. in n. 3, p. 541 ff.; G. W. E. Nickelsburgh, Resurrection . . . in intertestamental Judaism, 11 ff. (who is one of the Biblical scholars who argue for the appearance of the beliefs expressed in *Daniel* being purely a matter of internal Jewish development).

[195] See Eissfeldt, OT, 576–9; Schürer, HJP III.1, 180–5.

before the final defeat of the wicked. The author of *I Maccabees* takes a more sober view. He perceives the persecution as dreadful indeed, but not as unprecedented. "A terrible oppression began in Israel", he records, "there had been nothing like it since the disappearance of prophecy among them."[196] Nor is there any suggestion that he saw its horrors as so great that they marked a last age.

Among other elements in the *Daniel* prophecy that reflect distinctive Zoroastrian beliefs is the expectation of bodily resurrection (implied rather than plainly stated), to be followed by judgment, with blessedness for the just but an evil lot for sinners. These fates were expressly restricted, however, to Jews ("your people"), the alien doctrine being thus reconciled with the traditional Jewish conviction of Israel's uniqueness. Gentiles, it seems, will then simply be destroyed. It has further been deduced from the similes used for the saved ("radiant like the bright expanse of sky . . . like the stars for ever") that it was thought that they would be raised up to a life on high. Possibly there was some impact here of Greek thought, possibly it was purely a development of the Old Testament tradition of the bodily ascension of Enoch and Elijah. It was evidently Hebrew tradition which suggested that the righteous will "sleep in the dust of the earth" until the Last Day, instead of the soul undergoing individual judgment at death. This is just one of the Jewish variations on the Zoroastrian theme which are attested in the writings of this period.[197]

Another Zoroastrian contribution to *Daniel* appears to be in the presence (for the first and hence only time in the Old Testament) of Michael and Gabriel, who are introduced in a way that suggests that they were familiar figures to the book's readers. The contrast between the naming of the two archangels here, and the anonymity of the seraphim in *Isaiah* 6:2 ("I saw the Lord Yahweh seated on a high throne . . . above him stood seraphs") led Rabbi Simeon b. Lakish to deduce that the naming of angels was something which the Jews brought back with them from Babylon.[198] The Jewish concept of angels underwent in general a profound change in post-Exilic times; and in the literature of the Greco-Roman period they are imagined as having a hierarchy, headed by the seven archangels, four of whom stand round the throne of God. Lesser angels also have names. They carry prayers from man to God, and protect the righteous; and they are also conceived of as forming an

[196] I Macc. 9:27. The above comparison between it and the *Daniel* passage was drawn by O. Plöger, Theocracy and Eschatology, 17.
[197] See Cavallin, art. cit. in n. 11.
[198] Ginsberg, art. cit., p. 1487.

angelic army which will take part in the final war against the wicked. They further appear as the controlling spirits of natural phenomena, such as the stars and winds and the four seasons; and likewise of abstractions such as peace or healing. They are believed to be privy to the secrets of the cosmos, and are sometimes conjoined with cosmic principalities and powers.[199] Much of this angelology, it has been said, "may be attributed to the infiltration of Iranian ideas, for it runs parallel to a remarkable degree with what we find in the Gathas and other earlier portions of the Zend-Avesta. Thus, the seven archangels have their counterpart in the Amesha Spentas, who attend upon . . . Ahuramazda. . . . The identification of the angels with the controlling spirits of natural phenomena accords strikingly with the concept of the *fravashis* and the *yazatas* . . . The notion that angels intercede for man and that they will join in the final battle against the Evil One echoes the role of these same spiritual beings in the Avesta".[200] Specifically, with regard to *Daniel*, the prophesied role of Michael as a "great prince", who will appear "at the time of the end" to aid the righteous among the Jews, has been seen as reflecting that of the Saošyant. Michael is in general portrayed as the protector of the Jewish people; but this caused controversy, since in *Deuteronomy* 32:9 it is expressly said that Israel has no guardian but Yahweh.[201] Opposition to the whole new angelology was characteristic in Roman times of the conservative Sadducees, whereas the Pharisees embraced it.[202]

The growth of this angelology, together with that of a complementary demonology, formed part of the marked tendency to dualism among certain groups of Jews in post-Exilic times; but since in itself it can be regarded as a peripheral matter, Iranian influence in this field is fairly readily admitted.[203] With regard, however, to eschatological beliefs, including that in bodily resurrection, many Biblical scholars maintain that these are essentially an internal Jewish development, their close resemblance to Zoroastrian ones being coincidental. Their clear emergence at the time when *Daniel* was composed is attributed to the sudden shock of

[199] T. H. Gaster, "Angel", The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, I (1962), 132–3 (with references to the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha for each of the above statements).
[200] Ib., pp. 133–4 (with detailed citations of Av. passages). Cf. Bousset, Rel. Jud., 320–31, 499–500; and, with further bibliography, Hultgård, art. cit., pp. 545–7.
[201] Ginsberg, art. cit., p. 1488; Collins, art. cit. in n. 21, p. 601 n. 20.
[202] Acts 23:8.
[203] See, e.g., Moulton, EZ, 323–4.

religious persecution then, with hellenizing Jews flourishing under Seleucid patronage while others faithful to their own tradition died, sometimes horribly.[204] Yahweh's justice, which was at the heart of his covenant with his chosen people, was thus not being declared here on earth; and belief in justice in an afterlife was now forced on them, it is maintained, in order to vindicate it. A similar cause—the successful harrying of Mazda-worshipping Iranians by lawless daeva-worshipping ones—appears to have been a major factor in impelling Zoroaster to his belief in judgment after death. He, however, was a profoundly original religious thinker, and this doctrine formed an integral part of his theology. No great religious leader is known among the Jews of the second century who could similarly and independently have taken this doctrinal step.[205] Moreover, the eschatological beliefs which then emerge are so close to the Zoroastrian ones, in organization as well as in details, that it is hard to suppose that the Iranian religion, long present among them, had not provided the Jews with a model in this. It also seems significant that these new beliefs caused controversy in their community for generations. As to their arising spontaneously in response to the particular troubles of Antiochus' reign, this is disproved by clear evidence that these beliefs were already firmly held by some Jews at the very outset of his persecution.

This evidence comes from the *Second Book of Maccabees*, another chronicle of the persecution and of subsequent events. It was composed in Greek, probably in 124 B.C., but was based on older materials, including stories of martyrs' deaths written, it is thought, about 160.[206] At the outbreak of the persecution, it is told, a family of seven brothers chose to die agonising deaths, and their mother after them, rather than break the Jewish Law; and their words of defiance are set down with, one may suppose, some faithfulness to the substance of what they said. The second brother is represented accordingly as declaring to Antiochus: "You may discharge us from this present life, but the King of the world will raise us up, since we die for his laws, to live again for ever."[207] The next brother, valiantly holding out his hands to be chopped off, is recorded to have said: "Heaven gave me these limbs . . . from him I hope to receive them again";[208] while the fourth declared that he

[204] So, e.g., Nickelsburg, o.c., esp. p. 19. (He is among the scholars who date Isaiah 26:19 to this same period, see his p. 41.)
[205] Cf. Bousset, Rel. Jud., 480.
[206] Eissfeldt, OT, 579–81; Schürer, HJP III.i, 531–7.
[207] II Macc. 7:9.
[208] Ib., 7:11.

and his brothers relied "on God's promise that we shall be raised up by him, whereas for you there can be no resurrection, no new life".[209] (Here, as in *Daniel*, belief is in resurrection only for Jews.) When only her youngest son remained, the mother encouraged him too to endure the torture with these words: "It was not I who endowed you with breath and life. I had not the shaping of your every part. And hence, the Creator of the world, who made everyone and ordained the origin of all things, will in his mercy give you back breath and life, since for the sake of his laws you have no concern for yourselves. . . . Prove yourself worthy of your brothers and accept death, so that I may receive you back with them."[210] The belief here is clearly that God who makes the infant in the womb can remake the man hereafter; and this argument was one that had been used by Zoroastrian priests in support of the doctrine of physical resurrection. In the translation of a lost Avestan text Ahura Mazda is thus made to declare: "When I created corn, that it might be scattered in the earth and grow again . . . and when I created and protected the child in the mother's womb . . . then the creation of each one of these was more difficult for me than the raising of the dead. For . . . consider, if I made that which was not, why cannot I make again that which was?"[211] Hence exactly the same words that are attributed to the Jewish mother could have been put in the mouth of a Zoroastrian woman in similar dire circumstances. There would nevertheless have been a radical difference in their religious convictions. Zoroastrians thus placed would have been able to believe that they were pitting their courage and endurance against the Evil Spirit and his agents, and that by dying for their faith they were not only saving their own souls but also strengthening the embattled forces of good, and so hastening in a tiny way the coming of Frašo-kereti. They would have felt convinced, that is, that they were striving together with Ahura Mazda for a common goal. The Jews were taught by their religion that all suffering undergone by his chosen people was ordained as a chastisement by Yahweh. The martyrs are represented accordingly as seeing Antiochus as only his instrument in this, and the youngest

[209] Ib., 7:14.
[210] Ib., 7:22–3, 29.
[211] GBd. XXXIV.4–5, tr. Sources, 52. Cf. Zadspram XXXIV.1–29, tr. Zaehner, Zurvan, 348–50. The same analogical reasoning was used later by Jewish rabbis, see Sanhedrin 91a (cited by Cavallin, art. cit., p. 318 n. 546; Winston, art. cit. in n. 2, pp. 210–11; Hultgård, art. cit., pp. 575–6); but "whether the process of the formation of the body at the Resurrection is the same as at birth is a matter of dispute between the Hillelites and Shammaites", K. Kohler, "Eschatology", Jewish Enc. V, 216.

brother is made to say: "We are suffering for our own sins; and if, to punish and discipline us, our living Lord is briefly angry with us, he will be reconciled with us in due course".[212] The old belief that divine justice is administered in this life was thus not abandoned, but was joined to a new expectation of a fuller justice hereafter.

The utterances ascribed to the martyred family show that at the very beginning of Antiochus' persecution some Jews believed with absolute certainty in physical resurrection as part of a blessed hereafter. The belief in revivification of the body, objectively considered, is a strange and archaic one, whose evolution can be traced among the ancient Indo-Iranians to the point where it became an integral part of Zoroaster's own eschatological teachings, in the distant second millennium B.C.; and it is impossible to suppose that it could have sprung suddenly into existence among the Jews in response even to the grimmest circumstances. Nor is there any overriding reason why a new hope of future happiness, if independently conceived by them, should have been linked with belief in resurrection of the body.[213] The adoption of a doctrine so different from the expectations of their forefathers in a shadowy spirit-life hereafter can surely have come about only gradually, through prolonged contact with Zoroastrians, much discussion, and above all the example of lives lived devoutly and confidently in the light of this teaching—which, once its total improbability is overcome, clearly has its strong attraction. The likelihood is, therefore, that some group or groups of Jews had adopted this belief well before the second century from Zoroastrians who were their close neighbours; and that for generations they had brought up their children in this expectation, so that it had become natural in their families, an instinctive source of strength and hope.

Belief in physical resurrection is recorded again in *II Maccabees*, once more with startling vividness, in the martyrdom a few years later of a Jerusalem elder, Razis. With shattered body, and surrounded by Seleucid soldiers, he managed to climb on a rock and, standing there, "tore out his entrails and taking them in both hands flung them down on the crowd, calling on the Master of his life and spirit to give them back to him one day".[214] An observance in connection with the belief is recorded moreover of Judas Maccabaeus. After a battle in which a number of Jews had fallen, he ordered their bodies to be taken up for burial; but on all of them

[212] II Macc. 7:32–3, cf. 7:18, and further 6:13–16.
[213] Cf. the observations of J. Barr, cited above in n. 11.
[214] 14:46.

amulets were found of Gentile gods, which was held to be why Yahweh had let them be killed. Judas collected money from the survivors, which he sent to Jerusalem "to have a sacrifice for sin offered, an action . . . prompted by his belief in the resurrection. For had he not expected the fallen to rise again, it would have been superfluous and foolish to pray for the dead, whereas if he had in view the splendid recompense reserved for those who make a pious end, the thought was holy and devout. Hence he had this expiatory sacrifice offered for the dead, so that they might be released from their sin."[215]

The adoption of an alien belief thus brought with it new observances. Zoroaster himself, with his conviction of the absolute responsibility of each individual for his own fate, is not likely to have countenanced any form of intercession for the dead; but long before the Achaemenian period his followers, lesser men, had undoubtedly come to offer prayers and sacrifices on their behalf, grafting these observances on to the ancient custom of making offerings for the welfare of ancestral spirits; and such usages grew to have an important place in Zoroastrianism. The Jews who first assimilated Zoroastrian beliefs about the afterlife may well therefore have adopted with them such observances in their own families, followed here by Judas on a grander scale.

Actions such as this by Judas, and the declared convictions of some of the martyrs, must have helped spread knowledge of belief in resurrection and a blessed hereafter among Palestinian Jews at this time; and the troubles which they were then undergoing presumably persuaded more to embrace these other-worldly hopes.[216] Yet many Jews evidently rejected or ignored them, continuing like their forefathers to rely on fidelity to the Law and Temple to enable them to withstand adversity. Thus in *I Maccabees* there is no trace of belief in resurrection. The only recompense envisaged there for those dying for their religion is "great honour and everlasting renown,"[217] in the heroic spirit of ancient Israel. This difference clearly reflects the different beliefs of the compilers of the two partly parallel chronicles.

The question then arises as to the identity of the innovators, evidently, despite their innovations, deeply pious Jews; and the answer generally given is that they were Hasidim, the "Devout". As "stout fighting men of Israel, each one a volunteer on the side of

[215] 12:39–45.
[216] Cf. S. Isenberg, "Millenarism in Greco-Roman Palestine", Religion IV, 1974, 26–46.
[217] I Macc. 2:50 ff.

the Law",[218] the Hasidim were prominent in resisting Antiochus and the Hellenizers. Later, in about 150 B.C., they split, according to Josephus, into two groups, the Pharisees and Essenes;[219] and what is known of these groups explains how the Hasidim could have adopted alien beliefs while in their own eyes still adhering strictly to the teachings of the Hebrew prophets. The Pharisees, profoundly respecting the scriptures, nevertheless "interpreted" them, seeking in them new meanings to support the new doctrines which they had come to believe to be true, and hence truly Jewish, while their opponents, the Sadducees, continued to uphold the literal understanding of the holy words.[220] The significance of the names of these two groups is uncertain, but both, it is thought, were probably given them pejoratively. That of "Pharisee" is usually interpreted by Biblical scholars either as "Purifier", i.e. one with excessive zeal for purification, or as "Separator", i.e. one who in his devoutness keeps himself apart from the many; but a carefully argued case has also been made for deriving the name from Aramaic *Pārsāh/*Pharsāh*, "Persian", and understanding it to mean originally "Persianiser", since so many of the beliefs of this group appear to come ultimately from Zoroastrianism.[221] (Since the Persian religion was still a living presence among Jews in Greco-Roman times, beliefs which the Pharisees held in common with Zoroastrians could readily have been identified as such by their fellow-Jews.)

When and where the forbears of the second-century Hasidim came to assimilate these alien beliefs is necessarily a matter for reasoned speculation, because of the dearth of earlier sources. The term *ḥasidim* has been shown to have been used in post-Exilic Biblical texts first for the Jewish community as a whole and then, by late Achaemenian times, for one section of that community, namely the pious poor, and the relatively poor, who held to their religion as the central fact in their lives.[222] In the Hellenistic period the Hasidim showed a desire to retreat into Jewishness and cut themselves off from the Gentile world; and such an attitude, it has

[218] I Macc. 2:42.
[219] Antiquities, XII.17 ff.
[220] On the Pharisees and Sadducees see, with texts and bibliography, Schürer, HJP II 381–403.
[221] T. W. Manson, "Sadducee and Pharisee", Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 22, 1938, 144–59. On the markedly Zoroastrian character of some Pharisaic teachings cf. L. Finkelstein, "The Pharisees: their origin and their philosophy", HTR XXII, 1929, 223–31.
[222] J. Morgenstern, "The Ḥ^asīdīm—who were they?", HUCA XXXVIII, 1967, 59–73.

been pointed out, is not easily reconciled with "the appropriation of foreign concepts", which "presupposes a certain openness".[223] This then is another reason for attributing the adoption of Zoroastrian beliefs in part at least to pre-Hellenistic times. Their first impact has indeed been plausibly attributed to the early days of Achaemenian rule, when Persian benevolence may have broken down barriers of national resistance, and "a very positive influence of foreign ideas . . . could have given a new impulse to native convictions and . . . been regarded as an enrichment of the world of received belief."[224] An openness to Zoroastrian beliefs as a stimulus to Jewish thought seems traceable indeed even before Cyrus' conquest, in the utterances of Second Isaiah. His words do not appear, however, to have had much effect on the Jewish prophets who followed him; and it is assumed that it was mainly fringe groups among the Jews—outsiders in the eyes of the community's leaders—who came to absorb some of Zoroaster's teachings.[225] The depth of conviction with which they did so suggests the result of close and prolonged communication; and the greatest likelihood therefore seems that those concerned were among the Jews who actually worked for Persians in the Achaemenian period. History knows of Nehemiah, cup-bearer to Artaxerxes II; and he was certainly not the only one of his people to seek employment with the ruling foreigners, in Babylonia and elsewhere. Some perhaps worked as scribes and business agents for wealthy Zoroastrian families, and others may have been household servants or outdoor workers. Illuminating instances can be found in modern times of Hindus and Muslims working for Zoroastrians who have, while keeping their own faith, come through long association to know almost as much about their employers' religion as their own, and to have absorbed elements from it. The most immediate way in which Zoroastrian practice would have affected those working for Persians was through the purity laws, which had necessarily to be kept to some extent by all in their employ; and it has been suggested that the remarkable extension of Jewish purity laws in post-Exilic times owed something to Zoroastrian example.[226] It would be natural too if among household servants beliefs about angels and demons were readily communicated, and if when death occurred the striking Zoroastrian rituals that accompanied it led to questions about the beliefs concerned. In country districts it is possible that whole groups of

[223] Plöger, Theocracy and eschatology, 26.
[224] Ib., p. 47.
[225] Ib., pp. 47–8.
[226] Cf. HZ II 189–190.

Jews worked in various capacities for Persian owners of large estates, and that such associations continued for generations. If this was so, it is readily understandable that it should have been poorer Jews who were exposed to Zoroastrianism in ways that wealthy Jewish landowners and priests were not.[227]

What may have widened knowledge of Zoroastrian theology among Jews more generally was the emergence of the Zurvanite heresy in the later Achaemenian period. Its monistic doctrine was presumably made known to Zoroastrians themselves by propagandists using argument and exposition, even if its actual adoption (where this took place) owed most in the end to the Great King's authority. It made little change in the effective beliefs of Zoroastrians; but its basic theological premise was sufficiently different from that taught by Zoroaster for its advent to have caused intense priestly discussion and bitter—possibly even active—dissent; and this is likely to have created awareness of the credal issues at stake among the religiously minded of other communities, and so have increased knowledge both of orthodox Zoroastrian doctrines and of Zurvanite beliefs. Undoubtedly there are Zurvanite elements in what appear to be Jewish borrowings from Zoroastrianism,[228] among others those periodizations of history which are prominent in much Jewish apocalyptic, and which probably originated in chronological speculations engaged on by Zurvanite magi in contact with Babylonian priests.[229]

The main activity in establishing Zurvanism was probably in the late fifth-early fourth centuries B.C. Similarities between *Daniel* and the *Zand i Vahman Yašt* suggest an impact also on Babylonian Jews of Zoroastrian apocalyptic of the early Hellenistic age, with the likelihood of knowledge being fairly general then among educated Jews of the poems of the Persian and other Sibyls. (Under the Ptolemids and Seleucids even Palestine was steeped in Hellenistic

[227] See further below, p. 419.

[228] This was first noticed by H. Michaud, art. cit. in n. 2, pp. 137–47, who envisaged the possibility (p. 146 n. 2) of Zurvanite influence having been felt by Jews in Babylonia in the Achaemenian period. On the influence of this heterodoxy on the Jews at a later period cf. G. Gnoli, "L'évolution du dualisme iranien et le problème zurvanite", RHR CCI, 1984, 135–8; and more generally on Zurvanism M. Boyce, "Some further reflections on Zurvanism", Papers in honor of Professor Ehsan Yarshater, Acta Iranica 29, 1990, 20–29.

[229] Cf. K. G. Kuhn, "Die Sekteninschrift und die iranische Religion", Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche 49, 1952, 309–10; Murdock, art. cit. in n. 10, p. 169. The chronological speculations, notably those concerning a World Year of 12,000 years, became part also of orthodox Zoroastrian scholastic thought, and as such will be considered in the next volume of this history. For other Zurvanite elements in Jewish writings see further below.

culture, and Greek loan-words, found in some abundance in *Daniel*, occur freely in other Jewish works of the period, and even in rabbinical writings.[230]) The wide range of what appear to be Jewish borrowings from Zoroastrianism is in fact consonant with there having been contacts between Iranians and Jews at different levels and by diverse means at various places and over a long stretch of time. Babylon clearly had an important part in this, and between it and Palestine there was constant coming and going. Another place where there may well have been fruitful propinquity was in and around Damascus, where there appear to have been numerous Iranian settlers,[231] while away to the west we have seen Jews and Zoroastrians living side by side in Lydia and Phrygia. Jews of all regions kept contact with Jerusalem, through pilgrimage and remission of annual dues, so that the exchange of ideas between scattered groups must always have been possible; but there is no evidence in the Jewish writings of Greco-Roman times of any fixed doctrinal system evolving. The apocrypha and pseudepigrapha are full of diversity and contradictions (not seldom within the one book); and the differences among them make it plain that Judaism then had not developed a generally accepted set of doctrines. The vital contribution by the Iranian religion seems undoubtedly Zoroaster's eschatological teachings, which offered a hope of happiness hereafter that was acceptable to a number of Jews because it was linked with belief in divine justice. These teachings brought with them necessarily other of his basic doctrines, so that the thoughts of Jewish apocalyptists about the future have been characterized as "constructed in all essentials out of the elements of Iranian dualism".[232] These elements were, however, put together in various ways by different writers and by different groups, with the older beliefs of prophetic times persisting unaffected beside them.

The two sets of beliefs—the old and the new—are both to be

[230] The statement has nevertheless been made that "hardly any important idea in post-exilic Judaism may be ascribed to an unmistakable Greek influence", Widengren, art. cit. in n. 3, p. 141. Theology was not a strong element in Greek religion, and the affinities of Judaism lay far more naturally with the Iranian faith. Yet there are Greek elements in some Jewish speculations about the newly conceived hereafter (such as a description of "rooms" for the just and sinners in Sheol, and the far more important one of an afterlife of the spirit only), on which see, with bibliography, T. F. Glasson's short monograph, Greek influence in Jewish eschatology.

[231] Cf. above, p. 354.

[232] M. Buber, Kampf um Israel, Reden und Schriften 1921–1932, Berlin 1933, 61. Cf. Plöger, o.c., p. 48 ff.; Widengren, art. cit., pp. 149–50, 153; Murdock, art. cit., passim. Contra, with further references, P. D. Hanson, "Jewish apocalyptic against its Near Eastern environment", Revue Biblique 78, 1971, 31–58.

found in a minor work held to be a little earlier than *Daniel*, namely the *Book of Tobit*. This is an edifying tale written, it is thought, for Jews in Iran sometime before the Maccabean revolt, possibly around 200 B.C.[233] It has even been seen as a Jewish rehandling of an Iranian story;[234] but even if this should be partly true, the existing work is steeped in the spirit of traditional Jewish piety. Zoroastrian elements undoubtedly appear in it, however, and notably in the reason Tobit gives his son for dispensing alms as generously as he can. "By doing so, you will lay up for yourself a great treasure for the day of necessity. For almsgiving delivers from death and saves men from passing down to darkness".[235] The concept of accumulating a saving treasure of good works in heaven (found elsewhere in Jewish writings of Greco-Roman times) is strikingly Zoroastrian:[236] not only is it stressed in Avestan and Pahlavi texts, but a Zoroastrian is taught that, symbolically, he should daily try to fill anew the empty pocket at the neck of his sacred shirt with good acts to help save his soul at the "day of necessity", that is, Judgment Day, when all his store of virtue will be needed to outweigh his sins.[237] Another Zoroastrian concept appears as an integral part of the story, with Raphael, one of the seven angels who enter the presence of the Lord, pitted against Asmodeus, the worst of demons.[238] Not only is the situation Zoroastrian, but the demon's name has been recognized as that of the greatest of Zoroastrian fiends, namely Aešma daeva, the "demon of Wrath",[239] reduced here to folkloric level. There is also in the story an "absolutely otiose dog", an animal much respected by Zoroastrians, but whose presence is "foreign to all the associations of the dog in Hebrew literature".[240]

[233] See Eissfeldt, OT, 583–5; Schürer, HJP III.1, 222–32.
[234] Moulton, EZ, 327, 332 ff.
[235] Tobit 4:9–10.
[236] Moulton, EZ, 336 with nn. 1, 2; Widengren, Kulturbegegnung, 37 n. 126; Winston, art. cit., pp. 194–5 with n. 30 (where he lists other occurrences of the concept in Jewish writings); Hultgård, art. cit., p. 554 n. 214. For the antiquity of the concept cf. Y.49.10 (on which see H. Humbach, Die Gathas des Zarathustra, Heidelberg 1959, I 145); Yt.10.32 (tr. Sources, 28).
[237] See HZ I 258; Modi, CC, 173.
[238] Tob. 11:15, 3:8.
[239] On him see HZ I, index s.v., and above, p. 375, below, p. 425. His identification with the demon in *Tobit* was first made by Windischmann, Zor. St., 138–47, and was accepted by Gray, "The foundations of the Iranian religions", JCOI 15, 1929, 186 n. 2; Duchesne-Guillemin, Ohrmazd et Ahriman, 84; Widengren, l.c.; Hultgård, art. cit., p. 553 (with additional bibliography); Russell, Zoroastrianism in Armenia, 446. Contra, I. Scheftolowitz, Die altpersische Religion und das Judentum, Giessen 1920, 61; J. Barr, art. cit. in n. 7, pp. 214–15.
[240] Moulton, EZ, 250. See further Hultgård, art. cit., pp. 553–4 with nn. 211, 212. On the Zoroastrian respect for the dog see HZ I, index s.v.

Another of the main *Tobit* themes suggests resistance rather to Zoroastrianism: that it is the duty of a good Jew to bury the dead, even when it is dangerous for him to do so. The moral of this would certainly have come home to the Jews of Iran, living as they did among Zoroastrians who regarded burial in the good earth as a sin.[241] These diverse elements thus suggest contacts of various kinds between the two communities. Yet not only is the work in general very Jewish, but in Tobit's hymn of thanksgiving at its close there is no trace of expectation of personal happiness beyond the grave, or of an end to history. His hopes are there fixed on the flourishing of Jerusalem under Yahweh's rule "for all generations to come", and on one of his own blood being present to see its glory.[242] These traditional Jewish sentiments, and their contrast with the reason given earlier by Tobit for charitable acts, accord with the author having enriched his story with a variety of materials. They also suggest that around 200 B.C., within a single area, some Jews were receptive of Zoroastrian ideas, others not, while yet others (like the author) were eclectic, caring probably about practice rather than belief, and making fairly casual use of different ideas which were then current.[243]

Zoroastrian elements in some early intertestamental writings

Tobit and *I and II Maccabees*, though not part of the Jewish canon of scriptures, found places in some Christian Bibles; but the great mass of Jewish writings of Greco-Roman times was not thus gathered up, but survived more haphazardly, as we have seen already with the *Sibylline Oracles*. Although one label given to these writings is "intertestamental" (i.e. between the Jewish Old Testament, of which *Daniel* is the latest book, and the Christian New Testament), in parts one or two are in fact a little earlier than *Daniel*. This is true of the *First Book of Enoch*, known also as the

[241] On the troubles experienced over this by Christians under Sasanian rule see Boyce, Zoroastrians, 120, 121.
[242] Tob. 13–14. On the traditionalism of these verses see Hultgård, 12 Patriarches, I 158, 165, 244.
[243] Another work set among Jews of the eastern diaspora is *Esther*, composed probably in the 2nd cent. B.C. (Eissfeldt, OT, 507). This contains some deliberately Iranian elements: a pseudo-historical background, details of Persian court life, Persian names (on which see Hultgård, art. cit. in n. 3, pp. 552–3); but the story is secular and nationalistic, with virtually no religious elements. Whether the Jewish festival of Purim, with which it came to be associated, really took anything from a Zoroastrian one is very moot. Recently, however, J. Russell, "Zoroastrian elements in the Book of Esther", in Irano-Judaica II, ed. S. Shaked and A. Netzer, Jerusalem 1990, 33–40, has sought to trace Zoroastrian mythological elements in the work itself.

Ethiopic Enoch, because it survives entire only in a Ge'ez translation.[244] This is the longest and most important of a number of writings ascribed pseudonymously to the Old Testament patriarch, who for various reasons became a dominant figure for Jewish apocalyptists. The part of it which has been identified as the oldest is a short "Ten Weeks" apocalypse.[245] In this Enoch "predicts" in brief, general terms the course of world history, which is set out on the originally Zoroastrian pattern of ten segments of time, and ends, like Zoroastrian revelation, with judgment and eternal happiness for the good. The writer, who saw himself as living in the eighth "week", had evidently no knowledge of Antiochus IV's persecution, and his work is attributed to just before that began, probably about 170 B.C. This short text is embodied in a large compilation which, it seems, came into existence (probably then in four books, later to be five) during the remainder of the second century. In this there is a great diversity of matter with, beside visions, prophecies and admonitions, "all manner of cosmogony and cosmology, astronomy and calendar matters", in which there is "clearly a preponderance of non-Jewish material", Iranian, Chaldean, Egyptian and Greek.[246] Other Enochic compilations are more difficult to date, notably the puzzling *Second* (or *Slavonic*) *Book of Enoch*, a strange work of which it has been said that it "appears to be saturated with Iranian material".[247] Another important text assigned to the second century is the *Book of Jubilees*.[248] This, like *Daniel*, has a background of the Maccabean conflict, and is thought to have originated around perhaps 160 B.C. It consists of a "free reworking of earliest biblical history . . . presented as a revelation given to Moses on Sinai by an 'angel of the Presence'."[249] It survives entire only in Greek, but fragments of the Hebrew and Aramaic originals of it and of *I Enoch*, respectively, have been found among the Dead Sea scrolls.

Among these scrolls there are also examples, in Hebrew and Aramaic, of "testaments" (i.e. last words) attributed to Biblical patriarchs. This type of composition was in imitation of the deathbed discourse of Jacob in *Genesis* 49, and is thought to have been developed in Hasidic circles, most probably not long before the

[244] Eng. tr. by E. Isaac, OTP, 5–89; and R. H. Charles, APOT II 163–281. Further on it see Schürer, HJP III.1, 250–68; Eissfeldt, OT, 617–22.
[245] Ch. 99, 93 (OTP 72–3, 74).
[246] Eissfeldt, OT, 620.
[247] Winston, art. cit. in n. 2, p. 198. Cf. Pines, art. cit. in n. 9. Eng. tr. by F. I. Andersen, OTP 91–212; N. Forbes and R. H. Charles, APOT II 425–69. See further Schürer, o.c., pp. 746–50 and Eissfeldt, o.c., pp. 622–3.
[248] Eng. tr. by O. S. Wintermute, OTP II 35–142; and Charles, APOT II 1–82. See further Schürer, o.c., pp. 308–18; Eissfeldt, o.c., pp. 606–8.
[249] Schürer, o.c., p. 309.

Maccabean revolt.[250] The most important work of the genre is the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (that is, Jacob's twelve sons).[251] Its date and transmission have been much disputed, but after the discovery of the Qumran testaments it has come to seem probable that the original work was written between 100 and 63 B.C., in Greek by a hellenized Jew. The extant text represents a Christian revision, with many interpolations and extensions, probably of the second century A.C.[252]

The Qumran community itself, to which the Dead Sea scrolls belonged, appears on the archaeological evidence to have been founded in about the middle of the second century B.C.; and its members are generally held to be Essenes, that is, to belong to one of the two groups into which, according to Josephus, the Hasidim had a little earlier divided (the other being the Pharisees).[253] There are diverse views about the dating of the community's original writings, of which the most notable are the *Community Rule* (or *Manual of Discipline*), *Rule of the Congregation*, *Damascus Rule* and *War Rule*, with the *Hymns* and *Blessings and Curses*; but one widely accepted estimate assigns them to from c.100 B.C. down to the first century A.C. (when the community was, it appears, destroyed by the Romans), with the probability that they incorporate older materials.[254] Their singular importance lies in the fact that, pre-

[250] Schürer, HJP III.2, 774–5; J. J. Collins, "Testaments", in Jewish Writings, ed. Stone, 325–6.
[251] Eng. tr. by H. C. Kee, OTP, 775–828; and Charles, APOT II 282–367. See further Schürer, o.c., pp. 767–80; Eissfeldt, o.c., pp. 632–6.
[252] Schürer, o.c., p. 774, and similarly Kee, o.c., pp. 777–8. Cf. Morton Smith, Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible 4 (1962), 575–9, and in detail A. Hultgård, 12 Patriarches, 11. Otherwise M. de Jonge, who argues that the text is a Christian one in which use is made of older materials. See, with reference to his other works, his article "The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs", ANRW II.20.1 (1986), 421–59.
[253] Cf. above, p. 410. On the community and the Essenes see Schürer, HJP II 575–90, and the introduction by G. Vermes to his The Dead Sea Scrolls in English, 16 ff.—N. Golb, "The problem of the origin and identification of the Dead Sea Scrolls", Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 124, 1980, has argued that Qumran was never an Essene convent, but simply a military post, part of an advanced line of defence protecting Jerusalem; and that the mss. were not copied on the spot but belonged to various schools and sects, being brought from Jerusalem and hidden there during the Jewish War of 66–70 A.C. For discussion see Golb, "L'origine des manuscrits de la Mer Morte", Annales E.S.C. 40, 1985, pp. 1133–49; E.-M. Laperrousaz, "Note sur l'origine des manuscrits de la Mer Morte", ib., 42, 1987, pp. 1305–12; Golb, "Réponse à la 'Note' de E.-M. Laperrousaz", ib., pp. 1313–20. It is generally agreed, however, that all the mss found in cave 1-Q belonged to Essenes, and these include the original writings referred to here.
[254] See Schürer, HJP III.1, 380–406, 452–9, with select bibliography ib., I, pp. 119–22; Eissfeldt, OT, 637–8, 775–8. Some argue for a dating in the 3rd cent. B.C. for certain of the writings, see D. Dimant, "Qumran sectarian literature", in Jewish Writings, ed. Stone, 483–548.

served in desert caves, they escaped the censorship of either Jewish rabbi or Christian theologian, and present the actual beliefs and practices, unmodified, of a Jewish sect of Greco-Roman times. Strikingly Zoroastrian elements were early recognized in these writings—so striking that a suggestion was made that the community's founders came from among Jews who had returned to Palestine from Babylon in the mid second century.[255] Another possibility is that they had moved south at some time from Damascus; but there is no evidence to establish what the reference to that city in the *Damascus Rule* really means.[256] It is also argued that the community's antecedents were wholly Palestinian.[257] Whatever the truth may be, the Zoroastrian elements in their texts, arresting as they are, exist fully incorporated in the community's own beliefs, which, though sectarian, were profoundly, even fiercely, Jewish.[258]

A striking feature of the Qumran community is nevertheless that theirs, against Jewish tradition, was a credal religion. Its members believed that they had received an exclusive revelation of truth from a great sage who had come among them, an anonymous figure known only as the Teacher of Righteousness, who flourished between perhaps 152 and 134 B.C. He alone, they were convinced, had been able to decipher the mysteries concealed in the Hebrew scriptures; and among his discoveries was that the end of time was at hand, and that all prophecies relating to the final age referred to the community, which he thus taught to see itself as the last in the line of Yahweh's chosen ones, a saving remnant and a refuge for righteousness. Entry into the community was for Jews only; and only after a long probation was a candidate accepted as a "man of the New Covenant".

Apart from the claim to exclusive salvation, the sect's beliefs had much in common with those found in *Daniel* and, less fully, in *II Maccabees* and *Tobit*. These beliefs appear also, if more sporadically, in all the intertestamental writings just named, which shows that in the second-first centuries B.C. there existed a body of religious convictions widely shared by fringe groups of Jews, but not found in the Old Testament. These convictions, as we have seen, were probably developed over generations by Jews living in close contact with Persians, who had gradually assimilated a number of Zoroastrian doctrines to their own cherished scriptural tradition. The intertestamental books show that their chief method of doing this had been through *haggadah*—stories which elaborated on narrative and ethical parts of the Bible in a way that allowed new ideas to be introduced in familiar associations. *Haggadah*, interesting and readily memorable, probably circulated orally for many years among the forbears of the Hasidim; and in the early Maccabean period the Hasidim themselves, heirs to this fringe culture, responded to the intensity of national feelings then aroused, so that "for a brief time this tradition of the pious came very near to the tradition of the people. But when the Maccabean regime led to the inevitable disillusionments of human politics, the original current and direction of the stream of pious tradition reasserted itself; the primitive piety cut for itself ever deeper, but narrower, channels, becoming more and more the tradition of separate groups".[259] It is the writings of such groups which are being considered here.

One of the dominant concepts which unite these writings is that of an evil supernatural will opposed throughout history to the will of God.[260] This concept appears undoubtedly to derive from Zoroastrianism, for which it is a basic premise, being wholly alien to the ancient Hebrew religion. Since they were profoundly loyal to that religion, the Jews who came to assimilate the Iranian belief were not, it seems, led by it to question the conflicting premise, enshrined in the *Book of Genesis*, that Yahweh is omnipotent. They presumably absorbed the dualistic Iranian world view because it accorded with their own awareness (naturally sharper in the poor than in their more comfortably placed co-religionists) of aggressive greed and cruelty in life; but since they did not adopt with it Zoroaster's radical teaching of an independent, self-existing Spirit of Evil, they brought into existence profound theological problems. These they themselves seem either to have ignored, or sought to solve by developments of familiar *Genesis* stories. For this they had rich materials to hand in the abundant new lore about angels and

[255] W. F. Albright, "New light on early recensions of the Hebrew Bible", BASOR 140, 1955, 27–33; W. Albright and C. S. Mann, "Qumran and the Essenes: geography, chronology and identification of the sect", in The Scrolls and Christianity, ed. M. Black, London 1969, 19 (arguing for an intermediate stop at Damascus). A Babylonian origin for the community is maintained on other grounds in a number of specialist articles by J. Murphy-O'Connor and P. Davies, see Jewish Writings, ed. Stone, bibliography, pp. 613, 634.

[256] For a summary of the other possibilities see Vermes, o.c., pp. 66–7; and with further bibliography Dimant, art. cit., p. 546 n. 294.

[257] So M. Knibb, Jubilees and the origin of the Qumran community, King's College, London University inaugural lecture, 1989.

[258] Cf. Schürer, HJP II 589: "Persian impact . . . derives no doubt from Iranian influence on Judaism as such, rather than directly on the sect itself". See ib., n. 70, for some works on the Qumran writings from this aspect.

[259] Morton Smith, art. cit. in n. 252, p. 578. On the Qumran Covenanters as heirs to a long tradition cf. Dimant, art. cit., pp. 545–6.

[260] Murdock, art. cit. in n. 10, p. 172.

demons. So one story was told of how, among the many angelic beings created by God, there were some in a group called the Watchers who wilfully chose to do wrong, and by persisting in it became wholly corrupt and implacably opposed to their Maker. These were the wicked or fallen angels, about whom much is written in the Enochic literature. According to one passage in *2 Enoch* they were led by a prince, Satanail.[261] His name derives from that of Satan, the angel "Adversary" of the Old Testament, who is there a servant of Yahweh; but in the intertestamental writings he is just one of the demonic, or potentially demonic, scriptural beings "drawn in to fill out the enlarged conception of the role of evil spirits in the cosmos".[262] Satanail, the story goes, "fled from heaven", and therefore became a demon, "since his consciousness of righteous and sinful things changed". He dwelt in "the lowest places" (like the Zoroastrian Anra Mainyu), and it was he who tempted Eve and so made her and Adam disobey God.[263] This act of disobedience came to be interpreted among apocalyptists as the wellspring of all human wickedness, the first instance of malignancy in the heart of man and the first and greatest success of the Spirit of Evil, whereas in *Genesis* itself the act is presented rather as the cause of all human suffering, and the tempter is simply the serpent, "the most subtle of all the wild beasts Yahweh God has made".[264]

Much use was also made of another *Genesis* story, that in the days of Noah, before the Flood, "the sons of God resorted to the daughters of men, and had children by them. These are the heroes of days gone by, the famous men".[265] In *1 Enoch* the "sons of God" become the fallen angels, and the "famous men" are transformed into "great giants", who oppressed the people. The leaders of the fallen angels are elaborately named, and are presented as wholly wicked, binding themselves to one another by a curse, and teaching humanity every form of evil. Here their chief, to whom is ascribed "all sin", is called Azazel; and before God sends Raphael to subdue him, he has corrupted the whole earth.[266] (Azazel figures obscurely in the Old Testament in the ritual of the Day of Atonement, probably, it is thought, as a demon haunting the wilderness.[267])

[261] 18:3 (OTP 130).
[262] D. R. Hillers, "Demons, demonology", Enc. Jud. 5, 1525. There are several different stories in 2 Enoch itself about the wicked ruler of darkness, "loosely mixed, with no evident concern to link them into a consistent whole" (Andersen, OTP, 155 n., with references).
[263] 2 En. 31:3–6.
[264] Gen. 3:1.
[265] Gen. 6:4.
[266] 1 En. 6:10–12 (OTP 15–18).

There is an odd detail in this story, that Raphael, having bound Azazel, "made a hole in the desert . . . and cast him there; he threw on top of him rugged and sharp rocks. And he covered his face in order that he may not see the light" until "the great day of judgment".[268] Similarly Michael binds the archdemon Semyaza and his followers "underneath the rocks of the ground until the day of their judgment".[269] These incidents have been seen as reflecting the often told Zoroastrian legend that the archdemon Aži Dahaka was overcome by the ancient hero Thraetaona and lies bound in a cavern, awaiting Frašo-kereti.[270]

The story of the fallen angels begetting "giants . . . and great enmity" is related briefly also in *2 Enoch*, but without any naming of the angels.[271] In *Jubilees* in one chapter their leader is called both Satan and Mastema. The latter word transliterates one which occurs in Hosea 9:7–8 in the sense of "hatred"; and instances in *1 Enoch* and the Qumran writings suggest that the intertestamental usage was first "angel of hatred" or "prince of hatred" as a title for the leading wicked being, with the common noun gradually coming to be treated as another proper name for him.[272] In *Jubilees* Noah begs God to imprison the fallen angels (now described as "polluted demons") "because they are cruel and were created to destroy". But Mastema asks that some might be allowed to remain with him, since otherwise he would not be able "to exercise the authority of my will among the children of men"; and God accordingly permits one tenth of the "evil ones" to be free, "that they might be subject to Satan upon earth".[273] God is thus presented as exercising his omnipotence, but to strange purpose.

In another chapter of *Jubilees* Noah prays to God after the Flood that he should not allow "Beliar" to rule over the Hebrews and "ensnare them from every path of righteousness".[274] In the Old Testament *belial* is a common noun meaning "worthlessness", used in connection with base or wicked persons; and as Belial, or the corruption Beliar, it becomes yet another proper name for the leader of the fallen angels. This is the case in the writings of the

[267] Leviticus 16:8, 10, 26. On him see Hillers, art. cit., p. 1524.
[268] 1 En. 10:4–6.
[269] 1 En. 10:12.
[270] Widengren, art. cit. in n. 3, p. 172; Hultgård, art. cit. in n. 3, pp. 538, 539 (with detailed Pahl. referenees in nn. 138–40).
[271] 2 En. 18:4–5.
[272] See M. Knibb, art. cit. in n. 257.
[273] Jub. 10:1–11.
[274] Jub. 1:20.

Qumran community, and in the *Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs*, which often accord with them.[275] The Qumran Covenanters cursed Belial regularly and liturgically, as Zoroastrians do Anra Mainyu; but they still did not fail to attribute his origin to God. "Cursed be Belial for his sinful purpose and may he be execrated for his wicked rule! . . . Belial, the Angel of Malevolence, Thou has created for the Pit; his rule is in darkness and his purpose is to bring about wickedness and iniquity".[276]

The Qumran texts and the *12 Patriarchs* fully acknowledge Belial's might. There is the "law of the Lord and the law of Belial",[277] and the present age is under the latter's dominion.[278] He seeks constantly to make men stumble,[279] and when they do, they come into his power.[280] Not until the end of time will the Lord, together with the "armies arrayed for the day of judgment",[281] "make war against Belial",[282] conquer him and cast him into eternal fire.[283] In terminology and details the descriptions are Jewish, but the grand plan is Zoroaster's; for the Jewish apocalyptists, like the great Iranian dualist, in fact saw God's power as effectively limited in the present age by that of his Adversary, and only to be fully realized through the latter's final defeat.

All this is condensed in a well-known passage of the Qumran *Community Rule*, which runs in part as follows: "From the God of Knowledge comes all that is and shall be. Before ever they existed He established their whole design . . . He has created man to govern the world, and has appointed for him two spirits in which to walk until the time of His visitation: the spirits of truth and falsehood. . . . The children of righteousness are ruled by the Prince of Light and walk in the ways of light, but all the children of falsehood are ruled by the Angel of Darkness and walk in the ways of darkness. The Angel of Darkness leads all the children of righteousness astray, and until his end, all their sin, iniquities, wickedness and all their unlawful deeds are caused by his dominion

[275] On Belial generally see T. H. Gaster, Enc. Jud. 4, 428–9; and in the Qumran writings H. W. Huppenbauer, "Belial in den Qumran Texten", Theologische Zeitschrift XV, 1959, 81–9.

[276] War Rule, XIII, tr. Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls in English, 140, 141 (but with "Belial" retained, here and in subsequent citations, for the "Satan" of Vermes' interpretive rendering).

[277] Test. Naphtali 2:6 (OTP, 811).

[278] Community Rule II (tr. Vermes, 74).

[279] Test. Reuben 4:7 (OTP, 783); Test. Benjamin 3:3 (OTP, 825).

[280] Test. Asher 1:8 (OTP, 817).

[281] Test. Levi 3:3 (OTP, 789).

[282] Test. Dan. 5:10 (OTP, 809).

[283] Test. Judah 25:3 (OTP, 802).

in accordance with the mysteries of God. . . . All his allotted spirits seek the overthrow of the sons of light. But the God of Israel and his Angel of Truth will succour all the sons of light. For it is He who created the spirits of Light and Darkness. . . . And he loves the one everlastingly and delights in its works for ever; but the counsel of the other He loathes and for ever hates its ways. . . . The nature of all the children of men is ruled by these (two spirits), and during their life all the hosts of men have a portion in their divisions and walk in (both) their ways. And the whole reward for their deeds shall be, for everlasting ages, according to whether each man's portion in their two divisions is great or small. . . . But in the mysteries of his understanding . . . God has ordained an end for falsehood, and at the time of the visitation he will destroy it for ever."[284]

The strikingly dualistic Zoroastrian character of this passage was remarked on by the first scholars who read it;[285] and though their analysis did not go unchallenged,[286] further study has in fact brought out more and more detailed Zoroastrian correspondences. Part at least of its inspiration appears to have come from Zurvanism; for according to a known Zurvanite myth, Zurvan begot two spirits, Ahura Mazda and Anra Mainyu, and he likewise loved the one and detested the other (who was not deliberately created by him, but sprang from a moment of doubt in his mind).[287] Yet essentially, here as in Zurvanism itself, the dualistic doctrine goes back to Zoroaster, with total opposition between Ahura Mazda and his Holy Spirit on the one hand, and the Spirit of Evil on the other, dramatically presented in the Gathas.[288] Indeed the expression "God of Knowledge" in the Qumran text has been seen as a reflection of Ahura Mazda's name, Lord of Wisdom, "cleverly Judaized as . . . *ēl dēoth*, a title borrowed from I Samuel 2:3";[289] and

[284] Community Rule III, IV (Vermes, pp. 75–7).

[285] For references see Winston, art. cit. in n. 2, p. 201 n. 47.

[286] Notably by P. Wernberg-Møller, "A reconsideration of the two Spirits in the Rule of the Community", Revue de Qumran III, 1961, 413–41; but his objections appear fully met by S. Shaked, IOS 2, 1972, 433–46.

[287] Zaehner, Zurvan, 420–6; Sources, 97; HZ II 233. The first scholar to discern a Zurvanite background to the Qumran passage was H. Michaud, art. cit. in n. 2, pp. 137–147; see subsequently Widengren, art. cit. in n. 3, p. 153 ff.; Winston, art. cit., pp. 202–4; Duchesne-Guillemin, Western Response, 92–9.

[288] Notably in Y.30, Y.45; on the fundamental dualism of his theology cf. above, n. 6.

[289] T. H. Gaster, Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, I, 134. If there is really a connection to be sought in this, then there would be a confusion here—very understandably, in the light of what may be surmised about the long history of Zoroastrian–Jewish connections—between orthodox Zoroastrianism (in which Ahura Mazda is the one eternal God) and Zurvanism (in which he and Anra Mainyu are begotten by Zurvan).

the stress on knowledge as necessary for salvation, which is characteristic of the Qumran writings, has been interpreted as a further link between the outlook of the sect and that of Zoroastrianism.[290] The statement that from God "comes all that is and shall be. Before ever they existed He established their whole design" has been associated moreover with the Zoroastrian concept of the Three Times—time past, before creation; the present time; everlasting time to come[291]—which, arising as it did from Zoroaster's own apprehension of an end to history, was part of his unique contribution to Near Eastern thought. Subsequently Zurvanism, with its exaltation of a god of Time and Fate, and its concern with astral lore, admitted an element of determinism that was foreign to primitive Zoroastrianism. This affected both individuals and the cosmic plan: God has fixed a time for the struggle against evil, and when that time is over, the battle against it will be won. Determinism is a salient feature of Qumran belief also, declared in the words just cited and reiterated throughout the community's texts.[292]

The most strikingly Zoroastrian feature of the passage from the *Community Rule* is undoubtedly, however, the opposition of the two spirits and the two ways. This, stated vividly and concisely in it, is "one of the central concepts of Qumran literature";[293] and the term for "spirit", *ruah*, is employed there, it has been shown, with the name range of complexity and meaning as Avestan *mainyu* (Pahl. *mēnōg*).[294] Both words, that is, are used in at least three ways: first, for the two spiritual entities which represent the two poles of the ethical dualism—the Spirits of good and evil; second, for opposing good and bad qualities and faculties in man, which, though inherent in him, are also thought of as existing at a cosmic level—as, for example, the Spirits of truth and falsehood; and third, for angels or *yazatas* generally. In these remarkable parallelisms "what lends plausibility to the assumption that the direction of influence was from Iran to Judaism is the fact that it is possible to show that the complex of notions associated with the idea of *mēnōg* forms part of a coherent system in Iran, . . . while in Judaism the development, though not actually contradicting anything found originally in

[290] Kuhn, art. cit. in n. 229, pp. 306–7; Shaked, art. cit., pp. 440–2; Dimant, art. cit. in n. 254, pp. 538, 546.
[291] Widengren, art. cit., pp. 155–6. On the Three Times cf. HZ I 230 ff.
[292] This was first stressed by A. Dupont-Sommer, "La 'règle' de la Communauté", RHR 138, 1950, 11, 18–19. Further on these similarities see Winston, art. cit., pp. 202–4; Shaked, art. cit., pp. 442–3; Dimant, art. cit., pp. 536–8.
[293] Shaked, art. cit., pp. 434–5.
[294] Ib., pp. 434–8.

Judaism, never comes to form anything like a consistent system".[295] The *Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs*, it has been noted, contain similar usages with Greek *pneuma*.[296]

One of the complexities of Zoroaster's own thought with regard to *mainyu* is the way in which he apprehended the relationship between Ahura Mazda and the Holy Spirit, Spenta Mainyu. This is perhaps best seen as analogous to the way in which a man's relationship is apprehended to his spirit: the two are in a sense one, yet the spirit is thought of also as an entity, distinct from the person. So Spenta Mainyu is both one with Ahura Mazda, and also a distinct entity, through whom he acted, for example, in the work of creation, and through whom he, though transcendent, enters the heart of a righteous man and strengthens him in his virtue.[297] This dual concept of the Holy Spirit is maintained in the secondary Zoroastrian literature;[298] and it seems closely reflected in references to God's Holy Spirit in the Qumran writings which have no clear antecedents in the Old Testament: for example "Thou has shed Thy Holy Spirit upon me"[299] "By Thy Holy Spirit I have faithfully hearkened to Thy marvellous counsel";[300] " . . . purifying me by Thy Holy Spirit".[301]

A particular example of a Zoroastrian hypostasis of an emotion which has its counterpart in the Qumran texts, and also notably in the *Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs*, is that of the Spirit of Wrath or Anger.[302] We have met this Iranian Spirit already as the arch-demon Aešma, who from the *Gathas* onward figures in Zoroastrian tradition as a great deluder of mankind, and one of the chief lieutenants of Anra Mainyu.[303] In the Old Testament there are many references to Yahweh's wrath, roused by the erring ways of his chosen people, and belonging therefore "to the divine scheme of

[295] Ib., p. 437.
[296] Ib., p. 435.
[297] Cf. HZ I 193, 221.
[298] It is often stated that in the Pahl. books "Spenag Menog" is fully identified with "Ohrmazd", as if this were one of the theological errors imputed to the Zoroastrians (cf. above, n. 6); but it is in fact not the case.
[299] Hymn 11 (tr. Vermes, o.c., p. 173); cf. Hymn 21 (tr., p. 193), and 25 (tr. p. 199).
[300] Hymn 12 (tr., p. 189).
[301] Hymn 16 (tr., p. 197). On the concept of the Holy Spirit in the Qumran writings see further Schweizer, art. cit. in n. 20, pp. 488–96.
[302] This has been studied by Shaked, art. cit., pp. 442–3, and by S. Pines, "Wrath and the Creatures of Wrath in Pahlavi, Jewish and New Testament sources", Irano-Judaica, ed. S. Shaked, 76–82. Cf. also Hultgård, 12 Patriarches, I 264 n. 4.
[303] Cf. above, pp. 375, 414.

things"[304]; but in the apocalyptic writings there appears a Spirit of Wrath which is "a destructive entity", bringing damnation rather than salutary chastisement.[305] Thus in the *12 Patriarchs* Dan tells his sons that it was "the Spirit of Anger that persuaded me that . . . I should suck the blood of Joseph", a Spirit he declares, which "always moves with Falsehood on the right hand of Satan", and acts "with strange effects on the body of the angry man: it dominates his soul".[306] The idea, new to the Jews, of Wrath as "a principle which has a relation to damnation and engenders damned and evil creatures"[307] may be taken, it has been said, as "an example of the way in which a conception rooted in the Iranian dualism could be adapted to and assimilated with a religious scheme in which at least originally it is the Wrath of the one omnipotent God which is responsible for a considerable part of man's suffering".[308] In these matters of close and detailed correspondences one should perhaps consider the possible influence of written sources. Even the Qumran Covenanters did not escape the effects of Greek culture;[309] and the Greek verses of Persian Sibyllists were presumably known in Palestine from the third century, and may well have been closely studied for their doctrinal content and dramatic predictions. These, since they would have accorded with a large part of inherited Hasidic belief, probably awakened especial interest among the "pious".

For the Persian Sibyllists, and Persian apocalyptists generally, the focus of prediction was the coming Last Day; and this is true of the Jewish apocalyptists also, and is the whole subject of the Qumran *War Rule*. This text describes a great battle to come against the "Kittim", infidel rulers who here represent the Romans. This then merges into the last great battle to be fought by God and his hosts of angels, together with the Covenanters, "his poor", against Belial and all his company. The Covenanters are to be led by the future Messiah, who is hailed as the "Prince of Light", one "appointed from ancient times" to come to their support. "All the spirits of Truth" will also be under his dominion.[310] The details of this prophecy are in part scriptural; but

[304] Pines, art. cit., p. 81.
[305] Ibid.
[306] Test. Dan. 1:8, 3:6,2 (OTP 808, but without the capital letters).
[307] Pines, art. cit., p. 80.
[308] Ib., p. 82.
[309] See M. Hengel, "Qumran und der Hellenismus" in M. Delcor (ed.), Qumran, sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu, Paris 1978, 333–72.
[310] War Rule XI (tr. Vermes, p. 138), XIII (p. 141). On the concept of the Messiah in the Qumran writings see Vermes, o.c., pp. 47–51. In Test. Dan. 5:10

the general scheme exactly reproduces that established by Zoroastrian apocalyptists in the early Hellenistic age, who then equally erroneously foretold an imminent triumph for their people over the infidel Macedonians, a triumph which, similarly, was to merge into the events of the last time, taking place at the coming of the Saošyant.[311] This pattern is also to be found in the eschatological prophecy in *Daniel* (11:40–12:3), in which the alien foes are still Macedonians. In the Qumran *War Rule* the fight, it is predicted, will sway to and fro, with Belial's dark host thrice thrusting back the sons of light;[312] and goodness will triumph only when God himself "will act for the sake of His own name" (a pure Old Testament idea).[313] Raising His hand, the "God of Israel" will bring down Belial and all his multitude "in everlasting destruction".[314] This concept of an almost equal struggle to be fought between right and wrong is, it has been pointed out, thoroughly dualistic;[315] but in the Qumran writings, as in Zoroastrianism, there is faith that God will at the last win.

Among the Zoroastrian elements in the heterogeneous *2 Enoch* a passage has been discerned which contains an extensive treatment of the fundamental doctrine of the three times.[316] This runs as follows:[317] "Before everything was, before all creation came to pass, the Lord established the Aion of Creation. Thereafter He created all His creation, the visible and the invisible. After all that He created man in His image. . . . Then for the sake of man the Lord caused the Aion to come forth and divided it into times and hours. . . . When all the creation that was created by the Lord will come to an end, and every man will go to the Great Judgment of the Lord, then the times will perish, there will not be any more years, or months or days, the hours will not be counted any more, but the Aion will be

(OTP 809), it is perhaps also the Messiah who "will make war against Belial" and in Test. Levi 18:2, 12 (OTP 794, 795) he is the "new priest" who will bind Beliar. On these passages, and Messianic beliefs more generally, see Hultgård, 12 Patriarches, I 268–381.
[311] Cf. above, p. 375.
[312] War Rule I (tr. Vermes, p. 125). (This is discussed in the light of Zoroastrian dualism by J. J. Collins, art. cit. in n. 21, pp. 607–8.)
[313] Ib., XVIII (tr. p. 147).
[314] Ib. (tr. p. 146); I (tr. p. 125).
[315] Collins, art. cit., p. 607; cf. Shaked, art. cit., pp. 433–4.
[316] The Zoroastrian character of part of this passage was first noted by R. Otto, The kingdom of God, 200. Its analysis was fully developed by Pines, art. cit. in n. 9, pp. 72–87.
[317] In the translation of Pines, art. cit. in n. 302, pp. 77–8, on the basis of the text published by A. Vaillant, Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch: Texte slave et traduction française, Paris 1952, repr. 1976. Cf. OTP 191/193. The remarks which follow the citation, above, are essentially those of Pines, l.c.

one. And all the righteous that will escape the Great Judgment of the Lord will join the great Aion, and at the same time the Aion will join the righteous, and they will be eternal. . . . Happy are the righteous who will escape the Great Judgment, for their faces will shine like the sun." Here is the characteristic Zoroastrian doctrine of a two-tiered creation, of the spirit (the "invisible") and the material ("visible")[318] (which indeed recurs several times in *2 Enoch*)[319]; and again that of the Three Times—before creation; the present aion or age, in which good and evil contend (*2 Enoch*'s "Aion of Creation"); and endless time to come, the Great Aion, linked with the Last Judgment. Details too accord, for in certain Pahlavi books it is said that the first thing Ahura Mazda created was finite time (*zamān ī kanāragōmand*), which is then divided up, its main sections corresponding to phases in his struggle against Anra Mainyu. At Frašo-kereti finite time will cease, and infinite time (*zamān ī akanāragōmand*) will stretch out unbroken. The main difference in the two treatments, it has been pointed out,[320] is that whereas the Zoroastrian doctrine is that Ahura Mazda created finite time and this world for the purpose of defeating Anra Mainyu, in *2 Enoch* the Lord does so for the sake of man. Dualism is thus in this respect obliterated and traditional Jewish anthropocentricity maintained.

This makes another passage in the same work all the more remarkable, in that in it the focus of attention is shifted from man to beast.[321] There it is said that the Lord will judge men according to how they have treated animals, and that the souls of animals will themselves accuse at judgment day the souls of those who have fed them ill. "And he who does any kind of harm whatsoever to any kind of animal in secret . . . he acts lawlessly with his own soul".[322] This belief, characterized as "quaint" by a Christian translator of the text,[323] appears natural in Zoroastrianism, a religion that arose at a time and place in which people still lived closely with their cattle and with other creatures, and felt a kinship with them. To protect and care for beneficent animals, one of the "good creations" of Ahura Mazda, "was for Zoroaster as strict a command for the believer as was a right attitude toward men. . . . In our passage, injustice to the souls of animals created by God actually ranks

[318] Cf. above, p. 365.
[319] 24:2, 30:11, 48:5 (see Winston, art. cit. in n. 2, p. 199).
[320] Pines, art. cit., p. 80.
[321] 2 En. 58–59 (OTP 184/185).
[322] 59:5.
[323] F. I. Andersen, OTP 97.

before injustice to men. That is an idea wholly impossible for Israel, but not striking on Iranian soil".[324] The *2 Enoch* passage includes in the caring for animals the use of particular rituals for sacrificing them (rituals which were in fact rejected in orthopractic Judaism, showing that here again it seems to be a fringe group that was concerned[325]). This accords with the Zoroastrian doctrine that it is only by due sacrificial rites that a creature's soul is released for a blessed hereafter. Unlawful killing keeps it from there, waiting to accuse its slayer at judgment day.[326]—Another characteristically Zoroastrian point made in *2 Enoch* about judgment day is that each person must then answer for himself, and himself alone: "For there a father cannot help a son, nor yet a son a father".[327] Divine justice will be unswerving, with no intercession possible.

In general those passages in this text in which Zoroastrian elements have been identified occur "in the central portion of the book . . . which comes after the . . . account of Enoch's visiting the heavens".[328] This frame-story for his revelations seems itself to blend Hebrew and Iranian elements. In the original Biblical narrative (*Genesis* 5:24) it is said simply that Enoch "walked with God. Then he vanished, because God took him". In the haggadic version in *2 Enoch*[329] the patriarch dreams of seeing two angels and is awakened from sleep to find them in fact by his bed. They bear him up bodily on their wings through the seven heavens. Each is described with its inhabitants, and in the seventh they leave him, and Michael leads him into the radiant presence of the Lord. The Lord makes him sit by him, and explains to him for many days and nights the secrets of creation.[330] Then the two angels return him to his bed, where his eldest son has been keeping watch throughout his absence. Enoch tells his sons all that he has learnt, and gives them written accounts as well, "so that they may hand on the books to others also".[331]

The parallels here are striking with the well-known Zoroastrian story of the "just Viraz", whose soul is honoured in the ancient

[324] Otto, o.c., p. 199. The first scholar to note that "the closest parallels are to be found in Zoroastrianism, to which indeed we should probably trace in some measure the ideas of the text" was R. H. Charles, see his learned note in APOT II 464 n. 5. Cf. Winston, art. cit., p. 198 n. 39.
[325] Pines, art. cit., pp. 74–5.
[326] Cf. HZ I 149–50.
[327] 2 En. 53 (OTP 180).
[328] Pines, art. cit., p. 76.
[329] 2 En. 2:3 ff.
[330] 24:1 ff. Alternatively (22:11 ff.) the Lord has the archangel Vereveil instruct Enoch.
[331] 54:1.

Farvardin Yašt.[332] The tale of his spirit journey to the other world, in order to establish for certain the existence of heaven and hell, bliss and damnation, evidently passed by word of mouth down the generations, and was eventually put into writing in early Islamic times as the *Book of Arda Viraz*.[333] Viraz's undertaking was regarded as a perilous one, for which he was chosen as the most upright man in his community.[334] Priests prepared him by prayers, purification, and a consecrated drink of wine mixed with a trance-inducing drug. After drinking this he lay down on his bed and became unconscious, and "his spirit went from his body" (*ruwān . . . az tan . . . šud*).[335] It was led upward by two *yazatas* and passed through Hammistagan (virtually Limbo), and the three celestial stages of stars, moon and sun, each with its own characteristics and blessed inhabitants, before reaching the highest heaven, where Ahura Mazda himself dwells. (The belief that the stars were nearer to the earth than moon or sun marks the antiquity of the story.[336]) Viraz's spirit is then led by the Ameša Spenta Vohu Manah into the radiant presence of Ahura Mazda, who gives orders that he should be shown all the glories of heaven, and "the place and reward of the just".[337] He then bids the two *yazatas* who had brought him to show him also hell and the torments of the damned. They lead Viraz

[332] Yt.13.101.

[333] Most recently ed. and tr. by P. Gignoux, Le livre d'Ardā Vīrāz, Paris 1984. For brief selections from the text in Eng. tr. see Sources, 84–9. Viraz's story is compared with that of Enoch by Hultgård, art. cit. in n. 3, p. 528 with n. 75.—As a genre, stories of spirit journeys into the hereafter are widespread in the oral literatures of the world, see Chadwick, Growth of Literature, III, 848 ff. ("visions of the homes of the dead"); and the attempt by Gignoux, in his otherwise often admirable edition, to interpret the *AVN* by the light of medieval Turkic *shaman* literature and practices does not seem very illuminating. The Greeks were among the ancient peoples who had accounts of visits to the underworld (*nekyia, katabasis*), and Enoch's visions have in part been compared with these, see Glasson, Greek influence on Jewish eschatology, 8–19, who points out (p. 10) that Enoch's "journey to *heaven* of course takes us beyond the Greek context". (On Enoch and hell see below.) Greek concepts of spirit journeys to celestial regions (as distinct from the Islands of the Blessed) do not go back beyond Plato i.e. to before contacts with Zoroastrianism. Accounts of other-world journeys multiplied in Hellenistic times, see below, p. 499 n. 17.

[334] The choice was made through the casting of lots, in which divine guidance was looked for (Ch. 1.20). Gignoux rejects the accepted reading *wēzag* "lot", adopting instead *nēzag* "lance", and has Viraz undergo an ordeal by thrown spears. Apart from all other considerations, this would have unfitted him for undertaking any sacred Zoroastrian task, since to bleed, however slightly, makes a man unclean (cf. HZ I 307).

[335] 3.1.

[336] Cf. W. B. Henning, "An astronomical chapter of the Bundahišn", JRAS 1942, 230.

[337] 11.11.

accordingly down again to earth, to where in "the northern quarter . . . the quarter of the demons",[338] the pit of hell gapes, and the darkness is so intense that his guides have to lead him by the hand. They take him among its demon-tormented inhabitants and tell him of the sins that brought them there, while the damned in their agony can only long for Frašo-kereti, when their sufferings will cease.[339] Finally he is led up once more from that dark place to the eternal light, where Ahura Mazda orders him to tell what he has seen to all Mazda-worshippers, so that they will know for certain what awaits the righteous and the wicked.[340] His spirit is then led back by the *yazatas* to his body,[341] and he wakes as if from sleep and tells the priests who have been watching by his bed all that he has seen; and a scribe writes it down.[342]

The closeness of the *2 Enoch* story to this old Zoroastrian one is striking, and its differences and compromises no less interesting. Enoch too lies on a bed, but sleeping, not in a trance; but then (because in *Genesis* the patriarch disappears) he wakes to be carried bodily upward through the skies. He is taken through three of the seven planetary heavens—a Babylonian concept which replaces the ancient Iranian one of three celestial stages; but from the third heaven his companions carry him abruptly to "the northern region",[343] and show him a place like the Zoroastrian hell set in the northern quarter of the earth. It is "very frightful . . . and all kinds of torture and torment are in that place, cruel darkness and lightless gloom . . . and dark and merciless angels, carrying instruments of atrocities, torturing without pity".[344] As in the *Arda Viraz Namag*, his companions describe the many kinds of sinners suffering there, for whom, they say, "this place has been prepared as an eternal reward".[345] The prospect of an eternity of damnation contrasts with the Zoroastrian one of an end to it at Frašo-kereti,[346] as does the concept of "angels of punishment" with the Zoroastrian one that it is the *daevas*, servants of the Evil Spirit, who afflict the damned. Presumably this idea, and that of hell on high (found in

[338] 17.11.

[339] 18.1–11, and ff.

[340] 100.1.

[341] Although only Sroš is named in 101.27, Atar undoubtedly still partnered him, as throughout the story.

[342] 101.1 ff.; 3.1 ff.

[343] 2 En. 10:1 (OTP 118).

[344] 10:1–3.

[345] 10:6 (OTP 120).

[346] Cf. the Sib. Oracles, above, pp. 393–5.

other intertestamental writings[347]) were both part of an attempt to assimilate the Iranian ideas of hell and punishment after death to the Jewish conviction that all things are in the immediate power of the omnipotent Lord, whose home is above. Yet the strong contrast is still made in *2 Enoch*, as in *Arda Viraz Namag*, between the darkness of hell (appropriate to the subterranean Zoroastrian concept) and the brightness of the neighbouring heavens. Other details in the Jewish story which closely parallel ones in the Iranian legend are that Enoch is led into God's presence by an archangel (Viraz by an Ameša Spenta), is brought back to earth by his first two celestial companions, and reappears (as Viraz regains consciousness) on his bed, by which a continuous watch has been kept (although in his case it had been empty).

It is easy to understand why the story of Viraz, telling how Zoroastrians used mantic means to obtain additional authority for their prophet's revelation, should have appealed to certain groups of Jews, seeking to establish divine authority from within their own tradition for newly adopted beliefs. The story provided moreover an admirable frame for a rich medley of haggadic and other materials from diverse sources. No such connection with Iranian legend appears in the longer *1 Enoch*, in which the patriarch obtains much of his new knowledge through a series of dreams and visions rather than from his actual translation on high. This, when it comes, is dealt with almost as tersely as in *Genesis* itself: "Enoch was hidden, and no one of the children of the people knew . . . where he was".[348] The contrast underlines the likelihood that *2 Enoch* derives in part from the traditions of a group of Jews who were unusually well informed about Zoroastrianism, even if they remained selective in what they took from it, holding to an emphatic monism whatever the awkwardness which this produced.

Despite all such variations of content and treatment the group of early intertestamental writings being considered here has, as we have seen, much innovative material in common, with in every work interest in the last things and a final judgment figuring prominently, and an end to evil. Details of what happens then differ, however, considerably. Broadly, this appears due to the existence of two different future expectations: on the one hand, the Hebrew one of Yahweh's kingdom to be established in Zion, in which the righteous among the Jews will live in peace and joy for many years;

[347] Test. Isaac 146, 147; Test. Jacob, 153 (cited by Charles, APOT II 435 n. to 2 En. 10:1–6, who also refers to Ephesians 6:12).
[348] 1 En. 12:1.

and on the other, that derived from Zoroastrianism of God's kingdom to come on earth, in which the righteous will live in peace and joy for ever. The old Hebrew expectation still appears in the intertestamental writings in its strictly monistic form: because the Jews will by then have learnt to be good, Yahweh will no more need to punish them with flood and fire and plague, or to use Gentile enemies to chastise them.[349] But in a passage in *Jubilees* dualism enters into an otherwise traditional prediction of a happy future: "And the days shall begin to grow many . . . until their lifetime approaches 1000 years. . . . And there shall be no more aged or weary of life, but they . . . shall complete all their days and live in peace and joy, inasmuch as there shall be no Satan nor any evil destroyer."[350] This passage concludes: "And their bones shall indeed rest in the earth, but their spirits shall have much joy". This sentence has been interpreted as showing that its writer was among those Jews who thought that God's kingdom in Zion would eventually end, yielding to an eternal one on high to which the souls of the just would then ascend, released from Sheol.[351] Other intertestamental writers followed the Zoroastrian pattern more closely, believing that God's earthly kingdom would endure for ever (as we have seen in the *Sibylline Oracles*).[352]

With this diversity of expectations about the coming kingdom went a variety of beliefs about the fate of individual souls at death, with here again attempts to reconcile Hebrew and Iranian beliefs (with Greek thought also playing some part). There is a striking passage in *1 Enoch* in which the problem is ingeniously dealt with, in that the traditional Hebrew beliefs, having been abandoned, are attributed to ignorant sinners, while the adopted Zoroastrian ones are revealed as truth newly learnt by the patriarch. "Do not be sad", he adjures the righteous, "because your souls have gone down into Sheol in sorrow, or (because) your flesh fared not well in the earthly existence in accordance with your goodness. . . . When you die, the sinners will speak over you: "As we die, so do the righteous die. What then have they gained by their deeds? Behold, they have died like us . . . and what have they more than we? . . . They perished and descended into Sheol. . . . I now swear to you, righteous ones, . . . for I know this mystery; I have read the tablets

[349] E.g. 1 En. 10:21–11:2.
[350] Jubilees 23:27–30, tr. Schürer, HJP II 506–7; cf. OTP II 101–2.
[351] Charles, APOT II 9. On this particular compromise between Hebrew and Iranian expectations see Bousset, Rel. Jud., 286–9; Schürer, HJP II 536–7. For different possible interpretations of the lines see Wintermute, OTP II 102 note p.
[352] Above, p. 396.

of heaven and have seen the holy writings . . . joy and honour are prepared . . . for the souls of those who died in righteousness. Many and good things shall be given to you. The spirits of those who died in righteousness shall live. . . . You shall not have to hide on the day of the great judgment."[353]

The consciousness is clear here of a complete change of belief, needing divine authority to justify it. There is, however, an element of compromise with traditional Hebrew ideas in that the writer evidently thought that all souls alike would go down at death to Sheol, and remain there until the last judgment brought their reward to the righteous, confounding the wicked. The thought is thus essentially that of *Daniel* 12, with even an echo of its phraseology in a promise that the righteous will thereafter "shine like the lights of heaven"[354]. The belief appears also in one of the "wisdom" psalms, Ps. 49:14–19, where the psalm-writer declares that the wicked man has his lasting abode in Sheol, joining there "the company of his ancestors who will never see the light of day again", whereas because he himself is righteous "God will redeem my life from the grasp of Sheol, and will receive me". The Hebrew word rendered here as "receive" is the same one used in *Genesis* 5:24 for Enoch being "taken" by God, and in II *Kings* 2:1, 3, 5, 9, for Elijah being "taken" up to heaven.[355] The new belief about the bodily resurrection of the just on judgment day was thus linked verbally with the Old Testament legends about the physical assumption of the living patriarch and prophet.

In general, however, little is said in the intertestamental writings about the fate of individual souls at death, perhaps because the eschaton was thought to be at hand, and so the interval between death and the "great judgment" was to be short; and even among those passages which refer to this matter there is little mention of bodily resurrection.[356] This belief is, however, well attested in the *12 Patriarchs*, since the Jews who pondered upon the concept of a general resurrection evolved, like the Zoroastrians, an order of precedence then; and for them the patriarchs were to be the first to be raised up.[357] The fullest declaration comes in the *Testament of Judah*: "After this [i.e. the coming of the ideal king "to judge and to

[353] 1 En. 102:5–11, 103:1–4, 104:5 (OTP 83–5).
[354] Ib., 104:2.
[355] McDannell-Lang, Heaven, 15 with n. 24.
[356] E.g., I En. 22 (OTP 24–5). (Some Greek influence has been discerned here, cf. n. 333, above, end.)
[357] See Hultgård, Eschatologie, 260–1. (For Zoroastrian priests it was to be Gayo-maretan, followed by Mašya and Mašyani, GBd. XXXIV.6.)

save all that call on the Lord"] Abraham, Isaac and Jacob will be resurrected to life and I and my brothers will be chiefs (wielding) our sceptre in Israel. . . . And you shall be one people of the Lord, with one language. . . . And those who died in sorrow shall be raised in joy . . . those who died on account of the Lord shall be wakened to life".[358] In the Qumran writings, where there is intense interest in the last times, reference to physical resurrection is found only in the *Hymns*, and there rarely: "For the sake of Thy glory Thou hast purified man of sin . . . that . . . he may partake of the lot of Thy Holy Ones; that bodies gnawed by worms may be raised from the dust to the counsel [of Thy truth] . . . that he may stand before Thee with the everlasting host".[359] Some scholars have taken the allusion here to the body, explicit as it seems, as metaphysical; but the argument appears sound that "considering the beliefs and expectations of the sect as a whole, it is difficult to conceive that the members would have denied their dead brethren and the saints of the past a full share in the eternal joys of the Messianic kingdom",[360] which was expected by them, it seems, to come upon a renewed earth. There is, moreover, the statement by Hippolytus concerning the beliefs of the Essenes: "Now the dogma (word) of the resurrection also is firmly held among them. For they confess that the flesh also will rise and be immortal".[361]

Nevertheless, were one to judge the matter simply on the basis of the texts which we have been considering, one would undoubtedly suppose that the doctrine of physical resurrection was of no great importance to the Jews, and was held with conviction by only a minority among them. That minority included, however, the Pharisees, who remained in the mainstream of Jewish life. Many rabbis were of their persuasion, or held views similar to theirs; and belief in resurrection of the body as necessary for salvation was demanded in Mishnah *Sanhedrin* 10:1: "All of Israel has a portion in the world to come . . . and the following have no portion in the world to come: one who says "there is no resurrection of the dead".[362] The doctrine was also made the basis of the second blessing in the *Shemoneh 'Esreh*, the Jewish prayer of 18 benedictions,

[358] Test. Judah 25:1–4 (OTP 801–2). Cf. Test. Zebulon 10:2 (OTP 807); Test. Benjamin 10:6–7 (OTP 828).
[359] Hymn 17 (tr. Vermes, p. 186); cf. Hymn 10 (tr. Vermes, p. 172).
[360] Vermes, o.c., p. 51.
[361] Refutatio Omnium Haeresium, IX.27. Otherwise Josephus, Jewish War, II.8–13. On the two accounts see M. Black, "The account of the Essenes in Hippolytus and Josephus", in The background of the N.T., ed. Davis and Daube, 172–5.
[362] D. Boyarin and S. Steiman, "Resurrection", Enc. Jud 14, 98.

recited thrice daily. (Although this prayer was not given its final form till after the fall of the Temple in 70 A.C., most of it is held to be older.[363]) Here God is blessed in that "thou livest for ever and raisest the dead. . . . Blessed art thou, Lord, who makest the dead alive". Yet some hellenized Jews, like Philo, ignored or rejected the doctrine[364]; and controversy continued between rabbinical schools about when resurrection would take place, and for whom, with Bet Shammai holding that the souls of the dead are in the grave itself, or in a special "treasury" until the eschaton, when only the righteous will be raised up, while Bet Hillel followed closely the original Zoroastrian doctrine, teaching that all souls are punished or rewarded after death in heaven or hell, and that at the end of time the bodies of all will be resurrected for a final judgment.[365] Debate over these and other points continued into medieval times, to which the formulation of Jewish articles of faith largely belongs.[366] The non-canonical writings which we have been considering, which incorporated these beliefs, and many other works like them, were however rejected by the rabbis, and except for the Qumran texts all survive, like the *Sibylline Oracles*, only because of the interest they came to possess for Christianity.

The figure of Zoroaster among the Jews

The fame of Zoroaster in the Hellenistic age made him one of the illustrious figures whom the Jews sought to annex to their own tradition. Such annexations were generally carried out in very simple superficial ways. So Musaios, the half-legendary Greek poet whose verses were accorded the authority of oracles, was declared to be Moses, with Orpheus becoming the Hebrew prophet's disciple; and the Serapis image, because of its Egyptian connections, was identified as that of Joseph.[367] With regard to Zoroaster, several ways were taken. One was simply to assert that it was in

[363] See, with text, Schürer, HJP II 455–63. The following quotation is from the Palestinian recension, ib., p. 460.

[364] A striking illustration of this is provided by IV Maccabees, tr. H. Anderson, OTP II 544–64. See also Schürer, HJP III.1, 588–91. This work, in which "the Judaism recommended by its author is expressed entirely within the framework of Greek philosophy" (Schürer, o.c., p. 588), was composed, it is thought, in the mid 1st century A.C. It is based on II Maccabees, with the story of the family of martyrs retold to illustrate particular virtues; but while the account of their tortures is elaborated, all mention is omitted of their expectation of bodily resurrection.

[365] See Boyarin-Steiman, art. cit., pp. 99–101.

[366] Ib., pp. 101–2; A. Altmann, "Articles of faith", Enc. Jud. 2, 654–9.

[367] BCM I p. 41; Winston, art. cit. in n. 2, pp. 183–4.

fact Abraham who had discovered astrology, which he had then taught to Zoroaster.[368] Another was to identify Zoroaster with diverse Old Testament characters. One of these was Nimrod, great-grandson of Noah and "the first potentate on earth", whose mighty empire was said to have included Babylon.[369] The link with Babylon appears to have been the justification for associating him with Zoroaster in the latter's imagined role of "a very ancient king of the Chaldeans";[370] but once the identification was made, it seems to have been developed to some extent. In a Jewish-Christian Syriac work, *The Cave of Treasures*, which contains a short account of Biblical history, "intermingled with all manner of Haggadic material",[371] it is written: "In the days of Namrud (Nimrod), the mighty man, there appeared a fire which ascended from the earth. Namrud went down, looked at it, and worshipped it. He appointed priests to do service there and to throw frankincense into it (the fire). At that time Persians commenced to worship fire, [and continued to do so] up to this day."[372] There follows mention of a "king Sisan", a spring of water in Azarbaijan, and worship beside it of the statue of a white horse. Namrud, it is said, visited the east and returned with "a book of visions", which he began to use. "Idsher (Ardašir?), the priest who was in attendance at the fire which had come out from the ground, seeing Namrud busied with these ancient arts, besought the spirit (Deva), which was accustomed to appear near that fire, to teach him the wisdom of Namrud. Now, as it is the custom for such Devas to destroy those who draw near to them in sin, that Deva said to the priest that it was impossible for a man to become priest or Magus unless he had previously had connection with his mother, his daughter and his sister. The priest did as the Deva had bidden him. And from that time the priests and Magians and Persians commenced to take their mothers, and sisters, and daughters. This priest, Idsher, was the first to occupy himself with the signs of the Zodiac, and destinies, lots, coincidences, quiverings, and other things belonging to the science of the Chaldeans".[373] Here there appears a confused apprehension of Zoroastrian and pseudo-Zoroastrian themes; and elsewhere too Nimrod is said to have practised magic and astrol-

[368] BCM I 41, II 48 (B 41 with n. 1).

[369] Genesis 10:8–12.

[370] BCM I 42, II 45 (B 37). Cf. Bousset, o.c., pp. 369–78.

[371] R. J. H. Gottheil, "References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic literature", Classical Studies in honour of H. Drisler, New York/London, 1894, 25. On this Syriac work see ib., and BCM I 43, II 120 ff. (S 13a).

[372] Gottheil, l.c.

[373] Gottheil, art. cit., pp. 25–6.

ogy, and (like Perseus) to have founded the cult of fire and taught it to the Persians.[374]

Another Old Testament figure to whom the origins of astrology were ascribed is Seth, who was said in later Jewish tradition to have been instructed in knowledge by his father Adam, and to have foretold (like Berossus and the Sibyls) the destruction of the world first by fire and then by water. He too was drawn into connection with the Babylonian Zoroaster.[375]

Zoroaster was identified also with Balaam, the divinely inspired seer who uttered oracles. With his words: "I behold him . . . a star from Jacob takes the leadership, a sceptre arises from Israel",[376] Balaam was held to have prophesied the coming of the Messiah, as Zoroaster prophesied the coming of the Saošyant; but this was perhaps a Christian rather than a Jewish parallel, developed when the Saošyant was seen as Jesus.[377]

Zoroaster was identified also with Baruch, who figures in the Old Testament as the scribe of Jeremiah, but who in Hellenistic Judaism was regarded as himself a prophet, in whose name pseudepigrapha were written. The link with Zoroaster in this case was apparently the story related at the beginning of *II Maccabees* of how, when Jerusalem fell to the Babylonians, Jeremiah told the temple priests to hide some of the altar fire in a dry well. "In God's good time Nehemiah, commissioned by the king of Persia, sent the descendants of the priests who had hidden the fire to recover it; but they . . . found not fire but a thick liquid". This, poured over the altar wood, flared up under the sun's rays into a great fire; and when the king of Persia heard of it, he had the well enclosed and pronounced sacred.[378] This legend was clearly enough in Hellenistic times to justify associating Jeremiah with Zoroaster.[379] There was moreover a Jewish tradition that both Jeremiah and Baruch went to Babylon, and both are said to have prophesied the coming of the messiah.[380] Again, there is a question here of how much of the material is Jewish, how much Christian.

Yet another Old Testament prophet with whom Zoroaster was

[374] BCM I 43–4. On the linking through Nimrod of Zoroaster with the constellation Orion see below, p. 523 n. 82.
[375] Ib., pp. 45–6; Bousset, o.c., pp. 378–82 and see further below, p. 448 ff.
[376] Numbers 24:17.
[377] See BCM I 47–8; Winston, art. cit., p. 214, and further below, p. 451.
[378] II Macc. 1:19–34, 2:1.
[379] Gottheil, art. cit., p. 30 n. 2; BCM I 50.
[380] Winston, art. cit., pp. 214–15; Hultgård, art. cit. in n. 3, p. 578. For sources in which Zoroaster is explicitly identified with Baruch see Gottheil, art. cit., pp. 28–9; BCM I 49 n. 4, II 129 (S 16), 131 (S 17).

identified was Ezekiel.[381] Ezekiel dated a number of his utterances from the exile of the Jews to Babylon in 598, he himself being among those then carried off; and the period which they span is 593 to 571.[382] As we have seen, there was a Greek fiction, promulgated in the fourth century B.C., that Pythagoras had gone to learn from "Zaratas the Chaldean", evidently in Babylon; and on the basis of this, according to the formulaic system of Apollodorean chronology, Zoroaster's own date had been fixed at 570.[383] It was therefore a natural step for some Jewish chronologist to identify Zoroaster with Ezekiel, two prophets living supposedly at the same place and time.[384] Once this identification was made, details could be found to support it too. Ezekiel was a seer whose "violently imaginative visions" have caused him to be called the father of Jewish apocalyptic;[385] and among his visions is that of the valley of dry bones, which are to be clad in sinew and flesh and made to live again.[386] Most Biblical scholars take this to be a metaphor for the transformation of the dessicated spirit of Israel[387]; but some have seen it as the earliest attestation of a belief among the Jews in the resurrection of the body, and it has even been argued that Ezekiel was here inspired by knowledge of the Zoroastrian practice of exposing the dead.[388] This explanation hardly seems possible chronologically; but the nature of this vision might well have seemed to Jews another reason for linking him with Zoroaster, the practices and hopes of whose followers were plainly well known to them. In *Sibylline Oracles II* a paraphrase of the relevant lines from *Ezekiel* 37 is set a little before others which contain a Zoroastrian vision of the Last Judgment.[389] Conversely, of the three painted panels in the synagogue at Dura which received the most attention from Persian

[381] For this identification there is only the following reference by Clement of Alexandria (2nd cent. A.C.): "Alexander [Polyhistor] relates that Pythagoras became a pupil of Zaratas the Assyrian. There are certain people who say this name is none other than Ezekiel; but that is not correct, as will become apparent later", Stromata I.15.70, see BCM I 42, II 36; Winston, art. cit., p. 214.
[382] Ezekiel 1:2, 29:17.
[383] Above, pp. 368–70.
[384] BCM I 42.
[385] Jerusalem Bible, intro. to *Ezekiel*.
[386] Ezekiel 37:1–14.
[387] See, e.g., J. Muilenburg in Peake's Commentary on the Bible, ed. M. Black and H. H. Rowley, London 1962, 514a.
[388] B. Lang, "Street Theater, raising the dead, and the Zoroastrian connection in Ezekiel's prophecy" in Ezekiel and his book, ed. J. Lust, Leuven University Press, 1986, 297–316; McDannell-Lang, Heaven, 12–13.
[389] Sib. Or. 2:221–6 (= Ez. 37:5–6, 10), followed by the Zoroastrian prophecy in 2:252–5, cf. above, pp. 393–4.

scribes (to judge from their *dipinti*) is one which takes its inspiration from this same *Ezekiel* passage.[390]

Although the identification of Zoroaster with Ezekiel could be regarded as support for the sixth century dating of the Iranian prophet,[391] the Jews' assimilation of him also to Nimrod, or their claim that in astronomy he had been the pupil of Abraham, assigned him still to a remote antiquity, as did the tradition of the Persian Sibyl. Confusion in this matter thus goes back to the Hellenistic age, arising then with the Greek invention of his link with Pythagoras.

Zoroastrianism and early Christianity

Christianity, it is now generally agreed among scholars, has its origins in the Jewish sectarianism represented in its diversity in *Daniel*, *II Maccabees* and the intertestamental literature, "a kind of Jewish non-conformity"[392] which had developed during the Persian period and early Hellenistic times. The same can therefore be said of it as of other branches of this movement: those elements in its beliefs which can be attributed ultimately to Zoroastrianism as an originating or fertilizing force had long been assimilated into what was by then a fully Jewish tradition.[393] The interest of the early Christian writings for our present inquiry is accordingly the additional testimony which they provide for the vigour and persistence of certain essential doctrines of the Iranian religion, and hence for the continuing effectiveness of Zoroaster's thought.

[390] C. H. Kraeling, The Synagogue, in The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report VIII.I, ed. A. R. Bellinger and others, Yale University Press, 1956, 178–9, 336–7 (panel NC 1).

[391] F. Jacoby, FGrH 3 A (commentary), 298, suggested that the identification could even have been the basis for the dating; but P. Kingsley (art. cit. in n. 22) has traced the origin of this back convincingly to Aristoxenus, with the identification with Ezekiel being secondary.

[392] M. Black, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian origins", in The Scrolls and Christianity, ed. M. Black, London 1969, 97.

[393] A solitary point that is particular to Christianity, that Jesus rose on the 3rd day from the dead, has been directly linked with the Zoroastrian doctrine that the soul lingers on earth for 3 days after death; but it seems more likely to be based on the Gospel statements that he was crucified on the Sabbath eve, that "as the law required" (Luke 23:56) nothing was done on the Sabbath, and so it was on the 3rd day that the tomb was visited and found empty. So, e.g., G. Delling, "The significance of the resurrection of Jesus for faith in Jesus Christ" in C. D. F. Moule (ed.), The significance of the message of the resurrection . . ., 80. Otherwise U. Wilckens, "The tradition-history of the resurrection of Jesus", ib., p. 58: "The meaning and origin of the expression 'on the third day' is still disputed and not satisfactorily explained".

In the New Testament, it is accepted, two distinct traditions are represented, that formed and handed down in the primitive Jewish-Christian community, which reached the Syrian diaspora, and that of the churches founded by St. Paul. In the latter, it seems, little was known at first about the teaching and acts of Jesus, the gospel preached being "about his death, resurrection and function as saviour and judge in the last days"[394]. Paul wrote accordingly to a group of his followers: "You were converted . . . and became servants of the real, living God; and . . . you are now waiting for Jesus, the Son, whom he raised from the dead, to come from heaven to save us from the retribution which is coming" (*I Thessalonians* 1:9–10). Through accepting this teaching, he was convinced, they had been rescued from darkness and the "dominion of Satan" and would be brought to light and the rule of God (*Acts* 26:17–18). This presentation of the new religion may well have gained it some genuine converts among the Zoroastrians of Asia Minor (such as Bishop Mithres of Hypaipa, or his forbears[395]), for it contained little that was specifically Jewish, other than the person of Jesus himself, and embodied doctrines taught by their own faith, namely of a struggle between good and evil, an end of time, a coming World Saviour, and a last judgment. It perhaps therefore seemed to some of them a proclamation that the Saošyant was indeed at hand, coming to help the righteous to defeat, as Paul announced, not human enemies but "the Sovereignties and Powers who originate the darkness in this world, the spiritual army of evil" (*Ephesians* 6:12).

This dualistic concept, characteristic of much sectarian Judaism, of wicked supernatural powers opposed to the will of God[396], permeates the Gospels also. There the leader of these powers, the Evil One, is called by the proper names of Satan or Beelzebub, and is recognized as the "prince of devils" (*Mark* 3:22) and "prince of this world" (*John* 12:31, 14:30), for "the power and the glory of the kingdoms of the world" has been committed to him (*Luke* 4:5–6). He and his underlings, whose home is in the Abyss, i.e. hell (*Luke* 8:31), are ever diligent to do harm, and much of Jesus' work as a healer is seen as casting out devils, who cause physical distress. They and their master also thwart and corrupt moral good. Thus it is said: "When anyone hears the word of the kingdom without understanding, the Evil One comes and carries off what was sown

[394] Wilckens, art. cit., pp. 55–6.

[395] On Bishop Mithres see above, p. 251, and on Jesus as the Saošyant below, p. 451.

[396] Cf. above, p. 419 with n. 260.

in his heart" (*Matthew* 13:19); and when Judas took the bread at the Last Supper, it is declared, "at that instant . . . Satan entered him" (*John* 13:27). This accords essentially with the concept of Anra Mainyu and his hordes, although nowhere in orthodox Zoroastrianism is so much worldly power conceded to the Evil Spirit, the Iranian religion being fundamentally optimistic in its view of this world.

There being no systematic exposition of doctrine in the Gospels, there is no explanation there of the origin of these evil powers; but what is proclaimed repeatedly is their approaching defeat and the coming of the Kingdom of God. The latter concept is itself defined only by parables, but its understanding is partly linked with the question of what Jesus taught about the fate of souls in the hereafter. This again is nowhere explicitly stated, but has to be inferred. From the story of Dives and Lazarus (*Luke* 16:19–26) it appears that he held the same belief as Bet Hillel,[397] that individual souls were judged at death, being then either carried up at once by angels to heaven (where Abraham's soul dwells) or cast down into torment in hell. By whom or how they were judged is not made known. Their bodies presumably lay meantime in their graves. As in the apocryphal literature, little is said of the resurrection of bodies at the end of time; but that this was the common belief in Jesus' circle is clearly implied by the words attributed to Martha in *John* 11:24. There she declares of her brother Lazarus, whose body is in the tomb: "I know he will rise again at the resurrection on the last day". Belief in a general bodily resurrection at the end is upheld by Jesus himself in his encounter with the unbelieving Sadducees (*Matthew* 22:23–32; *Mark* 12:18–27).

The coming of the Last Day, which is proclaimed as imminent, is foretold in familiar apocalyptic terms. It will be heralded by both physical disasters and moral inversions, bringing distress such as "has not been equalled since the beginning when God created the world, nor ever will be again" (*Mark* 13:7–19, cf. *Matthew* 24:6–22, 29–31). Unlike the Qumran *War Rule*, the Gospels contain no predictions about the way in which the powers of evil will then be defeated, but concentrate on the day of judgment to follow, when "Jesus, escorted by all the angels . . . will take his seat on his throne of glory", and judge all the nations assembled before him. When he has given his judgment, the wicked "will go away to eternal punishment and the virtuous to eternal life" (*Matthew* 25:31–46). The Last Judgment thus repeats for sinners the sentence which

[397] Cf. above, p. 436.

they had already received at death, but apparently they are now to suffer for ever in body as well as in spirit, in the "eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels", their own erstwhile tormentors (*Matthew* 25:41). With regard to the fate of the wicked, this prophecy undoubtedly appears rather less logical and causally consistent than its distant prototype, the Zoroastrian prediction of the same solemn events;[398] but the two are similarly implacable.

The "eternal life" of the virtuous is evidently to be in the "kingdom of God". There is scholarly consensus that the word used for "kingdom" meant primarily "rule", "but might, by extension, refer to the persons or organization or area ruled".[399] The parallel here with the meanings of Avestan *khšathra*, used for the "kingdom" of Ahura Mazda, is close[400], and this is presumably not wholly coincidental, but arises in part because the doctrine which the two words embody is essentially the same: that in the present the region of God's unthwarted rule, his kingdom, is Paradise above, but that at the end of time, with the defeat of evil, it will come upon earth. An essential doctrinal difference was that Zoroastrianism taught that Ahura Mazda's rule over earth in the beginning had been deliberately brief, since he wished for the invasion of his Adversary, the Evil Spirit, so that he might defeat and annihilate him; whereas the Jewish apocalyptists saw the curtailment of Yahweh's rule here below as taking place through the revolt against him of certain provinces of his own creation, "the demonic, human and animal worlds".[401] Zoroastrians and sectarian Jews alike looked forward to the time when the struggle would be over and God's "kingdom" restored on earth, while the particularity of Jesus' followers lay in believing that this restoration had already begun. God's rule, they held, had become manifest through Jesus' miraculous acts, and was being continued through their own obedience as they looked forward to his returning in their own lifetime "with power and great glory" (*Matthew* 24:30), to bring about "the full resubjugation of the lower world"[402]. This belief is what Biblical scholars have called "realised eschatology"[403]; but eschatology in its usual sense, which has been characterized by one

[398] Cf. above, p. 366.
[399] Morton Smith, Clement of Alexandria, 202 (with, in what follows, a number of references to specialist works from the very large literature on this subject).
[400] Cf. HZ I 209, 221, 329.
[401] Smith, o.c., p. 203.
[402] Smith, l.c., with further literature.
[403] The expression was coined by C. H. Dodd, The interpretation of the Fonrth Gospel, Cambridge University Press, 1953, 447 n. 1.

of them as "unGreek"[404], was also in historical terms unJewish, but quintessentially Iranian.

From the words in *Matthew* 6:10, "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven", it appears that the eternal "kingdom of God" was looked for on this earth, once "all is made new" (*Matthew* 19:28). This fact tends to be obscured by the frequently recurring alternate phrase, "kingdom of heaven"; but this merely "reflects the Jewish scruple against using the name of God"[405]. Paul also seems to have seen the "kingdom" as coming on earth. Jesus, he prophesies, will descend from heaven to enact the Last Judgment (*I Thessalonians* 4:16); and he will rule the kingdom until "he has put all his enemies under his feet", after which he will surrender it to God the Father (*I Corinthians* 15:24–6). Concerning the earth itself, Paul uttered some remarkable words in a much commented upon passage, *Romans* 8:19–23: "The whole creation is eagerly waiting for God to reveal his sons. It was not for any fault on the part of creation that it was made unable to attain its purpose, it was made so by God; but creation still retains the hope of being freed, like us, from its slavery to decadence, to enjoy the same freedom and glory as the children of God. From the beginning till now the entire creation, as we know, has been groaning in the one great act of giving birth". This thought, of a blameless creation yearning to free itself from corruption, coincides remarkably with Zoroastrian teaching, and seems not to have a parallel in Paul's day elsewhere in the Greco-Roman world. It seems possible that he attained this thought through his own independent ponderings on the Jewish apocalyptists' teaching of eternal salvation to be enjoyed on earth. This teaching, as we have seen, appears to be ultimately of Zoroastrian inspiration. It is also, however, conceivable that there was a more direct Zoroastrian connection for Paul's words, and that during the centuries when Zoroastrians and Jews had lived side by side in Tarsus the Zoroastrian doctrine of the good creation striving to throw off evil had won some attention in Jewish circles there. In another passage (*I Corinthians* 7:29, 31) Paul, believing that "the appointed time has grown very short", declared that "the form of this world is passing away".[406] Some centuries later Augustine commented on this passage in his *City of God* (composed between 413 and 427);[407] and he, according to the

[404] E. Schweizer, art. cit. in n. 20, p. 500.
[405] Jerusalem Bible, editors' note to Matthew 3:2.
[406] Tr. of the Revised Standard Version. According to the Authorised Version "The fashion of this world passeth away". Jerusalem Bible: "the world as we know it is passing away".
[407] Bk.XX, Chs. 14, 16.

analysis of a modern scholar, saw this change of the world's "form" (*figura*) "as the extension to the material world of the 'mirabilis mutatio' that has taken place first in the soul, then in the body of man. The cosmos, too, is to pass out of time into eternity, is to share, according to its capacity, in the eternity of the immutable Truth. . . . In the final consummation of all things, therefore, time will be no more; all will be eternal—God, man, the world".[408] This teaching, found by Augustine in Paul, has been characterized as remarkable;[409] but it is in fact what had been taught by Zoroaster, and believed by his followers down the ages.

Earlier Church Fathers had also taught of blessedness on this earth, notably Irenaeus (c. 140–200), bishop of Lyons, who was born and grew up in western Asia Minor. He regarded salvation as a return to the conditions prevailing in Eden before the Fall, and held millenarian expectations that the "kingdom of the Messiah" would last a thousand years of full earthly happiness before it was succeeded by the "kingdom of God the Father", of which he has little clear to say. During his episcopacy there were harsh persecutions of Christians in Lyons, and he dwelt on the joys of the coming kingdom as compensation for the martyrs' sufferings, citing *II Maccabees* with its emphasis on physical resurrection.[410] In this he was following, in part at least, his teacher Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, who was himself martyred, and who in his last prayers before going to the stake is reported to have declared his firm belief in "the resurrection to eternal life of both soul and body, made incorruptible by the Holy Spirit".[411]

By the fourth century martyrdoms were a thing of the past, and millenarianism had been rejected, by Augustine among others.[412] The influence of platonizing Hellenistic philosophy, with its emphasis on the ascent of the soul at death to eternal life on high, became dominant, and in course of time the great medieval scholastics firmly established belief in an eternal kingdom of heaven above the firmament. The Christian doctrine of the Last Judgment thereby became for the saved what it had been from the beginning

[408] T. E. Clarke, "St. Augustine and cosmic redemption", Theological Studies, Baltimore, 19, 1958, 159. See also his The Eschatological Transformation of the Material World according to St. Augustine, Woodstock College Press, Maryland, 1956, with bibliography, pp. 41–5. (I am indebted to Professor Norman Cohn for drawing my attention both to St. Augustine's own words, and to these penetrating studies of them.)
[409] Clarke, Theological Studies 19, l.c.
[410] See with references McDannell-Lang, Heaven, 49.
[411] See ib., p. 50.
[412] City of God, tr. J. Healey, XX.7–13.

for the damned, no more than a confirmation of the sentence passed at death, after which all will return to where they have been already dwelling in spirit, heaven on high or hell beneath, the earth itself (as envisaged by the sixth-century Cosmas Indicopleustes) being left desolate, with hell in its recesses.[413] The doctrine of a general resurrection of bodies on Judgment Day thus became superfluous, but was too well vouched for in scripture to be abandoned. In the words of St. Augustine: "That there shall be a resurrection of the flesh at the coming of Christ to judge the quick and the dead, all that are Christians must confidently believe".[414] It was accordingly refined upon by successive schoolmen in the spirit of *Mark* 12:25, *I Corinthians* 15:39–53, but with some insistence that, however glorified, the resurrected body was still essentially of matter, not spirit.[415] Although a logical burden for Christian theologians, the doctrine remained fully a part of popular belief, and through the work of preachers, painters and poets helped over the centuries to mould Western man's imagination about the last things.

As well as the great eschatological doctrines, and a marked degree of dualism, Zoroastrianism appears to have bequeathed to Christianity, through sectarian Judaism, a number of lesser legacies. For instance, in Paul's letters, as in the Qumran writings, "Wrath appears as a principle which has a relation to damnation and engenders damned and evil creatures".[416] So he declares that he and his converts, before they received saving grace, "were by nature the children of wrath, even as others" (*Ephesians* 2:3); but being now justified by Christ's blood they "shall be saved from wrath through him" (*Romans* 5:9).[417] The concept of laying up treasures in heaven[418] is found in the Gospels (*Matthew* 6:20); and in *Revelation* (20:6) there appears again the story of the leader of the powers of darkness (here called "the dragon, the primeval serpent which is the devil and Satan") being overpowered and cast into a pit (here the Abyss) by an angel, who "sealed it over him, to make sure that he would not deceive the nations again" for a thousand years.[419]

[413] Christian Topography, tr. J. W. McCrindle, Hakluyt Society, London 1897, 5.184 f.; cited by McDannell-Lang, o.c., p. 80.
[414] City of God, XX.20.
[415] Alexander of Hales (1125–1174 A.C.), Summa Theologica II 328, cited by McDannell-Lang, o.c., p. 83.
[416] Pines, art. cit. in n. 9, p. 80.
[417] Quoted from the Authorised Bible. For discussion and further citations see Pines, art. cit.
[418] Cf. above, p. 414.
[419] On this theme cf. above, p. 421.

Christians and Zoroastrianism

In the regions where Christianity developed, Zoroastrianism was evidently known under different aspects. On the one hand there was the reality of a living faith practised by fellow-citizens of Iranian descent who were ministered to by magi, many of whom, it seems reasonable to suppose, would have been hardworking and conscientious priests. Reality also included the fact that Zoroastrianism was the religion of imperial Iran, then represented politically by the Parthians, who as Rome's chief antagonists were looked on favourably by a number of Jews.[420] They ruled moreover, on the whole benignly, over the Jews of the eastern diaspora (including Babylon), who thus had still better opportunities to know something of Zoroastrians, and who maintained contact with Jerusalem (cf. *Acts* 2:9).

On the other hand there were legends and superstitions—legends, as we have seen, of Zoroaster as an ancient astrologer and magician, master of Babylon or native of Syria,[421] whose esoteric knowledge and mysterious powers the magi had inherited, so that they were able to cast spells, heal the sick, and foretell the future; but many who called themselves magi were thought to be cheats and rogues.[422] Taken all together, the reality, the legends and the impostors seem likely to have engendered a little factual knowledge, a good deal of vague respect, and a measure of dislike and contempt.

The evidence for the existence of real knowledge is very slight, indeed not much more than the meagre materials already cited from Bishops Basil of Cappadocia and Theodore of Mopsuestia;[423] but an interesting detail survives in a commentary on *Matthew* 24:23–4,[424] where Jesus warns his disciples about the last times: "If anyone says to you then, 'Look, here is the Christ', or 'He is there', do not believe it, for false Christs and false prophets will arise and produce great signs and portents, enough to deceive even the chosen, if that were possible". The commentator (who may have been Theodore of Mopsuestia himself[425]) foresees the Anti-Christ appearing and deluding different peoples in different ways; and

[420] On amicable Parthian–Jewish contacts see with references Hinnells, art. cit. in n. 3, pp. 15–16.
[421] For the connection of his legend with Syrian Mabug see above, pp. 356–7.
[422] Cf. Beck, below, p. 511 ff.
[423] Above, pp. 277, 307.
[424] BCM II 113–17 (S 10).
[425] See the learned note by J. Vosté in BCM II 113–14.

"the magi he will deceive by saying: 'Behold, Pišiotan *Hmrdk, the director (or 'corrector'), has awoken from his sleep and is come. He stands before Hormizd, your god, who has appeared on earth'." Puzzling though the epithet *hmrdk* is, a genuine Zoroastrian eschatological hope is quite precisely reflected here.[426]

References to Zoroaster himself by Christian writers appear to have their basis in commentaries on or developments of the story in *Matthew* 2:1 ff., that "after Jesus was born at Bethlehem in Judaea . . . some magi came to Jerusalem from the east. 'Where is the infant king of the Jews?' they asked. 'We saw his star as it rose'." Although it is not explicitly stated in the Gospel, the oldest known commentary on the passage identifies the magi as "eastern men who came from Persia. For among them [i.e. the Persians] magi are adjudged not evil-doers, but wise" (*non malefici sed sapientes*).[427] The commentary in question, incomplete, and hence known as *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*, was falsely attributed to the fourth-century St. John Chrysostom.[428] The existing Latin text is thought to be translated from a Greek original written about 400; and in it is cited a "book in the name of Seth" commended by the Christian commentator as "not destructive of faith, but pleasing rather".[429] This book, he says, told how the magi of Persia had for generations been expecting a star to appear; and how every year, after the threshing festival, twelve of the most learned among them, versed in the celestial mysteries, would ascend a mountain which in their tongue they called "Victorious Mountain" (*Mons Victorialis*). On it was a cave with springs of water, and trees; and after performing ablutions there they would pray and silently praise God for three days. At last one year the star appeared descending over that mountain, having within it the form of a tiny boy, and the likeness of a cross above it. Led by it they made their way to Judea. On their return they taught many people; and when after Jesus' death the apostle Thomas went to that region, they attached themselves to him and were baptised.

The legend of St. Thomas as apostle of India and Parthia appears to have taken shape in Edessa, from where this story

[426] It is true that one might expect the Saošyant rather than Ahura Mazda to be mentioned; but Benveniste, (in BCM II 116 n. 1) referred to ZVYt 7.27 (ed. Anklesaria). On Pišyotan in Zoroastrian apocalyptic see latterly Boyce, BSOAS XLVII, 1984, 61–6. This son of Vištaspa is one of the Immortals who will appear to help bring about the overthrow of evil, cf. above, n. 15.

[427] BCM II 119.

[428] Ib., pp. 118–20 (S 12).

[429] BCM I 46 point out that these words, by a well-informed Christian theologian, preclude the Sethian source's being a Gnostic work.

perhaps emanated. The tradition that there were twelve magi, though found elsewhere, is thought to be especially Syrian, and there are Syrian lists (differing among themselves) of the names of all twelve.[430] One name which is almost constant (although it appears in a variety of forms), and which survives as that of one of the "three kings" of western Christian tradition, is "Gathaspar" (later reduced to Gaspar, Kaspar). This has been identified as a corruption of Godaphar, from Gundafarr, a name borne by the famous Parthian or "Pahlava" king who ruled south-east Iran and north-west India from c. 19–46 A.C.[431] He figures as "Gundophorus" in the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas*, a product of Syrian Gnostic Christianity of the third century.[432] There the apostle is said to have visited the king in India and converted him.[433] The tradition making Thomas also the "Apostle of Parthia" was supported already by Origen in the third century; but although there were lively cultural and commercial relationships between Syria and north India, this tradition is not held to have any historical worth.[434]

A more prolix version of the *Opus imperfectum* story survives in the medieval Syrian *Chronicle of Zuqnin*.[435] The two accounts probably derive independently from the same original, for in the *Chronicle* too there is a connection with Seth. According to it, Seth placed treasures and a book that he had written in a cave on the "Victorious Mountain" in the eastern land of Syr (a name otherwise

[430] H. Kehrer, Die Heiligen drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst, Leipzig 1909, I 65–72; for the names of the kings in Persian, Ethiopic and Greek see ib., p. 72 ff.; E. A. W. Budge, Syriac Book of the Cave of Treasures, London 1927, p. 208 ff.; and cf. Marquart, Untersuchungen, II, 1 ff. "Die Namen der Magier".

[431] Von Gutschmid, "Die Königsnamen in den apokryphen Apostelgeschichten", Rheinisches Museum für Philologie XIX, 1864, 162 ff.= his Kl. Schriften II 334 ff.; cf. Av. *vindi.x*arənah, viδat.x*arənah* (Air. Wb. 1449, 1442), OP *vi(n)da(h)farnah*, "achieving glory". See Justi, Namenbuch, 368–9, Alram, Nomina, 248–55, Sundermann, Kratylos 33, 1988, 90, who points out that *gu-* < *vi-* may indicate that Gundafarr was a Seistani form of this name.

[432] Tr. with intr. by G. Bornkamm in E. Hennecke-W. Schneemelcher (eds), New Testament Apocrypha, Eng. tr. ed. by R. McL. Wilson, London 1965, 425–531.

[433] Ch. 17 (ib., pp. 451–7).

[434] Bornkamm, l.c., p. 427.

[435] Attention was first drawn to this version by U. Monneret de Villard, Le leggende orientali sui Magi evangelici, Città del Vaticano, 1952. It was made much use of by Widengren, Kulturbegegnung, 71 ff., who sought to prove with its help that there had been a pre-Christian Zoroastrian legend of this kind, linked with the Saošyant and Mithra; but see the judicious criticisms by Duchesne-Guillemin, "Die Magier in Bethlehem und Mithras als Erlöser?", ZDMG 111, 1961, 472–5.

unknown[436]). Twelve magi down the generations kept watch every year outside this cave; and at last a brilliant star appeared, as if raised on a pillar. This star descended into the cave, into which a voice summoned the magi. There they saw that its light had concentrated itself into the form of a tiny man, who greeted them and bade them follow the star to Palestine, carrying the treasures from the cave as gifts to the new-born saviour.—What the gifts were is not specified in this story,[437] nor in the *Opus Imperfectum*; but presumably they were thought of as the "gold and frankincense and myrrh" of *Matthew* 2:11, princely presents which Seleucus II is recorded to have offered in 243 B.C. to Apollo in his temple at Miletus.[438]—It was the mention of these three gifts in the Gospel story, it is thought, which was the chief cause for the number of the magi becoming fixed eventually at three;[439] and they changed from magi into kings to fit the prophecy of *Psalm* 72:10 (relating to the expected Jewish king): "the kings of Tarshish and of the islands will pay him tribute, the kings of Sheba and Seba will offer gifts".[440]

In the *Opus Imperfectum* and *Chronicle of Zuqnin* "Seth" has clearly taken the place of Zoroaster as instructor of the magi; but in another group of Syriac stories "Zaradušt" is named directly as the source of the prediction about the star and coming saviour. The oldest representative of this group is that preserved by Theodore bar Konai (who became bishop of Lashom in 893).[441] His version tells

[436] F.G. suggests tentatively that the name may come simply from "Seres", a vague designation which in ancient literature encompassed Central Asia as well as China. Admittedly this name is recorded elsewhere in Syriac literature as *Šēr (Šērayē) (Pelliot, Notes on Marco Polo I, Paris 1959, 266), but the aspiration could have been lost through a Greek intermediary.

[437] See (contra Widengren) Duchesne-Guillemin, art. cit., p. 474.

[438] In the form of gold and silver vessels, 9 talents of incense, and 1 talent of myrrh with other aromatics, references apud Steier, "Myrrha", PW XVI.1 (1938), col.1145; cited by L. Olschki, "The Wise Men of the East in Oriental traditions", Semitic and Oriental Studies presented to W. Popper, ed. W. J. Fischel, U. of California Press, 1951, 380 n. 46. (Olschki himself, p. 377 ff., discusses at length the symbolism which he attributes to the gifts, seeing them as representing kingship, divinity and the power of healing, cf. below, p. 455.)

[439] They appear so in art in the 4th cent., see Kehrer, o.c., II Abb. 14, 30. For this and other references see Duchesne-Guillemin, "Die Drei Weisen aus dem Morgenlande und die Anbetung der Zeit", Antaios VII, 1965, 251 n. 17, who in the same article (pp. 245–7) gives a succinct analysis of the different motifs going to form the Matthew story, and also discusses and rejects a relationship (proposed by F. Spitta) between it and the apocryphal Testament of Job, with its "3 kings" as Job's comforters (tr. R. P. Spittler, OTP, 852 ff.).

[440] Cf. the Commentaries of Išo'dad of Merv, Nestorian bishop fl. c. 850, BCM II 131, f ll b.

[441] BCM II 126–9 (S 15). For the almost identical account, taken evidently from Theodore, given by Bishop Salomon of Basra (c. 1220 A.C.) see ib., pp. 129–30 (S 16). At the beginning of his version Salomon states: "This Zaradošt is Baruch the scribe" (cf. above, p. 438).

how Zaradušt, seated by a fountain of water,[442] prophesied to his disciples that a child would be born of a virgin, would be crucified and mourned by all nations, but would return with the armies of light. This child, Zaradušt declared, was to be of his own family. "I am he and he is I; he is in me and I am in him". His disciples would be the first to know of the child's birth, and were to take him offerings, for he would be the king of kings.

This remarkable version of the prediction of Jesus' birth presents him essentially as the Saošyant, who according to Zoroastrian tradition was indeed to be born of the prophet's seed from a virgin mother.[443] The allusion which we have already met to Pišyotan showed familiarity with Zoroastrian salvation beliefs on the part of a Syriac Christian; but Theodore's story suggests something more, perhaps a tradition shaped by Zoroastrian converts in Syria who kept something of their old religion when they adopted the new one, seeing the latter as confirming the beliefs and hopes of their forefathers. (The legend seems to go too far to be the creation of a Christian missionary, adapting his message to appeal to Zoroastrians; and it is hardly of the same superficial category as the various identifications of Zoroaster with Old Testament figures.) How far the ancient Zoroastrian tradition (going back to well before Achaemenian times) of the virgin birth of the future World Saviour contributed to shaping Christian belief in the virgin birth of Christ (which is held to be based on the Septuagint mistranslation of Hebrew *'almāh* "young woman" in *Isaiah* 7.14) necessarily remains a matter for conjecture.

Another link between the Saošyant and the birth-stories of Christ has been perceived in the *Opus Imperfectum* story: the Mons Victorialis which it describes in "Persia" should, it is suggested, be seen as the mountain in south-eastern Iran identified with the Avestan Mt. Ušiδam, which rose from the lake where the Saošyant is to be conceived.[444] In a late Zoroastrian text this mountain is called the Kuh-i Khoda "Hill of the Lord", and its modern name, Kuh-i Khwaja, has the same meaning.[445] In the Avesta the Saošyant regularly has the epithet *verethragan* "victorious";[446] and in the legend this epithet may have been transferred, it is thought, to the

[442] On the link between water and mantic wisdom in Iranian tradition see HZ I 73, 107, and ZVYt.III.4.

[443] This was pointed out in this connection in BCM I 52–3, II 128 n. 4.

[444] E. Kuhn, "Eine zoroastrische Prophezeiung in christlichem Gewande", Festgruss an R. von Roth, 1893, 218. Kuhn made the suggestion on the basis of Darmesteter's identification of the mountain in Drangiana/Seistan with Avestan Mt. Ušiδam (ZA II 521 n. 112, 633 n. 66; Ét. ir. II 208–10), see BMC II 119 n. 7.

[445] On this sacred mountain cf. above, pp. 149–51.

[446] Air.Wb. 1552.

hill itself.[447] That massive basalt eminence now lacks caverns, springs or trees; but the identification seems nevertheless very probable, since this was the oldest and greatest of Zoroastrian places of pilgrimage, where expectation of the coming World Saviour was kept alive far down into Islamic times. The mountain was moreover within the kingdom of Gundafarr, and hence the ancient legend attaching to it could have readily been brought into the fictive *Acts of Thomas*, so yielding the name for its first magus or king. The seed for the development of the story in *Matthew*, from which this fusion of Christian and Zoroastrian traditions grew, was presumably the characteristic concept of Greco-Roman times of a star announcing a great man's birth (whether it were a Mithradates Eupator or an Augustus Caesar).[448] Then, in a region where

[447] So Herzfeld, AHI 61, who acknowledged his indebtedness to G. Messina for drawing his attention to the *Opus imperfectum* story. On *vərəθragan* in this connection see further Duchesne-Guillemin, Rel., 242 n. 3. The identification of Mons Victorialis with Kuh-i Khwaja was rejected by Monneret de Villard, o.c., pp. 23 ff., 146 ff., who preferred to see it as Sabalan in Media Atropatene, because of that mountain's legendary connection with Zoroaster (see above, p. 72); and by Widengren, o.c., pp. 79–82, who understood the land of "Syr" in the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* to refer to Šīz i.e. modern Takht-i Suleiman, also in Atropatene; but he based this on arguments for whose weakness see above, p. 78 n. 59. The legend of the Saošyant was too ancient and too firmly attached to Lake Kąsaoya in Drangiana for the Atropatenians to have been able to annex it for their own region. For further bibliography on the Kuh-i Khwaja identification see Gnoli, ZTH 133 n. 46; and for discussion Duchesne-Guillemin, Rel., 241–3. Although the identification seems highly probable, Herzfeld went so far in seeking to link the Kuh-i Khwaja closely with Gundofarr that he invited disbelief for the whole theory.—Attempts to identify specifically Zoroastrian details in the various stories are also in the main unconvincing. In the *Opus imperf.* the magi are said to pray silently (*in silentio et voce tacita*), an odd point that Bidez-Cumont (II p. 119 n. 6) took to show that the writer "was well-informed about the silent prayer of the magi". In this they were followed by Monneret de Villard, o.c., p. 53 f., and Widengren, o.c., p. 77; but Zoroastrian priests never in fact pray silently. They have a form of nasal recitation, with closed lips, which they use respectfully for brief MP or colloquial utterances made between Av. prayers, which are themselves said aloud (see Boyce-Kotwal, "Zoroastrian *bāj* and *drōn* I", BSOAS XXXIV, 1971, 71–2); but this unobtrusive usage is not silent nor is it likely to have been noticed by outsiders. The "muttering" of Zoroastrian prayers which they commented on (see Wikander, Feuerpriester, 29; BCM II 112 n. 1 to S 8) was presumably simply the rapid recitation of the 5 daily prayers and the various forms of *bāj* used publicly in daily life (see Boyce–Kotwal, art. cit., II, ib., pp. 298–313); and it caught their attention by being audible but not comprehensible.—R. Reitzenstein, Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe, Leipzig-Berlin 1929, 397, listed other details in the story which he thought were Zoroastrian, but, though approved by Widengren, the parallels appear forced, see Duchesne-Guillemin, art. cit. in n. 435; and the theory which Widengren sought thereby to support (that there was an old Zoroastrian legend of star and saviour's birth which was transferred to Jesus) cannot be maintained. This theory was developed with considerable fantasy, largely on the basis of the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* version, by L. I. Ringbom, Graaltempel und Paradies. Beziehungen zwischen Iran und Europa im Mittelalter, Stockholm 1951.

Zoroastrianism was still very much a living force, a star could have led naturally to thoughts of the magi, and through them a Christian writer came to present the old religion as paying homage to the new. A model for this may have been provided, it has been suggested, by the journey to Rome of King Tiridates of Armenia, with his magi, to pay homage to the emperor Nero.[449] This took place in 66 A.C., a few years before the date assigned to the composition of St. Matthew's Gospel. As for the association of the story with the Mons Victorialis, although it seems unlikely that Syrian Zoroastrians were able in the first century to make the pilgrimage to distant Drangiana, they would certainly have known by tradition of the "Mountain of the Lord", and tales about it could the more easily have been embroidered if they had not seen it with their own eyes.

Another version of the mountain-cave-star legend, its elements differently arranged, occurs in the Syriac *Cave of Treasures*.[450] Here "the magi" see a star in which a maiden appears carrying a crowned child. Together with Chaldean priests they search their books; and the magi find in the "Oracle of Nimrod" (that is, "of Zoroaster") that this was a sign of a king to be born in Judah. Thereupon, obeying a tradition handed down by their forefathers, they go to the "mountains of Nod", where north and east meet, and fetch the gold, myrrh and frankincense hidden in a cave there by Adam. In this version the Semitic concept of a written literature is strikingly blended with the Iranian one of a teaching transmitted orally for generations. Another similar account of the legend, in the *Book of Adam and of Eve*, which derives from this one, omits the oral tradition altogether.[451]

Another group of stories has the Virgin or Jesus give a gift to the magi which they carry back to their own land. In one version this gift is a swaddling cloth. On reaching home the magi kindle a fire "according to their custom", adore it, and cast the cloth into it.

[448] See Duchesne-Guillemin, Antaios VII, 245. Hultgård, 12 Patriarches, I 355–61, sought to develop Widengren's theory that such stellar predictions were particular to Persian royal tradition; but much of his argument is flawed, e.g. his assumption that the star as badge of Pontus was Iranian (against which see above, p. xxx with n. 142). The prediction in ZVYt. VII.6 that stars would announce the birth of the future prince or *kay* is impossible to date, but (like the astrological predictions in VII.8) may well show the influence of common Hellenistic beliefs.

[449] A. Dieterich, "Die Weisen aus dem Morgenlande", Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft III, 1902, 1–14. (On Tiridates and his journey see HZ IV).

[450] On this text cf. above, p. 437; and for this legend from it see BCM II 123.

[451] BCM II 125. For yet another rendering of essentially the same version see ib., p. 126.

The fire takes hold of this, but when it dies down they draw out the cloth unmarked. Thereafter they keep and venerate it.[452] In another, less sympathetic version of this story, a set of swaddling clothes extinguishes the fire.[453] According to a story preserved among the Uigurs of Central Asia, the infant Jesus gave the magi a stone. Finding it grow heavy as they journeyed, they threw it into a well; but, looking back, they saw a great light, and returning, found a fire burning over the well, which they worshipped.[454]

The Christian legend was evidently carried eastward by the Nestorian church,[455] whose missionaries probably made good use of it among Zoroastrians in seeking to persuade them that the new religion was superior to theirs, and had been acknowledged to be so by their own priests. Various places in diverse eastern lands came to claim that the "Three kings" had set out from there; and one such was identified in Iran by Marco Polo in 1272. According to him,[456] the tombs of the three kings were to be seen then in the town of Sava[457] (to the south-west of Tehran); but no one there could tell him anything about the kings themselves, other than that they had lived long ago. It was only after three days further travelling, at a village called "Cala Ataperistan" (Qal'a-i Atašparestan) near Kashan[458] that he heard from Zoroastrians there (described by him as men who "worship fire for their god") very much the same form of the legend as that which the Uigurs knew, with the stone as gift, and fire springing from the well into which it was thrown. In the Persian version the magi/kings took the fire from the well "and carried it with them into their country and put it in a very beautiful and rich Church of theirs as a thing come down from heaven." It seems strange that Zoroastrians should transmit such a legend; but an accurate detail which Marco gives about the villagers' cult of

[452] Ib., p. 118 (S 11).
[453] Ib., p. 133 (S 19).
[454] F. W. K. Müller, "Uigurica", Abh. d. k. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, 1908, 5–10, re-edited by W. Bang, "Türkische Bruchstücke einer nestorianschen Georgspassion', Museon XXXIX, 1926, 41–75.
[455] See Olschki, art. cit. in n. 438, p. 376, who (n. 12) points out, among other data, that "the worship of the Biblical Magi" is attested "by the Nestorian dynasty of Tangut (the Chinese province of Si Hia)".
[456] The description of the world, ed. A. C. Moule and P. Pelliot, London 1938, I 113–16.
[457] See Pelliot, Notes on Marco Polo, II, Paris 1963, II 826.
[458] Ib., I, Paris 1959, 131–2. Marco's fellow-countryman, Odoric de Pordenone, travelling the same way c.1320, identified "Cassan" i.e. Kashan as the city from where the 3 kings set out, see A. V. W. Jackson, Persia past and present, 412–13; id., "The Magi in Marco Polo and the Cities in Persia from which they came to worship the infant Christ", JAOS 26, 1905, 79–83.

fire confirms that they were indeed of that religion.[459] This gives an especial interest to other elements in their story. One, which it shares with the Uigur version, is that the kings took gold, incense and myrrh not so much as offerings, but to test the child; if he chose gold, he would be a king, incense a god, myrrh a physician.[460] Since he accepted all three at once, he proved himself to be all three things. The other, which appears in its working out to be unique to the Zoroastrian account, is that the three kings were young, middle-aged and old; and that when they came to the house where the child was, they each went in alone, the youngest first; and each saw there a person of his own likeness and age. It was only when finally they entered again, all three together, bearing their gifts, that they saw the child "in the likeness and age that he was", that is, thirteen days old.

That the three kings thus represented the three ages of man became an accepted feature of their representation in western Christianity,[461] but only this Zoroastrian version makes this particular use of the tradition, and of both it and the story of the stone Marco Polo says critically: "Nothing of all this is true, but there is this belief in that people who have no true faith". An explanation which has been offered of it is that it represents a Zurvanite development of the Gospel story, with Jesus as God being conceived in the same way that Zurvan was by his worshippers. This was as "a metaphysical tetrad composed of Zurvan himself, the deified Time, and three of his co-substantial manifestations grouped in a hypostatic union and personified as living beings. These figures are the offspring of boundless Time and the symbols of his activity. Their names Ašōqar, Frašōqar, Zarōqar express the three stages of life in which Zurvan Akarana unfolds his power as a youth, in manful brightness and in old age. His hypostases represent the cycles of time within eternity and the phases of life in the evolution of the world. Thus, in the mythical tale of the Persian fire temple, Jesus appears in the functions and features of Zurvan Akarana, enacting his three hypostases in front of the Magi, his priests and worshippers, but remaining substantially the same in time and eternity. . . . The allegory is an adaptation of Zurvanistic concepts to the Biblical episode and in that form one of the most

[459] I.e. their care to keep a sacred fire ever burning; and how, should one be extinguished, they would go to others of their own religion to fetch embers from their sacred fire.
[460] This aspect of the 2 oriental versions is fully treated by Olschki, art. cit.
[461] See with references Duchesne-Guillemin, Antaios VII, 247–50.

curious and rarest examples of mutual influence between late Zoroastrianism [and] early Christianity".[462]

The puzzle remains as to why Zoroastrians should have preserved this legend (formed presumably early in the Christian era) through all the centuries of Zoroastrian and Christian confrontation under the Sasanians. Possibly the encounter then of the two faiths was not everywhere as clear-cut and antagonistic as other sources suggest. Moreover, if Nestorians fostered a tradition that the three kings set out from the Kashan region[463], the guardians of local Zoroastrian shrines were possibly glad to take a share of the profit to be got from pilgrims to the area; and conceivably later under Islamic rule their descendants found some advantage to be had from even a legendary link with Jesus, since he was regarded by the Muslims as a prophet.[464] Whatever the true explanation, the story provides what appears to be yet another piece of evidence for the prevalent Zurvanite character of western Zoroastrianism in Greco-Roman times, as well as for early Christian-Zoroastrian encounters.

Plutarch's account of Zoroastrianism

The dualism of sectarian Judaism and Christianity, however much it owed originally to Zoroastrianism, existed within a monotheistic theology. Dualisms of other kinds flourished in the Greco-Roman world, and Plutarch judged dualism to be the dominant form of belief in his own day, and the soundest. He moreover chose Zoroaster as the prime example of one who had taught such a system, and proceeded to give a succinct and much discussed account of his religion.[465] Dualism, he declared, "is the view of the

[462] Olschki, art. cit., pp. 384–5 (cited with some standardization of spellings). He further compares the Ismailic belief that "in an Imām childhood, maturity and old age are only one condition" (ib., p. 382). Monneret de Villard further (o.c. in n. 435, p. 78) cited an Armenian version in which Kaspar saw Jesus as a child, Balthasar Jesus enthroned and Melchior the dead and risen Jesus. See Duchesne-Guillemin, art. cit., p. 252 n. 30 (who there cites in this connection the supposed representation of Zurvan on Luristan metalwork, but see further below, p. 474 with n. 557); id., "The Wise Men from the East in western tradition", Acta Ir. 24, 1985, 149–57; id., "Jesus' trimorphism and the differentiation of the Magi", S. F. G. Brandon Memorial Volume, Manchester 1973, 91–100 (where comparison is made with an Antioch mosaic showing Aion and the three Chronoi).

[463] Olschki, art. cit., p. 376, suggests that they may have found a basis for this in the homonymy of Persian Sāvah and the Seba of Ps.72:10. Cf. also Isaiah 60:6, see Jackson, JAOS 26, 83.

[464] Similarly Olschki, ib., p. 387.

[465] Of Isis and Osiris 46–7 (ed. and tr. by J. G. Griffiths, who, pp. 470–82, gives a succinct survey of scholarly studies of these 2 chapters).

majority and the wisest; for some believe that there are two gods who are rivals, as it were, in art, one being the creator of good, the other of evil; others call the better of these a god and his rival a daemon, as, for example, Zoroaster the Magian, who lived, so they record, five thousand years before the Siege of Troy. He used to call the one Horomazes and the other Areimanius, and showed also that the former was especially akin, among objects of perception, to light and the latter, on the contrary, to darkness and ignorance". This passage is held to derive from a fourth-century source, either Theopompus (whom Plutarch later cites explicitly[466]), or Eudemus of Rhodes.

There then comes a more questionable statement: "In between the two was Mithres: and this is why the Persians call Mithres the Mediator". This remark will be discussed later in this chapter;[467] but with its mixture of past and present tenses it appears to be based on a different, possibly contemporary authority, as is probably what follows: "He (Zoroaster) also taught that votive- and thank-offerings should be made to Horomazes, but gloomy offerings to Areimanius, and those intended to avert evil. For they pound a certain herb called *omomi* in a mortar, invoking Hades and darkness, and then after mixing with it the blood of a slain wolf, they take it out to a sunless spot and throw it away". The giving of offerings to the Evil One, apparently only partly apotropaic, was undoubtedly wholly against the injunctions of orthodox Zoroastrianism, which were that the dark powers should be defied and utterly repudiated; but this must have seemed to some a dangerous commandment to keep, since the strength of Anra Mainyu's forces was so vividly apprehended. The practice described by Plutarch appears to have been a conscious inversion of the sacred rituals of the *yasna*: the pounded *omomi* (probably the aromatic *amomum*[468]) replaced the pounded *haoma*, the blood of the predatory wolf the milk of the beneficent cow, and the casting of the offering into a sunless place the pouring of *parahaoma* into pure, bright water. Yet, if Plutarch is to be relied on here, those who performed it called themselves followers of Zoroaster, and also made votive- and thank-offerings to Ahura Mazda.[469]—Possibly the dark rite, though

[466] For this section of his account cf. HZ II 235.

[467] Below, pp. 478–9.

[468] Benveniste, "Un rite zervanite chez Plutarque" JA 1929, 288–91. In this article (pp. 287–96), he argued for the rite belonging, with Plutarch's whole description, particularly to Zurvanism; but this interpretation has been generally rejected, see Zaehner, Zurvan, 13–14.

[469] This fact does not seem to have been taken into consideration by Zaehner, l.c., when he characterized those described by Plutarch as non-Zoroastrian demon-worshippers.

itself deliberately heteropractic, owed something to what appears to have been a recognized observance of the Old Iranian religion, namely the making of offerings to chthonic beings in shady places.[470]

What Plutarch records next reflects traditional Zoroastrian beliefs and usages: "They believe that among plants too, some belong to the good god and others to the evil daemon, and that among animals some, such as dogs, birds and land hedgehogs, belong to the good god, whereas water-rats belong to the bad deity, and for this reason they regard as happy whoever kills a great number of them". The basic soundness of this[471] shows that Plutarch was using good sources, his interest in recording these particular observances being that they illustrate the faith's dualism in action. He then turns back to its theology. "But they (the Persians) also relate many mythical details about the gods, and the following are instances. Horomazes is born from the purest light and Areimanius from darkness, and they are at war with one another. The former (Horomazes) created six gods, the first being god of good will, the second of truth, the third god of good order, and the others gods of wisdom and wealth, the sixth being the creator of pleasure in beautiful things. The other (Areimanius) created an equal number as rivals to these. Then Horomazes, having magnified himself to three times his size, removed himself as far from the sun as the sun is distant from the earth, and adorned the heaven with stars; and one star, Sirius, he established above all others as a guardian and watcher. Twenty-four other gods were created by him and put into an egg. Those who were created from Areimanius were of equal number, and they pierced through the egg . . .; and so it comes about that good and evil are mixed. There will come the destined time when Areimanius, the bringer of plague and famine, must needs be utterly destroyed and obliterated by these. The earth shall be flat and level and one way of life and one government shall arise of all men, who shall be happy and speak the same language."

This summary is again in the main strikingly accurate. It is indeed Zoroastrian doctrine that Ahura Mazda first evoked or created (the two concepts were not clearly distinguished[472]) the six

[470] See above, pp. 168–71.
[471] Cf. HZ I 298–300.
[472] This lack of definition was not confined to Zoroastrianism. Cf. G. C. Stead in Layton (ed.), Rediscovery of Gnosticism I, 343: " . . . the distinction of creation and emanation was less sharp in the ancient world than in later Christian tradition".

great Ameša Spentas[473]; and the descriptions which Plutarch gives of the first three render quite closely their Zoroastrian names: Vohu Manah (Good Purpose), Aša (Truth), Khšathra Vairya (Desirable Dominion).[474] There are no such clear correspondences for the latter three, but these at least give recognition to the fact that Zoroastrians esteem not only wisdom but also prosperity and joyfulness.—That Anra Mainyu as a counter-measure brought into being six archdemons is also doctrine.[475] Sirius (Avestan Tištrya) was a much venerated star, although according to a passage from the *zand* he was commander only of the eastern quarter of the skies;[476] but the curious statement about Ahura Mazda distancing himself from the sun and then creating the stars reflects Babylonian astronomical knowledge rather than the ancient Iranian belief (which we have met already in the *Arda Viraz Namag*[477]) that sun and moon were further away from earth than the fixed stars. As for the twenty-four "other gods", these clearly represent the divinities for whom, with the six Ameša Spentas, the thirty days of the Zoroastrian month are named (though the tally is not a strict one here, since these in fact include Tištrya. Ahura Mazda presides moreover over four days, but the number thirty is nevertheless the standard one given for these *yazatas*[478]). The egg is a metaphor for the world, enclosed, it was thought, by the hard shell of the sky;[479] in the Zoroastrian creation myth this shell was indeed pierced by Anra Mainyu and his evil powers, who thus brought about, as Plutarch accurately says, the mixture (*gumēzišn*) of good and evil.[480] The concluding eschatological prediction is also a faithful encapsulating of Zoroastrian expectations, with the destruction of Anra Mainyu[481], the earth to become level, and harmony to prevail upon it.[482] Although in no extant Zoroastrian text is Anra Mainyu himself said to be destroyed by famine, this fate is prophesied for

[473] See HZ I, 194–5, and on the alteration of the numbers "six" and "seven" ib., p. 203 ff.; on the absence of a reference to the links between the great Ameša Spentas and their creations cf. above, p. 380.
[474] So Benveniste, Persian Religion, 84.
[475] GBd. I.55.
[476] GBd. II.4. On the importance of Sirius in Near Eastern lands cf. below, pp. 531–2.
[477] Above, p. 430.
[478] Cf. HZ II 248.
[479] Cf. HZ I 132.
[480] Ib., p. 232.
[481] Cf. above, p. 394 with n. 150.
[482] Cf. the lines from Sib. Or. II, cited above, p. 394; and on the flatness of the earth after Frašo-kereti, GBd. 34 : 33. Further, Boyce, art. cit. in n. 63, p. 75.

his closest companion, Az, the demon of Greed;[483] and since that prophecy is put in the mouth of Zurvan, it can perhaps be regarded as part of Zurvanite teachings, which represented the form of Zoroastrianism accessible from the fourth century B.C. to Greeks.

Plutarch's short account thus shows that in the first century A.C. fairly accurate knowledge of Zoroastrianism, drawn apparently from a variety of sources, was available to the learned in the Greco-Roman world. One of its doctrines which he describes, that of the emanation by the Supreme Being of numerous lesser divinities, harmonized well with the concepts of Middle Platonism; and this doctrine, together with its own form of ethical dualism, appears to have been among the contributions which the Iranian religion made to the enormously complex world of Gnostic thought, which has also to be considered briefly here.

Zoroastrianism and Gnosticism

The discovery in 1945 and gradual publication since then of some 30 fairly complete new Gnostic texts and 10 fragmentary ones[484] has created for scholars in this field a "vast task of reinterpreting the Gnostic evidence".[485] The works in question, from Nag Hammadi in upper Egypt, are a miscellaneous collection, like those at Qumran; and they too cover a considerable span of time, perhaps from the first to fourth centuries A.C. Part of the problem they have posed is that there are marked differences between them and what was previously the chief source for knowledge of Gnosticism, namely the data given by Christian heresiologists; and the discrepancies and gaps indicate a huge quantity of lost literature.[486] Up to the present, the intensive work of reassessment has left each of the main lines of interpretation of the nature and origins of Gnosticism with its supporters. One group holds to the picture first obtained from the Church Fathers, namely that this movement developed from within early Christianity—that it "represented the Hellenization of Christianity in an acute form as opposed to the more cautious and less spectacular incorporation of Hellenistic elements in Christianity itself".[487] Other scholars see it developing

[483] Zadspram XXXIV.35, 40–45 (a passage adduced in this connection by F. G.).

[484] J. M. Robinson (ed.), NHL 12.

[485] H. Jonas in B. Layton (ed.), The rediscovery of Gnosticism, I, 348; cf. K. Rudolph, Gnosis, 51–2.

[486] Robinson in Layton, o.c., II, 557.

[487] Jonas, Gnostic Religion, 36 (in part quoting a famous definition by A. von

alongside Christianity, having like it Judaism for its source; and yet others—their case, they think, significantly strengthened by the Nag Hammadi discoveries—argue for a pre-Christian Jewish Gnosticism, some of whose texts were superficially Christianized later.[488] Another interpretation is that Gnosticism was essentially an independent religion with its own formative principle, which in its different known forms received Christian, Jewish, pagan and other glosses.[489] According to some scholars it was monogenetic, others see it as polygenetic; but all agree that Irenaeus had good reason to say that in his day gnostics seemed to spring up like mushrooms.[490] (For him and for Justin Martyr their progenitor was the Samaritan Simon Magus, whose fixed appellation represents the pejorative use of "magus" in a general sense of "magician, sorcerer".) Some of this apparently enormous diversity may be due, it is thought, to a tendency by the heresiologists to attribute every difference which they found in Gnostic writings to a different group, as well as being overly inclined, as trained theologians, to systematize the beliefs of their opponents, giving them clearly distinct forms. Modern scholars tend to recognize on the one hand the great gnostic schools, known from the mid second century and named after their founders,[491] and on the other numerous probably loose groupings of like-minded people who shared a common world view and way of life, and who used myths to express their beliefs without necessarily striving for dogmatic coherence.[492]

Another matter on which there is general assent is that there is no real evidence to support the theory, put forward in the early decades of the present century by the "History of Religions School", that there was a massive direct contribution by Zoroas-

Harnack). The argument that the first Gnostics were essentially Christian exegetes, seeking a better understanding of Paul and John, has been upheld again latterly by S. Pétrement, Le Dieu séparé, Paris 1984, Eng. tr., San Francisco 1990 (summarized by Duchesne-Guillemin, "On the origin of Gnosticism", A Green Leaf, papers in honour of J. P. Asmussen, Acta Ir. 28, 1988, 349–63); and challenged by B. Pearson, "Early Christianity and Gnosticism", Religious Studies Review 13, 1987, 1–8.

[488] These differing views are admirably argued by diverse scholars in Layton (ed.), o.c., which includes discussions of the various papers published in it.

[489] Jonas, in Layton (ed.), o.c., I, 347, maintaining the thesis of his own *Gnostic religion*.

[490] Adversus Haereses 1.29.1.

[491] For a lucid survey see Rudolph, o.c., pp. 308–26.

[492] See, e.g., F. Wisse, "Stalking those elusive Sethians", in Layton (ed.), o.c., II, 570 with 579; and cf. A. Böhlig and H. Chadwick, ib., pp. 579, 586. For an anthology of Gnostic writings generally in translation see B. Layton, The Gnostic Scriptures, SCM Press, London 1987.

trianism to the development of Jewish-Christian Gnosticism;[493] and the postulate has been even more firmly rejected of an independent pre-Christian Iranian Gnosticism.[494] The movement belongs unquestionably to the late Hellenistic world. A lasting achievement of the scholars of this school was nevertheless to draw attention to the existence of an Iranian component in Gnosticism's highly syncretic make-up; for there appears to have been a considerable indirect contribution to it by Zoroastrianism. This was presumably transmitted by some of the fringe groups of hellenized Jews who produced the apocalyptic literature, and who (with adherents of the Jewish "wisdom" tradition) are widely now held to have been

[493] This was proposed with his customary penetration and width of learning by Bousset, Hauptprobleme der Gnosis, especially with regard to dualism, the First Man and the concept of the redeemed redeemer; but reassessments have since been made of much of his source materials. For a detailed study of some of these matters see C. Colpe, Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule. Darstellung und Kritik ihres Bildes vom gnostischen Erlösermythus, Göttingen 1961.

[494] This was maintained particularly by R. Reitzenstein in his various works, on which see Colpe, o.c.; Duchesne-Guillemin, Ohrmazd et Ahriman, 107–16, Western Response, 96–7. The existence of a "Judaeo-Iranian gnosis" in Parthian times in N. Mesopotamia and N.-w. Iran, serving "as a point of departure for the so-called Sethian gnosticism" was subsequently argned by Widengren, see his Mani and Manichaeism, Eng. tr. by C. Kessler, London 1961, 22, cf. p. 73, and his "Der iranische Hintergrund der Gnosis", Zeitschrift f. Religions- u. Geistesgeschichte 4, 1952, 97–114; partly reprinted in K. Rudolph (ed.), Gnosis und Gnostizismus (Wege der Forschung 262), Darmstadt 1975, 410–25. His arguments were, however, weak (e.g. an uncritical use of the *Chronicle of Zuqnin*, cf. above, n. 447), while his analysis of Manichaeism itself as by origin an Iranian gnosis is unacceptable. With regard to the link between the Mons Victorialis story and Seth (above, p. 448), Seth appears fairly frequently in esoteric Jewish and Christian literature as the transmitter of divine revelation (see Wisse in Layton (ed.), o.c., II, 571), and the occurrence of his name is not enough to establish a work as gnostic. Widengren also drew for his hypothesis on the "Song of the Pearl", in the Acts of Thomas, which since it has a Parthian background will be considered in the next volume of this history. A. Böhlig also used the expression "Judaeo-Iranian gnosis", but in the sense of "an area in Gnosticism for whose concepts Gnostic thinkers of Jewish extraction have picked up to an unusual degree Iranian ways of thought, altered or perhaps even polemically opposed them", see his Mysterion und Wahrheit, Leiden 1968, 149 n. 7. In the same work (pp. 149–61) he attempted to distinguish a quantity of Iranian details in the Apocalypse of Adam (tr. by G. W. MacRae and D. M. Parrott, NHL, 277–86 and earlier by MacRae, OTP 707–19); but his exposition, which relies heavily on rash conjectures or identifications by Widengren, is unconvincing. The same has to be said of a study on similar lines by A. J. Welburn, "Iranian prophetology and the birth of the Messiah : the Apocalypse of Adam", ANRW II.25.6 (1988), 4752–94. MacRae, "The Coptic Gnostic Apocalypse of Adam", The Heythrop Journal 6, 1965, 27–35, has convincingly demonstrated the close dependence of this work on Jewish apocalyptic tradition.—Despite the statement at the end of Zostrianos (tr. J. N. Sieber, NHL, 402–30) that this Gnostic work represents "Teachings of Zoroaster", it has in fact nothing to do with the Iranian religion, see below, pp. 550–3.

among the chief begetters of Gnosticism.[495] In all probability, as we have seen, some of these groups absorbed from Zoroastrianism, during the Persian period, its then still unique teaching of salvation for the righteous and for the world, a process beginning with creation and proceeding onwards to an absolute end of time, with thereafter eternal bliss for the saved.[496] This became one of the essential concepts of Gnosticism, with the great difference that for the Gnostics the material world, being itself evil, was not to be saved but abandoned.[497]

For the evolution of this last belief influence has been attributed to Platonic dualism, with its concept of an ideal or spiritual world which is superior to the physical one. Yet Gnosticism may also owe something of its anticosmic stance indirectly to Zoroastrian dualism, for it seems likely that the assimilation by sectarian Jews of the Zoroastrian belief in an evil supernatural power opposed to the will of God[498] stimulated diverse attempts in the Jewish community to reconcile this with worship of an omnipotent deity. The haggadic myths evolved for this purpose can hardly be said to be wholly satisfying—why, for instance, did God permit one-tenth of the fallen angels to remain free to serve Satan, thus granting the latter his wish to exercise authority over mankind[499]? A certain amount of pre-Gnostic speculation may be assumed accordingly among Jews in search of other resolutions of the problem.[500] In due course, by repudiating the God of orthodox worship, with his punitive wrath, and venerating instead a remote Being, many Gnostics became

[495] See Rudolph, o.c., pp. 277–82, and cf. apud Layton, o.c., II 561, 663 ff., 679.

[496] Cf. above, p. 363 ff.

[497] On these and other Zoroastrian elements entering Gnosticism through the "apocalyptic-Jewish filter" see Rudolph, o.c., pp. 282–3, and cf. Colpe, "Irans Anteil an Entstehung und Ausgang des antiken Synkretismus", in K.-W. Tröger (ed.), Altes Testament-Frühjudentum-Gnosis, Neue Studien zu "Gnosis und Bibel", Berlin 1980, 327–43.

[498] Cf. above, p. 419.

[499] Above, p. 421.

[500] See G. G. Stroumsa, Another Seed: Studies in Gnostic mythology (Nag Hammadi Studies 24), Leiden 1984; Layton in Layton (ed.), o.c., I xii; N. A. Dahl, "The arrogant Archon and the Lewd Sophia, Jewish traditions in Gnostic revolt", Layton (ed.), o.c., II, 690 : "The god against whom the radical gnostics revolted was obviously the God of exclusivist, biblical monotheism. The radicalism of the revolt presupposes both a close contact and a situation of conflict". Accordingly (p. 691) he agrees with A. E. Segal, Two Powers in Heaven: early Rabbinic reports about Christianity and Gnosticism (Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity 25), Leiden 1977, in assuming that "at least one main branch of radical gnosticism originated in some syncretistic Jewish fringe group, in opposition to the strict monotheism of emerging "normative Judaism".'

themselves believers in two divine powers, on a pattern not wholly unlike that of Zurvanite Zoroastrianism as far as the relationship between Zurvan and Ahriman is concerned: instead, that is, of postulating, like Zoroaster, a dualism of pre-existent, utterly opposed principles, most Gnostics held, like Zurvanites, that "the dualism of existing reality is derived from an inner process within the divinity itself".[501] Of the great Gnostic movements, only Manichaeism and Mandaeism closely reflect orthodox Zoroastrian dualism. As a consequence of missionary activity in Iran, the writings of Manichaeism also shed some interesting light on Zoroastrianism itself in early Sasanian times, and so this religion will be considered in more detail in the next volume of this history, even though it too belongs largely within a hellenized Judaeo-Christian tradition.

Fundamentally important though the doctrines are in Gnosticism of an ethical dualism and the final salvation at the end of time of all those to be blessed, something else has been judged to be perhaps "the profoundest contribution of Persian religion to Gnosticism and to the history of religion generally".[502] This is the concept of the Self, represented in the Avesta by the word *daena*,[503] in Middle Persian and Parthian texts by *griw*, and in the New Testament and Gnostic writings generally by Greek *pneuma*. "It is between the *pneuma* of the terrestrial person and its heavenly counterpart that the ultimate recognition takes place."[504] There is further the likelihood, as we have seen,[505] that the Iranian religion contributed to the pervasive Gnostic concept of hierarchies of divine beings, emanations from the one Supreme Being.

Yet however large the debts of the Gnostic movement may have been ultimately to Zoroastrianism, it remains in all its forms utterly different from the latter, with its strong hellenizing element, its complex, syncretic mythologies, its pessimism and its contempt for the material world—a contempt that fostered a generally ascetic way of life. A profound gulf in doctrine and practice lay between the two. Once Gnosticism had developed and spread powerfully in the second and third centuries, however, it was "bound to radiate back into Iran".[506] Its influence there was evidently exerted largely

[501] Jonas, Gnostic religion, 105.
[502] Ib., p. 123.
[503] See HZ I 239; Gnoli, ZTH 195–6.
[504] Jonas, o.c., p. 124.
[505] Above, p. 460.
[506] Duchesne-Guillemin, Western Response, 101. On possible Zoroastrian-Gnostic connections see also C. Colpe, "Sethian and Zoroastrian ages of the world", Layton (ed.), o.c., II, 540–52 (although the Iranian materials cited there now call for a rather more rigorous analysis).

through Manichaeism, and thus will be a matter for later consideration.

Zoroastrianism and Egyptian apocalyptic

There is a large Egyptian component in much Gnostic syncretism, as is to be expected, since Alexandria was one of the chief centres of the movement; and there existed also an Egyptian apocalyptic. This had its antecedents in an ancient Egyptian prophetic literature which flourished during the Middle Kingdom, and whose earliest representative is the *Prophecies of Neferty*, dated to 1991 B.C.[507] This consists of *ex eventu* predictions, which are supposed to have been made by Neferty to Snofru the legendary founder of the Old Kingdom fourth dynasty, but which actually describe the troubled times that preceded the founding of the twelfth dynasty (the first of the Middle Kingdom) by Amenemhet I (2000–1970). They then "foretell" the coming of a beneficent king, who will triumph over Egypt's enemies and re-establish order and prosperity in the land; but this king is Amenemhet himself, for the text belongs to a political literature and was in fact a piece of royal propaganda.[508] As such, it embodies the fundamental Egyptian concept that a new king established his legitimacy by fulfilling the role of his "father", the creator and sun-god Re, through recreating order and peace for his subjects. Hence in the Egyptian prophecies a new king is said to "come from the sun".[509]

There is a great chronological gap between the ancient prophetic literature which this work represents and the Egyptian apocalyptic texts of Greco-Roman times (although some of these, it is thought, contain intermediary materials, re-worked). Nevertheless, the apocalyptic texts are concerned with the same main themes, namely distress at evils brought on Egypt by enemies, lamentation over social, economic and moral disorder, and a longing for peace and prosperity to be restored by a good king.[510] The reason for

[507] Tr. J. A. Wilson in Ancient Near Eastern Texts, ed. J. B. Pritchard, Princeton 1955, 444 ff.
[508] F. Dunand, "L'Oracle du Potier et la formation de l'apocalyptique en Egypte" in L'Apocalyptique, M. Philolenko and others, 47.
[509] L. Koenen, "The Prophecies of a Potter : a prophecy of world renewal becomes an apocalypse", American Studies in Papyrology 7, 1970 (= Proceedings of the 12th International Congress of Papyrology, ed. D. Samuel), 205–1. On the "king from the sun", in the Sibylline Oracles cf. above, n. 168 ; and Dunand, art. cit., pp. 44, 54.
[510] For continuity also in details of framework and presentation see Dunand, art. cit., pp. 47–9.

terming these later works apocalyptic rather than prophetic[511] is that this longed-for king is not identified with any historical ruler, but is a vague figure of the uncertain future. Centuries of Hellenic domination had, it is thought, destroyed hope of "any native contender powerful enough to beat the Greeks and to become king of the whole of Egypt", hence the Egyptians' predictions of a coming saviour were now "not so much propaganda in favour of a specific king as propaganda against the Greeks"[512]—godless foreigners, Macedonian dogs brought to their beloved land by the "great dog" himself, the conquering Alexander.[513]

In this respect Egyptian apocalyptic shared the pattern of the almost certainly older Iranian apocalyptic, fashioned in the earliest days of the Macedonian conquest when only Persians were deeply embittered against the Western invaders.[514] The ideas contained in the Iranian works would presumably have been known to Greek-speaking Egyptians both through the poems of the Persian Sibyl and, later, as part of a common Hellenistic culture; and although the Egyptian works show such striking continuity with their country's ancient traditions, they are also very much products of their own time in that they embody diverse elements from this common culture. Indeed, resemblances—both real and imagined—between the best known Egyptian apocalyptic text, the *Potter's Oracle*,[515] and the Persian *Zand i Vahman Yašt* led one scholar early this century to see in the former a Persian work "adapted for Greek-speaking Egyptians by an author familiar with the Jewish scriptures".[516] The evidence which he adduced seemed at first convincing, and he was followed in this by others, both Iranists and Egyptologists[517]; but bit by bit details in the argument were proved to be unsound. Thus for example there is an expression used for the Greeks in the *Potter's Oracle*, *zonophoroi* "girdle-wearers", for which it was said that no

[511] First so termed by Reitzenstein in Reitzenstein-Schaeder, Studien, 44. Cf. C. H. Roberts, Papyrus Oxyrhynchos 2332 in The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XXII, ed. E. Lobel and C. H. Roberts, London 1954, 93 (cited by Dunand, art. cit., pp. 45–6), and Koenen, art. cit., p. 253.

[512] Koenen, ib., p. 252.

[513] So according to the interpretation of W. Spiegelberg, Die sogenannte Demotische Chronik, Demotische Studien 7, Leipzig 1914, 5, 22 n. 2 (cited by Dunand, art. cit., p. 52).

[514] Cf. above, p. 374.

[515] Re-edited by L. Koenen, "Die Prophezeiungen des 'Töpfers'", ZPE 2, 1968, 178–209, with addenda, Vol. 3, p. 137.

[516] Reitzenstein, o.c., p. 51.

[517] See Koenen, art. cit., p. 180 n. 4. Other scholars were critical from the first, notably A. D. Nock in his review of Reitzenstein-Schaeder's Studien in JHS XLIX, 1929, 114.

Egyptian antecedent was known; and it seemed therefore reasonable to connect it with a term in the *ZVYt* (IV.59), *dawāl-kustīgān* "leather-girdled ones", applied to foreigners as distinct from Zoroastrians, who wore the sacred girdle of plaited wool;[518] but then *zonophoroi* became recognized as in fact a rendering of an Egyptian expression for "people with the girdle", used of foreigners from the time of the tenth dynasty.[519] Similarly the phrase "king from the sun", which had been interpreted as referring to Mithra, was shown to belong unquestionably to Egyptian tradition. Thus, since close links have been established between the *Potter's Oracle* and the *Prophecies of Neferty*, the conclusion now seems just that the former is to be regarded as a fundamentally Egyptian work, which, however, borrowed elements from diverse epochs and civilizations, so that "some details may be Iranian, others Jewish or Greek".[520]

In the main it seems probable that the undoubted parallels which exist between Egyptian and Iranian apocalyptic are due to similar responses to like circumstances. The potter of the *Potter's Oracle* is taken to be an incarnation of the god Chnum, as is most probably the lamb of the badly preserved *Oracle of the Lamb*,[521] and both texts appear to be essentially the compositions of priests of Chnum, as Iranian apocalyptic was essentially the work of magi. Priests, intensely conservative and naturally antagonistic to the infidel, could be expected everywhere to be the creators of works of resistance, and moreover to turn back to the past for authority for their compositions.[522] The magi sought this authority with Zoroaster himself, or with Vištaspa and Jamaspa; and the authors of the *Potter's Oracle* seem deliberately to have linked their work with the ancient *Prophecies of Neferty* (the potter utters his predictions to a "king Amenophis", whose name echoes that of the king in the older text).

The *Oracle of the Lamb* contains materials which belong to the period of Achaemenian domination, but the existing redaction is considered to be a product of Ptolemaic times. Other works which have been linked with these two are the *Demotic Chronicle*, another *ex eventu* prophecy dating, it seems, from the third century B.C.[523]; and the so-called *Apocalypse of Asclepius*, imbedded in a longer work

[518] Reitzenstein, o.c., pp. 44–5.

[519] See Koenen, l.c.

[520] Dunand, art. cit., p. 44.

[521] See Koenen, art. cit., pp. 185, 189; American Studies in Papyrology 7, 252; Dunand, art. cit., p. 50.

[522] On this as a general phenomenon of late Hellenistic times see J. J. Collins, art. cit. in n. 48, pp. 33–4.

[523] See Dunand, art. cit., pp. 51–2 with n. 38.

entitled simply *Asclepius*. This was known first in a Latin version, but now exists also in a shorter Coptic one found at Nag Hammadi.[524] The whole group of texts has been characterized as apocalyptic, in that all four reveal the future coming of a saviour king; but, unlike the Zoroastrian and (in this respect derivative) Jewish apocalyptic, they lack an eschatological element. There is no question of an end of time or history with that king's coming, but only the hope of a renewal then of happiness and good order. The Egyptians traditionally "conceived the world as the place and stake of ceaseless combat between antagonistic forces; the forces of evil may take it for a shorter or longer time, but finally the forces of good always succeed in making order triumph over chaos".[525] It was not, it has been pointed out, until Egypt became Christian that it embraced eschatological prophecy[526]—a prophecy whose pattern was ultimately that of Zoroastrianism.

Contributions by the cult of Zoroastrian Mithra to Greco-Roman religion

The chief field to look for contributions by the cult of Zoroastrian Mithra to Greco-Roman religion is naturally that of the Mithraic Mysteries. For these there has been no equivalent of the textual finds at Qumran and Nag Hammadi; but continuing discoveries of more monuments, and a radical reappraisal of the evidence provided by those previously known, have together transformed the understanding of this subject.[527] The theory that the complex iconography of the characteristic monuments (of which the oldest belong to the second century A.C.) could be interpreted by direct reference to Iranian religion is now widely rejected;[528] and recent studies have tended greatly to reduce what appears to be the actual Iranian content of this "self-consciously 'Persian' religion",[529] at least in the form which it attained under the Roman empire. Nevertheless, as the name Mithras[530] alone shows, this content was of some importance; and the Persian affiliation of the Mysteries is

[524] Tr. by J. Brasher and others, NHL, 330–8, with the Apocalypse contained in sections 70.3–74.6. A detailed comparison, from the Latin version, of this text with the Potter's Oracle is made by Dunand, art. cit., pp. 58–9.
[525] Dunand, art. cit., p. 60.
[526] Koenen, art. cit., p. 254.
[527] See the admirable survey article by R. Beck, "Mithraism since Franz Cumont", ANRW II.17.4 (1984), 2002–115 (bibliography, p. 2099 ff.)
[528] This was the interpretation put forward by Cumont in his magisterial and profoundly learned TMMM.
[529] Beck, Planetary gods, 88.
[530] Rendering the name of the god of the Mysteries as Mithras, that of the god of Iranian worship as Mithra, is a standard convention to aid clarity.

acknowledged in the earliest literary reference to them. This is by the Latin poet Statius who, writing about 80 A.C., described Mithras as one who "twists the unruly horns beneath the rocks of a Persian cave".[531] Only a little later (c. 100 A.C.) Plutarch attributed an Anatolian origin to the Mysteries, for according to him the Cilician pirates whom Pompey defeated in 67 B.C. "celebrated certain secret rites, amongst which those of Mithras continue to the present time, having been first instituted by them".[532] His testimony derives from an older authority, perhaps Posidonius (c. 135–50 B.C.)[533]; and, though isolated, it harmonizes well, as has been pointed out,[534] with what might rationally be conjectured about the origin of the Mysteries: that they were likely to have arisen in the later Hellenistic period, and probably in eastern Asia Minor, where the Iranian religion then still enjoyed considerable prestige. Zoroastrianism is known to have had its loyal adherents in Level Cilicia down to the fourth century A.C.,[535] while the monuments of neighbouring Commagene, erected not long after the pirates of Rugged Cilicia were subdued, vividly portray the flourishing co-existence at that time of Iranian and Greek worship.[536]

Plutarch's statement indicates a continuity in the maintenance of

[531] Thebaid I, 719 f. (Tr. of M. J. Vermaseren, Mithras, the secret god, 29.)
[532] Pompey, 24–5.
[533] R. Turcan, Mithra et le mithriacisme, 18–19.
[534] Ernest Will, "Origine et nature du mithriacisme" in Ét. mithriaques, 527–8. For an analysis of Plutarch's testimony see E. D. Francis, "Plutarch's Mithraic pirates" in MSt. I, 207–10.
[535] Above, p. 306–8.
[536] Nevertheless, in a field as rich in conjecture as Mithraic studies, other suggestions have inevitably been made as to the Mysteries' place of origin. The most startling was that put forward by Wikander, EMM, 41–6, who set it in the Balkans. A connected theory, likewise placing it outside Asia Minor, was proposed by P. Beskow ("The routes of early Mithraism" in Ét. mithriaques, 7–18), that it was in the Bosporan kingdom founded c. 110 B.C. by Mithradates Eupator (cf. above, p. 283). Part of his evidence came from 5 terracotta plaques from Panticapea, for which see W. Blawatsky et G. Kochelenko, Le culte de Mithra sur la côte septentrionale de la Mer Noire, EPRO 8, Leiden 1966, who dated them to 50 B.C.—50 A.C. These show a tauroctony, but anomalies in the bull-slayer's appearance have led to his identity beiug disputed (i.e. Turcan, o.c., pp. 42–3 and Beck, ANRW I. 17.4, p. 2019, consider Attis, Ernest Will, art. cit., p. 531 n. 15, Eros). Even if he is Mithras, the proposed date for the plaques would make the appearance of Mithras-worship in this region not incompatible with an earlier origin in Rugged Cicilia.—D. Ulansey, "Mithras and Perseus", Helios 13, 1986, 33–62, proposed, though hardly convincingly, an origin for Mithraism among "a group of Stoicizing intellectuals in Tarsus in the early first century B.C.", for whom Mithras was a mask for Perseus, claimed by Tarsus as its founder. See in detail his The Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries, Oxford, 1989. His thesis is rejected by J. Duchesne-Guillemin, "Sur l'origine astronomique des Mystères de Mithra", CRAI (to appear); id., in Le Ciel, Bulletin de la Société Astronomique de Liège, 52, 1990, 197–208.

secret Mithraic rites from Pompey's day to his own. The religion eventually embodied in the Mithraic monuments has by now been characterized, however, as a learned and complex one, which used the "encyclopaedic" knowledge of the second-century Greco-Roman world, and the "science" of astrology as it had by then been developed, to enfold its beliefs "in layers of meaning and opposed enigma".[537] It is thought likely, therefore, that it was refounded and greatly developed at that time, perhaps by an individual, perhaps by a group of like-minded persons.

Plutarch's brief notice warrants the assumption, however, that already in the first century B.C. the Mithra-worship of the Cilician pirates was distinct from that of Iranian Mithra, and contained some of the chief elements of Roman Mithraism. The god "is in the foreground of the cult; he protects a community of men, more precisely of 'soldiers'; and he is venerated with sacrifices of a special kind which must have had a connection with the tauroctony."[538]

The problem which concerns students of Zoroastrianism and Mithraism alike is why and how the Zoroastrian veneration of Mithra came to generate a new religion. That it is the Zoroastrian *yazata* who is in question has first, however, to be established; for although Zoroaster himself figures in a western source as the putative founder of the Mysteries[539]—a natural development, in view of his fame as the "Persian" prophet—in the grand reconstruction of Mithraism made at the end of the nineteenth century it was assumed that its "basal layer,. . . its lower and primordial stratum",[540] was not Zoroastrianism but the Old Iranian religion, to which the Achaemenians were supposed still to have adhered. Under their rule, the theory went, Zurvanism evolved from this supposedly fairly primitive nature religion through the impact of Chaldean lore, encountered by its priests, the magi, in Babylon. Thereafter, it was held, Zurvanism in its turn begot the Mithraic Mysteries, providing them with a substantial part of their myths and cult. In practice it was difficult, however, to distinguish a putative pagan Iranian element in their ancestry from a Zoroastrian one, for the Old Iranian religion has left no direct records. It

[537] Beck, ANRW II.17.4, 2097. On the densely evocative use in Mithraic symbolism of the "eneyclopaedic" knowledge see R. L. Gordon, "Reality, evocation and boundary in the Mysteries of Mithras", J. of Mithraic Studies III, 1980, 19–99.

[538] Turcan, o.c., p. 23.

[539] Porphyrius, De antro Nympharnm, 6.

[540] Cumont, The Mysteries of Mithra, 30.

remained necessary, therefore, to draw on Zoroastrian texts and rituals in searching for Mithraic origins.[541]

Even though difficult to apply, the theory proved an influential one. It was adopted by the Swedish school of Iranian studies, but with modifications. By a notable piece of fresh speculation, it was postulated that each of the ancient Iranian peoples had had its particular supreme god, head of his own pantheon of lesser divinities.[542] Thus, for example, Ahura Mazda was held to have been the high god of Zoroaster's tribe, Mithra of the eastern Iranian peoples whose lands are named in his *yašt*, and Zurvan (claimed as an ancient god) the chief deity of the magi, that is, of the Medes. Since this theory was essentially speculative, supported only by "slender surmises and inferences"[543], the allocation of gods to peoples could easily be shuffled about; and some scholars came to look on Mithra instead as "the great god of the Medes".[544] By a further bold step, this hypothetical Median worship of him as supreme god was seen to have been contaminated in the days of the Median empire by the cult of Mesopotamian Nergal, so that, supposedly, the Median Mithra became in some measure a god of death and the underworld. The veneration of Mithra-Nergal was maintained, according to this theory, throughout the Achaemenian period by the descendants of Median settlers in Asia Minor; and it was this syncretic cult, with its slightly sinister, underworld elements, which was the ancestor of the Mithraic Mysteries.[545]

[541] This was one of Wikander's fundamental criticisms of Cumont's theory, see his EMM, 29. A source of confusion has been that Cumont called the Old Iranian religion "Mazdeism", a term more often used for Zoroastrianism itself.

[542] So Nyberg, Rel., followed in a number of works by Wikander and Widengren.

[543] W. B. Henning, review of Nyberg's Rel., J. of Theological Studies 44, 1943, 121.

[544] Duchesne-Guillemin, "Le dieu de Cyrus", Commémoration Cyrus III, Acta Ir. 3, 1974, 20. R. Merkelbach, Mithras, Königstein 1984, 31–4, presents Cyrus, as vassal of the Medes, as having been a "Mithra-King", whose life and legend he sees as offering many parallels to the ritual and myths of the Mithraic Mysteries; but his understanding of the Iranian materials is wilful and often inaccurate, and he assembles them in a curiously uncritical way. In principle, his interpreting early Achaemenian data in the light of the iconography of the Mysteries is wholly unacceptable.—On his remarkable, finely illustrated book from the standpoint of Mithraic studies see R. Beck, "Merkelbach's Mithras", Phoenix (The Classical Association of Canada), 41, 1987, 296–316.

[545] So A. D. H. Bivar. To his articles cited in HZ II 273 n. 37, in which this theory was first put forward, are to be added "Mithraic images of Bactria : are they related to Mithraism?", Mysteriae Mithrae, ed. U. Bianchi, Leiden 1979, 741–9, and "An Iranian Sarapis", BAI, N.S.2, 1989, 11–17. Some of his arguments for the identification of Mithra with Nergal were examined and rejected by H. J. W. Drijvers, "Mithra at Hatra?" in Ét. mithriaques, 151–86.

The basic assumption of this complex of conjectures, namely that before Zoroaster preached the Iranian peoples had worshipped a diversity of supreme gods, is, however, dubious in the extreme. Data for reconstructing the Old Iranian religion come from three main sources: the oldest layer of the Zoroastrian *yašts* (which, it is agreed, embodies a considerable amount of traditional material); the Vedas and Brahmaṇas (which furnish some striking parallels to Iranian beliefs and rituals, and so provide evidence of a common ancient heritage in these respects); and, to a limited extent, the Persepolis tablets (which again appear to record some pre-Zoroastrian elements, notably through theophoric names). Together these sources indicate worship by the ancient Iranians of a common pantheon of major divinities (diversity seeming to have existed rather with minor ones, such as the gods of local rivers and mountains). Within this pantheon there were greater and lesser beings, and certain fixed groupings of divinities. Thus of the three Ahuras (Mazda, Mithra and Apąm Napat[546]) the indications are that Mazda was always conceived as dominant, the force of guiding wisdom; but the contest in Iran between Ahuras and Daevas, together with the fact that in Vedic India great gods from both the groups so named in Iran shared the title *samrāj*, "all-ruler", suggests that the ancient Indo-Iranians had a pantheon with stable elements but no one acknowledged supreme god, no equivalent of Olympian Zeus.

Several factors appear to have led scholars to the converse assumption that every ancient Iranian tribe had its own Zeus. There was an attributing to earlier times of a pattern of religion that seems in fact to have been introduced by Zoroaster. There was the kathenotheism of some of the great *yašts*, with the divinity addressed being offered grandiloquent praises, as if he were indeed above all others;[547] and in the special case of Mithra there was the existence of Roman Mithraism to create a presumption of a local exaltation of this *yazata*. This presumption again, however, appears baseless. In Iran, Mithra is regularly subordinated to Ahura Mazda; and in the oldest layer of beliefs as they are embodied in the *yašts*, and still in Zoroastrian ritual today, he is shown acting in close co-operation with Apąm Napat (as does Vedic Mithra with

The basis for his theory was also unfavourably considered by K. Rudolph, "Mitra, Mithra, Mithras", OLZ LXXIV, 1979, 312. See further Boyce, "Mithra Khšathrapati and his brother Ahura", Papers in honour of R. N. Frye, BAI 4, 1990 (in press).

[546] These are the only divinities accorded the title Ahura, "Lord".

[547] Cf. HZ I 270.

Varuṇa Apam Napat). Even when Mithra comes to overshadow and almost eclipse his brother Ahura, he keeps his fixed place in relation to Mazda, and his collegial position within the pantheon. This is admirably exemplified at Commagene, where, though Mithra is plainly the beloved *yazata* of Antiochus I, he is set below Ahura Mazda and in fellowship with Verethraghna. The same pattern is discernible also in Pontus, where Ahura Mazda appears to have enjoyed, as Zeus Stratios, the highest honours, but where Mithra (to judge from the evidence at Trapezus) was much venerated, together with his fellow-*yazatas*, Anahit and Mah. In the light of this evidence (and the testimony of the later Zoroastrian tradition) it would seem that when Mithra is portrayed at times in the semblance of Olympic Zeus (as on coins in Bactria, and perhaps at Gaziura in Pontus[548]), or shares the same emblem as Ahura Mazda (that of lightning flashes, in Commagene[549]) this was because he had come to be seen by many Zoroastrians as the most active and powerful of the lesser *yazatas*, performing under Ahura Mazda, his Creator, many of the functions attributed by the Greeks to Zeus.

The theory of the worship of a supreme Mithra persisting openly in Anatolia throughout the Achaemenian period is to be rejected also on political grounds. After long debate, consensus seems now to have been reached that the Achaemenians were Zoroastrians from at least the time of Darius; and there are good grounds for thinking that it was Cyrus himself who adopted the eastern Iranian religion, bequeathing it to the dynasty which he founded.[550] It is a general fact of history that rulers seek as far as possible to have their subjects adhere to the same faith as themselves, both from conviction and because this strengthens loyalty and the cohesion of the realm; and Xerxes' *daiva* inscription shows an early Achaemenian king ruthlessly suppressing a non-Zoroastrian form of worship among some unnamed Iranians.[551]. (The same religious conformity was naturally not required of subject peoples.) The Achaemenians controlled much of Asia Minor, and it is unthinkable that they should have appointed satraps there, whether of Persian or Median stock, who were not professed Zoroastrians, or that Zoroastrianism

[548] Above, pp. 163–5, 266.

[549] Above, pp. 327–8.

[550] HZ II 43–8, 51–60, 62–71, 90 with 209; and with some revisions Boyce, "The religion of Cyrus the Great", Achaemenid History III, Proceedings of the 1985 Achaemenid History Workshop, ed. A. Kuhrt and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Nederlands Inst. v. het Nabije Oosten, 1988, 15–31. Further Gnoli, De Zoroastre à Mani, 53–72.

[551] Cf. HZ II 174–6.

should not have been acknowledged there as elsewhere in their empire as the religion of the state, providing its public forms and ceremonies, and its official holy days. When the later Achaemenians adopted, as it seems, the Zurvanite heterodoxy[552], they apparently propagated this too as widely as they could, so that it became firmly rooted in Asia Minor. Plutarch's account of the Persian religion shows that Zoroastrianism, as well as surviving a long dominance by this heterodoxy, was able to cast its broad mantle over some marked heteropraxy. But Zurvanites clearly regarded themselves (in the general way of heretics) as the most orthodox of Zoroastrians; and it cannot be supposed that the Achaemenians would have tolerated at official level the profession of any faith that did not bear the name of Zoroastrianism, let alone have allowed its public declaration by satrapal coin-issues (which have provided part of the putative evidence for the theory of a Mithra-Nergal worship). The proposition (evidently correct) that Mithraism, in so far as it had a Zoroastrian component, developed from the Zurvanite form of that religion led to the enigmatic lion-headed figure of its monuments being interpreted as Zurvan himself, for whom there was no other possible representation there.[553] Another suggestion has been that this belonged to Anra Mainyu, since there are puzzling dedications on a few Mithraic monuments to "Arimanius",[554] a name which corresponds to a standard Greco-Roman rendering of that of the Evil Spirit.[555] Various extraneous concepts were drawn on in attempts to support this latter interpretation, notably that of the Manichaean Prince of Darkness (who is called "Ahriman" in Iranian versions of the Manichaean scriptures),[556] and a strange divinity on certain pieces of Luristan metalwork, dated to perhaps the eighth-seventh centuries B.C.[557] None of the descriptions or representations concerned

[552] HZ II 239–41. For the minority opinions on the origins of Zurvanism (that it was pre-Zoroastrian, or essentially a Sasanian phenomenon, of little importance) see latterly Boyce, "Some further reflections on Zurvanism", Papers in honour of E. Yarshater, ed. P. Skjaervø and others, Acta Ir. 29, 1990, 20–29.

[553] Cumont, TMMM I. For a wide ranging survey of the figure's iconography see J. R. Hinnells, "Reflections on the lion-headed figure in Mithraism", Monumentum H. S. Nyberg II, Acta Ir. 4, 1975, 333–69.

[554] For bibliography and discussions about these see Beck, ANRW II.17.4, 2024, 2034–5, 2065, 2087–8.

[555] This fact makes it unlikely that, as has also been suggested, the name on the Mithraic monuments rendered that of Av. Airyaman (*yazata* of friendship and an associate of Mithra's).

[556] So first I. F. Legge, "The lion-headed god of the Mithraic Mysteries", Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology 34, 125–42; 35, 151–62.

[557] R. Ghirshman, "Le dieu Zurvan sur les bronzes du Luristan", Artibus

resembles the Mithraic figure at all closely; and the strong likelihood appears that the latter is in fact a construct of the western Mysteries.[558] What exactly this construct symbolized remains for Mithraists to determine; but it seems probable that a complex of ideas was involved, such as cosmic sovereignty, time, and the escape of the soul through the celestial spheres.[559]

As for Mithra himself, once it is recognized that the Iranian religion of Achaemenian Asia Minor was Zoroastrianism, surviving there strongly still in Hellenistic times, the question is why and how this *yazata* became detached from his subordinate place in that religion, practised openly by the descendants of respectable Iranian colonists, to be the eponymous god of a secret cult whose first adherents, as it appears, were far from respectable and probably of mixed ethnic stock. We have seen how, in this region long familiar with temple cults, Anahit, with her richly-endowed shrines, came to enjoy popular veneration in Lydia and Cappadocia, drawing in worshippers from beyond Iranian circles; but no temples dedicated to Mithra are known in Anatolia, and in his case the causes of widespread devotion to him must lie elsewhere.

Within Zoroastrianism Mithra is undoubtedly a great and many-sided *yazata*, who to this day receives profound veneration[560]; and one of his numerous activities which may be supposed to have made him conspicuous already in Achaemenian times outside Iranian circles is that he presided prominently over the upholding of order and justice. Oaths were sworn by him,[561] and legal proceedings (which could concern both upright men and law-breakers

Asiae XXI, 1958, 35 ff.; Iran—Protoiranier, Meder, Achaemeniden, Munich 1964, 51–2 with Abb. 63, 64; p. 70 with Abb. 91. Further, Duchesne-Guillemin, "Explorations dualistes avec Ugo Bianchi", L'Antiquité Classique XXVIII, 1959, 291; "Die drei Weisen aus dem Morgenlande", Antaios VII, 1965, 250–1 with Taf. XIII. Contra Boyce, art. cit. in n. 552, p. 21.

[558] See Beck, Planetary gods, index s.v. "snake-encircled figure". On pp. 99–100 he makes the attractive suggestion that in part the identity of this figure was based on a concept of Greco-Egyptian astrology, namely that the guise of Saturn in the first decan of the sign of Leo was "the form of a lion's mask with solar rays and the body entirely of a snake, upright and spiralling upwards".

[559] This tentative formulation I owe to Professor Beck. Duchesne-Guillemin, "Aion et le Léontocéphale, Mithras et Ahriman", La Nouvelle Clio X, 1958/60, 1–8, suggested that the figure represents, in its iconographic modifications, "variations on the theme of the identity Aiōn-Sarapis-Zeus-Helios-Mithras-Hades-Ahriman etc.". For Gnostic parallels see H. Jackson, "The meaning and function of the leontocephaline in Roman Mithraism", Numen 32, 1985, 17–45.

[560] This is especially true in the Iranian community, see, e.g., Boyce, "Mihragan among the Irani Zoroastrians" in MSt. I, 106–18.

[561] Cf. HZ II 219, and Boyce, "On Mithra's part in Zoroastrianism", BSOAS XXXII, 1969, 27–8.

of any race within the empire) appear to have been conducted under his aegis, that is, most probably, with public invocations of him at judicial hearings. The evidence for this, inevitably meagre, is provided by the famous trilingual stele set up in late Achaemenian times at Xanthos in Lycia to record a religious foundation there.[562] At the end of the Greek text the divinities called on by name to watch over its maintenance are Leto, her "descendants" (that is, Apollo and Artemis), and "the Nymphs"—the last, it is thought, because the sanctuary would have had a spring.[563]. The equivalents in the Aramaic text are Lato, Artemis, Khšathrapati (*ḥstrpty*) and the Akhuraniš (*'ḥwrnyš*).[564] The last (Av. Ahuraniš) is a name for the Waters, meaning "wives of the Ahura", i.e. of Apąm Napat (also called Ahura berezant); and its use there rather than the simple Apas "Waters", strengthens the interpretation of Khšathrapati as an epithet of his brother Ahura, Mithra,[565] whose correspondence with Greek Apollo would moreover be regular. The Aramaic text has a sprinkling of Persian words, indicating that it was drawn up in the satrapal chancellery; and it seems that Khšathrapati, "Lord of the realm", was an epithet of Mithra's, used so regularly in his invocation as guardian of the law which helped to maintain the state that in certain settings it replaced his proper name. (This epithet was evidently a widely used Iranian title, which is attested again centuries later in Sogdian as **əkhšēšpat* (*'xšyšpt-*),[566] a synonym, it appears, of MP *dahybad* "lord of the land, king"[567].) Such a development is a well-known phenomenon in Indo-Iranian religious history, attested at diverse periods; thus at her shrine at Raga Anahit appears to have been so regularly

[562] See HZ II 265–8 for references.

[563] R. Metzger, "La stèle trilingue . . . au Létoon de Xanthos : le texte grec", CRAI 1974, 91.

[564] A. Dupont-Sommer, "Le texte araméen", ib., p. 137. For the reading and interpretation of the last name see H. Humbach, "Die aramäischen Nymphen von Xanthos", Die Sprache 27, 1981, 30–2.

[565] So Dupont-Sommer, art. cit., pp. 146–8; "L'énigme du dieu 'Satrape' et le dieu Mithra", CRAI, 1976, 648–60.

[566] See Skjaervø in H. Humbach and P. O. Skjaervø, The Sassanian inscription of Paikuli, Pt.3.2, Wiesbaden 1983, 99–100. On the formal correspondence of OP *khšathrapati* with Sogd.* *əkhšēšpat* see N. Sims-Williams apud Boyce, BAI 4, 1990, n. 7.

[567] See W. Sundermann, "The Five Sons of the Manichaean god Mithra" in Mysteria Mithrae, ed. U. Bianchi, EPRO 80, Leiden 1979, 779 with n. 19; Skjaervø, o.c.; Boyce, art. cit. (In dealing with the complex Manichaean data concerned, Bivar (BAI 2, 12–13) sought to deduce more from them with regard to a connection of the title with Mithra than they can properly yield. Against his argument (art. cit.) that the title can only have been given to Mithra earlier as the supreme god of the as yet non-Zoroastrian Medes see Boyce, art. cit.)

invoked in Sasanian times by the cognate title Šahrbānu, "Lady of the land, queen", that there, similarly, this replaced her name, providing under Islam the basis for a new shrine-legend.[568] More importantly and radically, great Varuna lost his proper name entirely in Iran, being invoked there by a diversity of appellations: Apąm Napat, Ahura berezant, the Baga. Locally or in certain settings, it now appears, a similar development took place with regard to Mithra and his appellation Khšathrapati. By Greeks, it has been shown, Khšathrapati, having developed colloquially into *Šahrapat, would have been pronounced "Sarapis"; and this, it is suggested, is the origin of the great divinity of that name, who appears mysteriously in the fourth century B.C.[569]

This explanation of the much-disputed genesis of Sarapis is clearly not without its difficulties. One striking one is that there is a marked chthonic element in the cult of Sarapis, which is wholly lacking in the concept of the Iranian Ahura.[570] It has, however, been argued independently that this element may have first accrued to Sarapis at Memphis.[571] Before the development of his canonical image, modelled, it seems, on that of Pluto, the god appears to have been venerated in Egypt (where, according to the "Khšathrapati" hypothesis, his cult was introduced under the Achaemenians) through two famous statues; and the slender evidence for their reconstruction suggests that the one in Alexandria, set up by Ptolemy I, brought out his kingly nature, that at Memphis his chthonic fruitfulness.[572] Sarapis had, moreover, benign attributes, granting, unlike Pluto, favours and blessings to the living; and, like Mithra, he oversaw the administering of justice[573]—an aspect of his which may have influenced Ptolemy in his decision to adopt him as the patron divinity of his new dynasty. The existence of a temple to "Sarapis" in north-eastern Iran already in the time of Antiochus I perhaps provides support for the theory of his Iranian origin[574]; but his cult evidently developed enormously under the Ptolemids, absorbing elements from those of

[568] Boyce, BSOAS XXX, 1967, 30–44. The title *bānu* is not attested before the Sasanian period, and has been explained as a hypocoristic of MP *bānbišn*, cf. Av. *nmāno.pathni-* "mistress/lady of the house" (W. Eilers, Elr. III 714–15).

[569] Bivar, art. cit.; that the crucial sound-change involved (*ϑr* > *hr*) can be supposed to have taken place thus early is shown by Sims-Williams, l.c. in n. 566.

[570] This was not a problem for Bivar, who postulated that such an element had been brought into Mithra's cult through his putative syncretism with Nergal.

[571] J. E. Stambaugh, Sarapis.

[572] Ib., pp. 14–26.

[573] Ib., p. 1. n. 2 (with citation of U. Wilcken).

[574] See above, p. 25.

Osiris, Apis, Pluto, Dionysus and Asclepius, so that even if his concept derived originally from an aspect of Mithra's, relatively little can have survived of the Iranian god's own character in the Sarapis of Roman imperial times.[575]

In the Zoroastrian community Mithra continued to be venerated under his own name as the divine Judge; and in one Pahlavi text he is said to perform *dādwarīh* and *mayānjīgīh*.[576] The former word is a standard one for "judgment". The latter, with its agent noun *mayānjīg*, looks as if it should be connected with Middle Persian *mayān* "middle", and so the agent noun was regularly translated as "intermediary, mediator". A connection then seemed apparent, with regard to Mithra, with Plutarch's statement that between "Horomazes" and "Areimanius" was Mithra, "and this is why the Persians call Mithra *mesites* 'mediator'".[577] It has now been established, however, that *mayānjīgīh* is virtually a synonym of *dādwarīh* (though with perhaps a shade more implicit power and authority); and that *mayānjīg*, correspondingly, means "judge".[578] It is thus wholly suitable that Mithra should perform *mayānjīgīh*; but Plutarch's *mesites* remains isolated and perplexing. As has been said, "the analogies which scholars have tried to find in the Avestan texts to explain the intermediary part of Mithra are vague and pointless,"[579] for he is "firmly and unequivocally on the side of justice, that is on that of Ohrmazd".[580] One explanation offered is that *mesites* was a mistranslation of an earlier form of *mayānjīg*, based on the over-obvious etymology.[581] Another is that the sentence containing this word is an addition to Plutarch's ancient source, made on the basis of Mithra's association with the sun.[582]

[575] *Pace* Bivar, the presence of statues of Sarapis, with those of other gods, in mithraea thus seems unlikely to be in acknowledgement of any genetic relationship between him and Mithras. The origins of Sarapis were already then a problem. For a strongly stated case for those origins being Egyptian see P. M. Fraser, "Current problems concerning the early history of the cult of Sarapis", Opuscula Atheniensia VII, 1965, 23–45.—(Mithra) Khšathrapati has also been seen as the progenitor of the Semitic god Šadrafa, see Dupont-Sommer, CRAI 1976, 648–60; Bivar, art. cit.; but some Semitists claim a long history for this divinity, and regard him as by origin part of Semitic culture; see A. Cacquot, "Chadrapha à propos de quelques articles récents", Syria XXIX, 1952, 74–88; H. J. W. Drijvers, art. cit. in n. 545, p. 177.

[576] Pahl. Sirozag 16, ZXA ed. Dhabhar, 242, tr. Dhabhar, 447.

[577] Above, p. 457.

[578] S. Shaked, "Mihr the Judge", Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam 11, 1980, 1–31.

[579] Benveniste, Persian religion, 88.

[580] Shaked, art. cit., p. 15.

[581] Shaked, ib., pp. 14–15.

[582] Cumont, TMMM, I 303; Beck, Planetary gods, 6 (with a further citation from Cumont's works); Shaked, art. cit., p. 18, n. 65a.

In the so-called "Chaldean" order of the planets the sun was "in the fourth place at the exact mid-point of the sequence . . . a position consonant with its dignity and pre-eminence".[583] This order is not thought to be genuinely Chaldean, since the Babylonian astronomers did not concern themselves with the relative positions of the planets in spacial depth[584]; but it became the generally accepted one in late Hellenistic astronomy. So by this interpretation Mithra *mesites* had nothing to do with Iranian Mithra, except in so far as he had come to be identified with the sun; and there were no theological implications in Plutarch's comment.[585]

Mithra's association with the sun appears to have been another major factor in his popularity and conspicuousness in the Hellenistic age, and is, notably, a trait which he shares with Mithras. Neither Mithra nor Apollo was by origin a solar divinity, and at Commagene, as we have seen, they needed to be linked astrologically through Hermes and Helios.[586] Just as the Greeks worshipped Helios as the sun god, so the Iranians worshipped Hvar khšaeta, the "Shining Sun", whose name with its regular epithet yields the ordinary Persian word for "sun", *khoršīd*. The concepts of Helios and Hvar were simple ones, both gods being fully identified with the natural object; and both were often overshadowed by the mightier, more complex divinities with whom they came to be associated. "From the fifth century onwards Apollo began to be understood as a sun god"[587], while Mithra's association with the sun goes back to very remote times.[588] The three Ahuras, as guardians of *aša*, were thought daily to survey the world through the sun, which was spoken of as their "eye". Some Eastern Iranian peoples associated the luminary especially with Ahura Mazda; and with the passing of time they came to call it simply by his name. This

[583] Beck, l.c.

[584] Ibid.

[585] Mithra's middle place in the Zoroastrian calendar (with dedications of the 16th day and 7th month) cannot then be connected with Mithra *mesites*. The simple explanation for this offered by orthopractic Zoroastrian priests (see apud Boyce, art. cit. in n. 561, p. 24 with n. 71), is that Mithra as second in dignity to Ohrmazd stood at the head of the *yazatas* of the second half of the month. (The six lesser members of the great Heptad were evidently felt to be virtually one with their Creator, whom they immediately follow; and by the 4th cent. B.C. Varuna was suffering eclipse.)

[586] Above, pp. 325–6.

[587] W. Burkert, Greek Religion, tr. J. Raffan, Oxford 1985, 149 with n. 55.

[588] The attempt by H. Lommel, "Die Sonne das Schlechteste?" in B. Schlerath, ed., Zarathuštra (Wege der Forschung 169), Darmstadt 1970, 360–76, to see Mithra already in a Gathic reference to the sun, *hvar* (Y.32.10), has, however, been disproved by I. Gershevitch, "Die Sonne das Beste" in MSt. 1, 68 ff.

usage is first attested in Middle Iranian (Khotanese *urmaysde*), and survives to this day in some Eastern Iranian dialects.[589] In Vedic India the sun was spoken of as the "eye" of Mithra and Varuṇa, as a pair, and is said to have reported to them daily the sinless among men;[590] but the expression "eye of Mitra" alone occurs in a number of Vedic contexts, it seems with a complexity of meaning;[591] and probably there was a tendency to associate the fiery sun particularly with this god, whose special link was with fire, whereas Varuṇa's was with water.[592] This was certainly a widespread usage among the Iranian peoples, again first attested in Middle Iranian—Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian, in all of which languages Mithra's name is used for the sun itself.[593] *Mihr* still occurs in Persian as a relatively rare, poetic synonym for *khoršīd*, and *mīra* is the ordinary word for "sun" in Eastern Iranian Yidgha.[594]

These usages appear to have their origin not in an identification of either Ahura Mazda or Mithra with the sun, but rather from the concept of their association with it.[595] In his *yašt* the latter is said to take his stand each morning at dawn on the peak of Hara.[596] Then when the sun rises he drives his own chariot, drawn by white horses, along the same course as it, to survey the world and thwart Anra Mainyu.[597] When at nightfall the sun departs through a "window" in the flank of Hara, Mithra turns back, a Pahlavi text declares, to continue his work of opposing the evil powers, which are very active in the dark.[598] The Ahura's close diurnal association with the sun is acknowledged in Zoroastrian devotional life through

[589] H. W. Bailey, Dictionary of Khotan Saka, Cambridge 1979, 40 s.v.
[590] RV VII.60.1.
[591] J. Gonda, "Mitra in India" in MSt. I, 45.
[592] Gershevitch, AHM 7, sees this as "the only trait that makes a palpable difference" between the two gods in Vedic tradition. Cf. Boyce, "On Mithra, lord of fire", Monumentum H. S. Nyberg I, Acta Ir. 3, 1975, 69–76.
[593] For references to Parthian and Sogdian Manichean texts see Gershevitch, AHM, 40–1. The usage is attested also in Pahlavi.
[594] G. Morgenstierne, Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages II, Oslo 1938, 69, 228 (cited by Gershevitch, l.c., n. 3).
[595] It is debatable whether the expression "god Mihr" (*mihryazd*) which occurs for the sun in Manichean MP implies a greater measure of identification by the 3rd cent. A.C. or simply reflects a fixed usage of the title *yazd* (< *yazata*) with the divinity's name. In India at a relatively late stage Mitra appears fully identified with Surya (the connterpart of Hvar), see Gonda, art. cit. in n. 591, p. 43; but in that country Mitra's own concept and worship faded in a way that Iranian Mithra's did not.
[596] Yt. 10.13, 118.
[597] Vv.67–8, 124–5, 136. On his white horses see also v.102, and cf. above, p. 275. Vedic Mitra was likewise thought to manifest himself in the sun's daily revolution, see Gonda, art. cit., pp. 42–3.
[598] PRDd. (ed. and tr. by A. V. Williams), 65.15: "In the daytime Mihr goes before the sun; when the sun goes down into the window, Mihr turns back; in the

the *Khoršīd-Mihr Niyayeš*. This consists of two separate litanies for these two divinities, always recited together, which should be said thrice daily as part of the obligatory prayers.[599] The closeness but distinctness of the two *yazatas*, and their common link with fire, was recognized by Darius III when before Gaugamela he called on "the Sun and Mithra and the sacred and eternal fire" to inspire his army with courage.[600]

When praying in the open (as they often did) Zoroastrians turned towards the sun, since their religion enjoins that they must pray facing fire[601]; and fellow-citizens in Hellenistic Asia Minor, observing this, could be forgiven for assuming that their worship was regularly offered to Mithra as sun god. There is evidence, moreover, of a blurring of the concepts of the luminary and the Ahura among the Zoroastrians themselves in post-Achaemenian times. Strabo's statement that the Persians of Cappadocia called Helios Mithra,[602] taken by itself, might be no more than an accurate recording of the truncated expression "[eye of] Mithra"; but on the coins of the Kušan king Kaniška Mithra's name (as MIIRO) replaces that of Helios for the sun-god.[603] Still later, the Sasanian king Shabuhr II is reported to have sworn "by the Sun, the Judge of the whole earth"; and a minister of Yazdegird II referred to the Sun as one who "because of his impartial generosity and equal bounty has been called the god Mihr, for in him there is neither guile nor ignorance".[604] King and minister were both, however, laymen; and it is likely that the laity, not being theologically trained, apprehended the divinities of their worship with less doctrinal clarity than did the priests.[605] Yet probably even they, if pressed, would have recognized some distinction between Mithra

night he leads the creations of Ohrmazd against *dēws* and *drujs* and covenant breakers." (*mihr pad rōz pēš xwaršēd rawēd; ka xwaršēd andar ō rōzan šawēd, mihr abāz gardēd, pad šab sālārīh ī dāmān ī ohrmazd az dēwān ud drujān ud mihrōdrujān kunēd*). According to GBd. 26.73 Mithra is only with the sun "every day till midday" (*harw rōz tā nēm-rōz*), but this is an isolated statement.
[599] HZ I 271–2. (The *niyayeš* have since been re-edited by Z. Taraf, see bibliography.)
[600] Quintus Curtius, IV.13.12.
[601] Cf. MX 53.4: "Every day, three times, facing towards the sun and Mihr as they proceed together, prayer and praise are to be performed, standing" (*harw rōz, se bār, padīrag xwaršēd ud Mihr čiyōn pad agenēn rawēnd, estād namāz ud stāyišn kunišn*).
[602] Above, p. 301. Hesychios later defined "Mithra" as "the sun according to the Persians", see TMMM, II 17.
[603] See D. W. MacDowall, "Mithra and the deities of the Kuṣāṇa coinage" in MSt. I, 143 and ff.; and further in HZ IV.
[604] For references see Boyce, art. cit. in n. 592, p. 75.
[605] So W. Sundermann, "Namen von Göttern, Dämonen und Menschen in iranischen Versionen des manichäischen Mythos", Altorientalische Forschungen VI, 1979, 114–15.

and Hvar, each of whom had his own *yašt* and his own day dedicated to him in the Zoroastrian calendar. In general, the apprehension of these two divinities, with distinctness tending towards identification but not completely achieving it, appears not unlike the Greek apprehension of Apollo and Helios, and the Mithraists' of Mithras and Sol.[606]

The Iranian developments seem natural, explicable, and widespread, with no need for any elaborate hypothesis to justify them. One such has, however, been advanced, namely that a group of Sacas or Scythians early came to identify Mithra fully with the sun, and on invading Media in the seventh century B.C. taught this concept to the Medes. The latter are then supposed to have developed the cult of a "Medianised Saka Mithra", preserving this throughout the Achaemenian period in Asia Minor, where it became the ancestor of the Mithraic Mysteries.[607] This hypothesis is as insubstantial as that of a Median Mithra-Nergal cult as the Mysteries' begetter; but there is a danger that such theories, even if unconvincing in themselves and mutually incompatible, will nevertheless support each other by creating the impression that there must actually be some evidence for an old, irregular, Median cult of Mithra. If such evidence exists, it has yet to be adduced.

Mithra's link with the sun as his "eye" can be traced to his primary concept of guardian of the covenant,[608] surveying all men's actions from on high; and, having beheld them, he is thought of as judging them also, as being indeed the divine Judge. Hence it is he who delivers sentence on each individual soul. The Zoroastrian belief is that the soul leaves the earth at the dawn which ends the third night after death; and Mithra is deeply concerned with this solemn moment, since the soul is held to mount up then to the peak of Hara where he stands, and where he will preside over its judgment. The Zoroastrian Mithra is thus neither saviour nor psychopomp;[609] but the mourners who gather to pray for the

[606] On the last see, e.g., R. L. Gordon in MSt. 1, 129–30.

[607] Gershevitch, art. cit. in n. 588, pp. 81–9. The theory was swiftly rejected by R. Schmitt, Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen 228, 1976, 66.

[608] That this was his primary concept, first argued by A. Meillet (art. cit. in n. 615), has been convincingly restated by P. Thieme, "The concept of Mitra in Aryan belief" in MSt. I, 21–39, and "Mithra in the Avesta" in Ét. mithriaques, 501–10 (endorsed by R. Schmitt, art. cit., pp. 63–4); and it remains probably the majority opinion.

[609] *Pace* B. Lincoln, "Mithra(s) as Sun and Savior", La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell' Impero Romano, ed. U. Bianchi and M. J. Vermaseren, Leiden 1982, 505–23. He argued from Yt.10.93, in which Mithra's worshippers pray to him to protect (*nipā-*) them from enemy armies and from death, that the *yazata* was conceived as a "savior"—a very loose use of that term; and from Vd. 19.28–9, in which Mithra is said to ascend the mountains (i.e. Hara) on the third day at dawn when the sun shines, and the soul to go then to its judgment, that here "we encounter a picture of Mithra identified with the sun and acting as savior of the soul". Both parts of this analysis are inaccurate. He further draws (as have others) on Mithra's identification at Commagene with Hermes as proof that the Iranian god was a psychopomp; but, as we have seen (above, pp. 324–5), this identification was evidently made on astrological rather than theological grounds.

departing soul from dawn to sunrise naturally think of its impending trial; and though Zoroastrian doctrine is that justice is then unswerving, it is only human to hope and pray that Mithra may be benign.[610] The short ceremony, conducted facing east where the light is growing, is a moving one; and in Hellenistic Asia Minor it might well have impressed non-Zoroastrians who found themselves witnessing it. Among such could have been soldiers serving in the ethnically mixed armies of Mithradates of Pontus, for during his campaigns there are likely to have been occasions when magi conducted multiple ceremonies of this kind for those of Iranian stock who had fallen in battle. (Among the Zoroastrian elements which the Mithradatids retained in their syncretic religion are likely to have been funerary rites, held to be of the greatest importance for salvation.) Onlookers who asked about the intention of this unique ceremony might well have been told that the departing souls were ascending to Mithra; and the fact that prayers on their behalf seemed to be directed towards the awaited sun could have misled such inquirers into supposing that Mithra as sun god was himself believed to be drawing the spirits up to him and to their salvation. Indeed, some of those of Iranian descent are likely themselves to have been confused in their thoughts about this. A number of the Cilician pirates, it has been suggested,[611] probably came from the ranks of Mithradates' defeated armies; and if some of them had learnt in his service to think thus of Mithra, this belief could have figured in the secret cult which they founded, to be developed later in the more complex doctrines of the Mysteries.

Mithra's essential character as guardian of the covenant or exchanged oath is likely to have been another important element in the pirates' conception of him. "What indeed bound a band of robbers together but a common pact, a conspiracy ritually sanc-

[610] Cf. the prayer of the corpse-bearers as they lay the body in the *dakhma*: "O God Mihr . . . the pure and just! We have withdrawn our hands from him, do you take him by the hand" (Boyce, Stronghold, 152; cf. Jackson, Persia past and present, 393).

[611] Widengren, "The Mithraic Mysteries in the Greco-Roman world with special regard to their Iranian background", La Persia e il mondo Greco-Romano, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1966, 436, 455; C. Colpe, "Mithra-Verehrung, Mithras-Kult und die Existenz iranischer Mysterien" in MSt. II, 397–8.

tioned? Mithra who arbitrates the pact, became an obvious choice as tutelary god. . . . We may also reasonably speculate that these robbers observed the requirements of secrecy by making their pact in caves".[612] This function of the Iranian god could well have been learnt of by men serving under Mithradates, either through hearing oaths of loyalty sworn with invocation of Mithra, or by being required to take such oaths themselves. The ritual clasping of right hands is likely to have been the confirmation of such an oath-taking. This gesture figures largely on the monuments of Commagene and, as we have seen[613], had significant religious implications for Zoroastrians. It became very important also in Mithraism. Not only are Mithras and Sol frequently shown on its monuments exchanging the hand-clasp, but the term *syndexios*, coined apparently for one who had performed this ritual gesture, was used, it seems, as a term for an initiate, a Mithraist.[614]

Another important aspect of Mithra's that fitted him to be the chosen protector of pirates was that of god of battles. This aspect again appears to have developed from his guardianship of the covenant: first he smote those who broke their given word[615], and then the wicked generally, who naturally included the enemies of his own worshippers.—In his *yašt* his chariot is described as filled with weapons;[616] and this chariot was too much a part of his myth, from Bronze Age times onwards, to be forgotten, as Bactrian coin-designs show. But as horses were increasingly ridden, not driven, he came to be thought of also as a riding god.[617] By Hellenistic-Parthian times Iranian nobles customarily rode upon their ordinary occasions, and hunted and fought on horseback; and

[612] E. D. Francis, art. cit. in n. 534, p. 210.
[613] Above, pp. 317–18.
[614] A. Dieterich, Eine Mithrasliturgie, 3rd ed. by O. Weinreich, Leipzig-Berlin 1923, 218; Cumont, "The Dura Mithraeum", ed. Francis in MSt. I, 196–8; Francis, "Mithraic graffiti from Dura-Europos", in MSt. II, 438–9.
[615] Cf. A. Meillet, "Le dieu indo-iranien Mitra", JA 1907, 154; Gershevitch, AHM, 33; Thieme in MSt. I, 29–31.—Widengren's article cited in n. 611 (a revision of his contribution on Mithraism in HbO I.8.2, 1961, 44–55) is highly speculative and to be used only with caution. His thesis there is that Mithra was the "high god" with "his own myth and ritual system", of the "warrior societies" of ancient Iran (pp. 433–4). These had their own "military forms of initiation", which were the origin of the initiation rites of the Mithraic Mysteries (p. 450). Further, Mithra as a warrior god was linked with Indian Indra (pp. 439, 445), and hence with a myth about cattle. Against the wholly baseless theory of an association between Mithra (an Ahura) and Indra (a Daeva) see Gershevitch, AHM, 33–4. There is no sound evidence for the existence of ancient Iranian warrior societies (see Boyce, "Priests, cattle and men", BSOAS L, 1987, 508–26), and no trace in Iranian tradition of "military forms of initiation" (see ib., pp. 514–15).
[616] Yt. 10. 128–32.
[617] So already in the 4th cent. B.C., see above, p. 3.

the idea of the gods also riding seems to have been adopted generally among them.[618] Only slight evidence for Mithra as a riding god survives from within Iran itself (in his *yašt* he is worshipped by warriors perhaps standing "by the manes of their horses"[619]); but there is a relative abundance of both textual and monumental sources for the Indian Revanta as a horseman; and he, like Khšathrapati, appears to be Mithra himself, worshipped under a particular aspect and by an epithet which became his name as virtually a distinct divinity.[620] The circumstances of the genesis of Revanta appear, however, to have been particular. Iranian invaders of north-west India—Parthians and Sacas—naturally carried with them their own religion, in which (not surprisingly for these warlike people) the worship of Mithra appears to have been prominent. By about the first century A.C. their descendants had become fully integrated into Hindu society, and their priests (who never, however, forgot their foreign origin) had assimilated their own beliefs to those of Hinduism. These priests were known, among other appellations, as Maga-Brahmaṇas; and they maintained temples to the Indian sun god, Surya. In them they also worshipped, however, a figure who did not belong to the old Hindu pantheon, namely Revanta, who was described as Surya's youngest son. The name probably comes from Av. *raēvant*, Skt. *revant*, "rich, splendid" which occurs as an epithet for Mithra/Mitra.[621] Both Surya and Revanta are represented in riding dress, with boots (whereas all other Indian gods are barefoot); but Surya himself still drives a chariot, whereas Revanta rides (according to one source on a white horse).[622] He was worshipped as the guardian divinity of the army and of horses, protector from all kinds of dangers, especially in the wilderness, provider of peace, happiness and prosperity, and notably patron of the hunt. It is enjoined in a work of the sixth century A.C. that "his image is to be made mounted on horseback with his retinue engaged in the sport of hunting"[623]; and

[618] Blawatsky-Kochelenko, o.c. in n. 536, 6, followed M. Rostovzev in identifying as Mithra a mounted figure on a silver rhyton from a Scythian Kuban grave of the 4th century B.C. This would then be the earliest representation of the god on horseback; but the identification cannot be regarded as certain.
[619] Yt. 10.11. On this see further below, n. 624. There is however the possibility that he is the hunting god of the Behistun legend, cf. above, p. 94.
[620] H.-P. Schmidt, "Mithras the Horseman and Revanta the Lord of Horses", in Some aspects of Indo-Iranian literary and cultural traditions, ed. S. K. Chatterjee and others, Delhi 1977, 132–58.
[621] Ib., p. 149, with discussion of other possible derivations.
[622] Ib., p. 142.
[623] Ib., p. 141. Cf. A. J. Gail, "Der Sonnenkult im alten Indien—Eigenwachs oder Import?", ZDMG 128, 1978, 339–40.

the simple type of his representation shows him riding on a pacing horse with a dog by his side, while an attendant holds over his head an umbrella, the symbol of royalty. Occasionally the dog is attacking a boar, or there are two dogs doing so; but many sculptures show Revanta with attendants returning from a successful hunt, relaxed and happy. This is seen as a gentler Indian representation of the same hunting theme more strenuously depicted in western mithraea, for there appears to be a genetic relationship between Mithras and Revanta, both, it would seem, having developed from the concept of Iranian Mithra, but in very different environments (as the contrast between their monuments vividly demonstrates).[624] Mithras himself, as god of battles, probably became god of the hunt already in Achaemenian times, because hunting, after war, was the favoured pursuit of the Persian nobles, whom, as the faith's wealthiest patrons, its leading priests would naturally have wished to please.[625] Mithras' hunting was evidently of importance in the Mysteries also,[626] but its significance there remains a matter for Mithraists fully to elucidate.[627]

That Mithra was given traits and activities that appealed to the nobility does not of course mean that his worship was exclusive to them. Devotion to him as protector and benefactor by the people at large is suggested by the contributions of his myth to the legend of St. George of Cappadocia[628]; and common soldiers presumably put their trust in him as earnestly as did their captains. It is as a soldiers' religion that the Mysteries are thought to have excluded women, although there is some trace of such exclusion already in the worship of Iranian Mithra.[629]

[624] See Schmidt, art. cit., Pls. I–XII. Mithraic representations of Mithras hunting are finely reproduced in Merkelbach's *Mithras* (Dieburg, Abb. 122, Rückingen, Abb. 129, and Dura, Abb. 17).—Two small statues of a mounted figure, dated to 2nd or 3rd cent. A.C., have been identified as representing Mithras, see Marcelle Duchesne-Guillemin, "Une statuette équestre de Mithra" in Ét. mithriaques, 201–4; "Une seconde statuette équestre de Mithra", o.c. in n. 609, pp. 168–70. The first figure holds a bowl, perhaps for a libation; and the author cites Yt. 10.11, seeing the god as performing the same act as his worshippers. It is possible, however, that this *yašt* verse predates the development of riding in war, and that in it the warriors worshipping Mithra at their horses' manes were thought of as making their invocations (perhaps indeed with libations) by the heads of their teams before mounting into their chariots.

[625] Cf. Cumont, art. cit. in n. 614, p. 190.

[626] See ib., pp. 187–8.

[627] For a brief survey of the interpretations, and his own tentative suggestion, see Schmidt, art. cit., pp. 135–8.

[628] Above, pp. 274–5.

[629] Thieme in MSt. I, 29–30, Ét. mithriaques, 503–4, suggested that the Indo-Iranian god was "most dear to men" because contracts were always

The easy means of associating Revanta with Surya, by adding him to the latter's several sons, would not have been available to Mithra's priests within their own Iranian tradition, which knew no begettings for the Ahuras. There is, as is generally recognized, no Iranian source for the legend of the birth of Mithras nor any old association of Mithra with rocks or caves.[630] The youthfulness of Mithras has been seen as reflecting an Iranian concept of Mithra as the heavenly prototype of the young warrior;[631] but at Commagene and in Bactria such representations of him seem more likely simply to reflect the Greek concept of Apollo, with whom he was equated.[632]

Apart from the title *Perses*, given to initiates of the fifth grade, and that of *magos*, which occurs in graffiti at the Dura mithraeum[633], only one word of undisputed Iranian origin and clear derivation occurs in Mithraic inscriptions. This is *nama* "homage, reverence", which is used in salutation with a divine or human name following in the dative. This is how the word is construed in Iranian, with the

concluded between men. (Even the marriage contract was essentially made between father and suitor.) There is no mention of women worshippers in his *yašt*, where women appear only among the desirable possessions which Mithra bestows on just men (v.30). The flagellations required in v.122 of those partaking of his offerings suggest men rather than women; and an orthopractic Irani priest stated of usage in the 20th century that women properly had no part in the religious service devoted to Mithra on his feast day (see Boyce, art. cit. in n. 560, p. 112). In general, however, the great Ahura is venerated as judge and protector by the whole Zoroastrian community. Possibly, F. G. suggests, the indications in E. Iran that the cults of Mithra and Aši were in a measure complementary (above, pp. 187–9) may mean that traditionally women had their part mainly in the worship of the latter.

[630] *Pace* Widengren, art. cit. in n. 611, p. 437, and Kulturbegegnung, 68–86, where the materials are culturally and chronologically confused. Armenian folklore has in general to be used with caution, because of the richness and diversity of the elements in its ancestry; and it seems wholly improbable that the Armenian legend of "Mher" living with his horse in a cave goes back to ancient Median beliefs (Gershevitch in MSt. I, 88–9). Cf. the observation of J. R. Hinnells, in MSt. II, 357, and further J. A. Boyle, "A Mithraic spelaeum in Armenian folklore?" in Ét. mithriaques, 59–73, with his conclusion that the story is unlikely to have had anything to do with Mithra or Mithras. Russell, however (Zoroastrianism in Armenia, 272–4) sees it as having elements of Zoroastrian myth woven into it.

[631] M. Schwartz, "Cautes and Cautopates, the Mithraic torch-bearers" in MSt. II, 414–15, 418–19.

[632] Cf. above, p. 346. Even for those who accept the wholly doubtful proposition of the survival of a non-Zoroastrian Median religion under the Achaemenians, there is still no reason to suppose (Schwartz, art. cit., pp. 415–16) that the ancient concept of Mithra differed in any essential way between the Eastern and Western Iranians, since it was a common inheritance for them both from proto-Indo-Iranian times; and the close likeness of Iranian Mithra and Vedic Mitra shows how strong and stable that traditional concept was.

[633] Cumont in MSt. I, 203; Francis in MSt. II, 443.

phrase *nama theō Mithrai* corresponding exactly to Avestan *namō ahurāi mazdai*[634] In form *nama* is Old Iranian, since in Middle Iranian it was used in the extended form *namāč*[635]; but it does not follow that it was "borrowed by a non-Iranian community of Mithra-worshippers already in the Old Iranian period" (i.e. in Achaemenian or pre-Achaemenian times). The word was one which would have been often used in fixed formulas of greeting and worship, and in them can be expected to have kept its archaic form still in the Hellenistic age.

Nama being a common word, its use, like that of *Perses* and *magos*, does not by itself prove more than a superficial contact with the Persian religion. *Nabarzes*, used as an epithet of Mithras himself, is on the contrary obscure. Since it is not Greek it is generally assumed to be Iranian, and to come from a western Iranian cult epithet for Mithra, the equivalent of *invictus*, *insuperabilis*, *anikētos*[636]; and the most widely accepted etymology is *nā bṛzah* "high male/hero".[637] This interpretation is the more likely in that there are other cult epithets for Zoroastrian *yazatas* which are uniquely attested in Asia Minor.[638] Debate has continued over whether the names of the two torch-bearers Cautes and Cautopates, small replicas of Mithras himself who are his regular companions, are to be understood as Greek or Iranian. A number of attempts have been made to find for them Iranian meanings and derivations,[639] but it has been judged linguistically better—even if not wholly satisfactory—to treat them as Greek words: *Cautēs* "Kindler" and *Cauto-pa[tē]tēs* "He who extinguishes the burning torch".[640] The philological argument is supported by the fact that despite ingenious efforts it has not proved possible to find any convincing Iranian antecedents for the two figures;[641] and if their concept belongs wholly to Mithraism, they are not likely to have had Iranian names.

An attempt has been made to see Zoroaster himself and the famous magus Ostanes in two figures painted on either side of the

[634] Benveniste apud Cumont in MSt. I, 196.
[635] Gershevitch in MSt. II, 355.
[636] Cumont, TMMM, I 235 n. 6; II 105.
[637] J. Markwart, Das erste Kapitel der Gatha uštavaiti, Rome 1930, 12; R. C. Zaehner, BSOAS XVII, 1955, 240; Schwartz in MSt. II, 422–3.
[638] See above, pp. 271 with n. 76.
[639] See the survey by Schwartz, art. cit.
[640] H. Schmeja, Iranisches und Griechisches in den Mithrasmysterien, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, Vorträge 13, Innsbruck 1975, 20–3; approved by R. Schmitt, art.cit. in n. 607, pp. 69–70.
[641] For criticisms of some of the suggestions put forward see Gershevitch, AHM, 68–72; Schwartz, art. cit., pp. 408–10.

outer arch of the cult niche in the Dura mithraeum, seated and holding scrolls;[642] but the pair have been judged to be "Palmyrene in all characteristic traits"[643], and are thought more probably to be donor portraits of leading members of the congregation.[644] This congregation was made up of Syrian soldiers of diverse ranks, taking part in a form of worship which they had evidently adopted during their service in Rome's armies; and theirs was the most easterly of the Syrian mithraea, founded when Rome took Dura from the Parthians in 165 A.C., and continuing in use until the city was destroyed by the Sasanians in 256.[645] No mithraeum is known from outside Rome's orbit[646]; and that at Dura (although it is above ground, having begun humbly as a converted dwelling house) has the regular features of other mithraea in its layout and iconography. It has perhaps just two features with an unusual Iranian emphasis. One, as we have seen, is the occurrence of the word *magos* in graffiti on its walls, apparently as an honorific for initiates of a high grade. The other is the presence in the painted hunting scene of a boar running in front of Mithras' horse, with no arrow in his back (unlike the deer who are the objects of the chase).[647] He is an odd creature, with a wolfish muzzle and no tusks, but a thin curly porcine tail; and this may be because he was put in as belonging to the myth of Iranian Mithra, rather than as a familiar local wild animal,[648] for in *Yašt* 10.70 Verethraghna, god of war, is said to rush before Mithra in the shape of a fierce wild boar. No such creature appears in other Mithraic hunting scenes. Dura, though a Hellenistic city (founded under Seleucus I), had been a Parthian possession for nearly 300 years before it was taken by Rome; and though no trace has been found there of Zoroastrian worship, conceivably the painter of the Mithraic hunting scene benefited from some local knowledge of Zoroastrian beliefs, perhaps indeed from some contact with real magi.

That Iranian Mithra has no connection with a bull-sacrifice (though a generative bull-sacrifice is an important element in

[642] Cumont, "The Dura Mithraeum" in MSt. I, 182–4 with Pl. 25.
[643] M. Rostovtzeff, cited by Francis in MSt. I, 183 n. 174. See also below, p. 549 n. 187.
[644] Francis, l.c.
[645] See, succinctly, Francis in MSt. II, 424 ff.
[646] Against the suggestion by Widengren, art. cit. in n. 611, pp. 436, 440 of a mithraeum at Hatra see Drijvers in Ét. mithriaques, 152; and against the claim of H. Lenzen to have found one at Uruk-Warka see ib., pp. 183–4, and further Beck, ANRW II.17, 2013 n. 14.
[647] In MSt. II, Pl. 24a; Merkelbach, Mithras, p. 278, Abb. 17. On the absence of such an arrow see Francis in MSt. I, 214; Bivar, ib., p. 94.
[648] See G. E. Hutchinson in MSt. I, 210; Bivar, ib., p. 93.

Zoroastrian myth) is by now generally accepted.[649] The tauroctony, like the birth-legend of Mithras, was thus one of the alien elements which became blended with Mithra's concept and cult, probably at the genesis of the rites of Mithras. (It is noteworthy that Mithras performs the bull-sacrifice in an unZoroastrian way, taking the creature's life with a knife and shedding its blood.[650]) Essential though these alien elements seem, Mithra's own contribution to Mithraism also appears considerable, as god of the pact, solar divinity, and god of battles and the chase, with aspects which could allow him to be thought of as a saviour. Knowledge of him in these ways is likely to have been more or less public property, not demanding any priestly training for its acquisition, while the hand-clasp as a ritual gesture was used by Zoroastrian laity as well as priests.[651] A possible hypothesis is therefore that among the founders of the secret piratical rites were men of Iranian stock from Pontus, who had a fairly superficial knowledge of their ancestral religion and a deep devotion to Mithra; and that in Cilicia these men became the comrades of adventurers with other beliefs, some of whom may, as ex-soldiers also of Mithradates, have learnt a little themselves in his service of Mithra's worship. Ritual sacrifice and a cult-meal were common to most religions then, and could have provided a nucleus of observance around which disparate elements of belief and cult could have gathered and been harmonized, all avowedly in veneration of the mighty Persian god.

[649] The question with regard to the pre-Zoroastrian concept of Mithra has, however, been re-opened by P. Kreyenbroek in 2 articles: "Cosmogony and cosmology in Zoroastrianism," EIr. V, and "Mithra and Ahreman in Iranian cosmologies", paper delivered in the Mithraic section of the 16th congress of the International Association for the History of Religions, Rome, 1990 (both in press).
[650] See above, pp. 296–7.
[651] Cf. above, pp. 317–18.

EXCURSUS

THUS SPAKE NOT ZARATHUŠTRA: ZOROASTRIAN PSEUDEPIGRAPHA OF THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD

Introduction: The pseudepigrapha in their cultural and literary context

In the Mediterranean world, from the third century B.C. to the end of antiquity (and beyond), there circulated a mass of literature attributed to Zoroaster or to other "magi". The language of this literature was predominantly Greek, though at one stage or another various parts of it passed through Aramaic, Syriac, Coptic or Latin. Its ethos and its cultural matrix were likewise Greek—that far-flung Greek culture which we call "Hellenistic" and which furnished the common intellectual and spiritual currency of Alexander's empire and its successor kingdoms and eventually of the Roman empire in its entire eastern half. The ascription of this literature to sources beyond that political, cultural and temporal framework represents a bid for authority and a fount of legitimizing "alien wisdom".[1] Zoroaster and the magi did not compose it, but their names sanctioned it. That was the function of the attributions.

Almost all of this pseudepigrapha is now lost. It is known only in fragments quoted, paraphrased or alluded to in other authors, often at second or third remove. The only work which we possess unmediated and in anything like its entirety is a relatively recent discovery, the tractate of Zostrianos from the Coptic Gnostic library from Nag Hammadi (VIII, 1). For the rest, it is a matter of reassembling the *disiecta membra* and allocating them to their proper originals. This is no easy or straightforward task; indeed, in any final sense, it is an impossible one. Relatively few of the fragments which are attributed to a specific author are also attributed to a specific work. Frequently, moreover, it is questionable whether a specific text underlies the citation at all, rather than a stray story or piece of teaching which the reporting author, or his sources, believed should stem from Zoroaster or the magi. Finally, these pseudonymous works, once composed, were not fixed: they ac-

[1] The phrase echoes the title of A. Momigliano's fine monograph, Alien Wisdom.

creted new material and modifications over the centuries. W. and H. G. Gundel, in discussing the astrological writings of "Zoroaster", put the researcher's dilemma well, if despairingly: "In treating these late texts, just as in dealing with their origins, we find ourselves back in a swampland where one cannot win a firm footing because of the many additional anonymous sources which flow into the tradition".[2] The problem, paradoxical though it may sound, is to disentangle a real pseudo-Zoroaster or a real pseudo-Ostanes from their second- and third-order shadows!

Fortunately, the ground for any study of the Zoroastrian pseudepigrapha has been well laid in the magisterial volumes of J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les Mages hellénisés*, the second of which is a collection of all fragments attributed to the three "magi", Zoroaster, Ostanes and Hystaspes, and of all information concerning their supposed lives and teachings carried in western, i.e. non-Iranian, sources from antiquity. The collection was assembled and analyzed with enormous erudition and thoroughness, and it includes, but is not limited to, all substantial candidates for the pseudepigrapha with the exception of the *Zostrianos*, whose discovery postdated the publication of *Les Mages hellénisés* by several years.

Reliance on *Les Mages hellénisés* must be qualified in one important respect. Bidez and Cumont were of the view that magian wisdom was mediated to the West through a very particular channel: Iranian communities of the diaspora, settled in Anatolia since the Persian conquests of the sixth century, which persisted and flourished well into Roman imperial times. The people of these communities were known to the Greeks as *Magusaioi*, from an Aramaic form for "magi". The cult life and practices of the "Magusaeans" are quite well attested both from literature and archaeology.[3] Less so their beliefs, although we possess a possible record in the form of two hymns whose content was reported by Dio Chrysostom (late 1st—early 2nd cent. A.C.), himself a native of this area. On this and other bases, Bidez and Cumont postulated a Magusaean learning from which the Zoroastrian pseudepigrapha known to us by citation and in fragments ultimately stemmed. This

[2] Astrologumena, 62.

[3] The communities and their practices are described in Chs VIII–X, above. Following Cumont, it has been customary to reserve the term "Magusaeans" for the communities' priests and wise men, their magi. This is erroneous, for Basil of Cappadocia (above, p. 277) makes it clear that this term could be used for the entire folk (*ethnos*). For convenience' sake, however, and because the "Magusaeans" to be discussed in this excursus are very much a Cumontian construct, the term will here be used in the limited sense of the religious leaders among the Magusaeans and their interpreters to the outside world.

learning owed much to Babylon, being characterized by an astral fatalism and an obsession with great temporal cycles characteristic of that culture. It was, moreover, of the Zurvanite persuasion. Western philosophical influences too, especially Stoicism, played their part, at least in the moulding of native beliefs to the philosophical idioms of the then dominant Greek culture. Thus, in the system of Bidez and Cumont, there are really two sets of "Hellenized magi": one, the very real but nameless Magusaean intellectuals, the other the lay figures of the famous magi of old in whose names the former composed oriental wisdom in Greek form for Greeks.

While the existence of a Magusaean wisdom cannot be denied, one may be sceptical of its extent and pervasiveness, particularly of the extent to which it underlies the main works of the Zoroastrian pseudepigrapha known to us. There is, as we shall see, relatively little in these works that evokes an indubitable Iranian or Babylonian provenance and with which the Magusaeans might be credited. If they did compose this literature, they have so wrapped themselves in the guise of Hellenistic learning as to be indistinguishable from other Greeks writing in that tradition. This excursus will accordingly proceed on the alternative hypothesis that the major works of the Zoroastrian pseudepigrapha are essentially the products of Hellenistic learning and that their authors used the names of Zoroaster and the magi not because they were themselves magi or drew primarily on magian sources, but because those exotic names conferred the desired authority of a remote and revelational wisdom.

The major works of the Zoroastrian pseudepigrapha appear to have circulated under the names of Zoroaster himself and of Ostanes, a magus said to have accompanied Xerxes during the great Persian invasion of Greece.[4] If one had to characterize their subject matter, judged on the contents of the fragments, in a single word for each, one would say of "Zoroaster" that he wrote about astrology and of "Ostanes" that he wrote about magic. Though oversimplifications, the descriptions do at least indicate what the

[4] The third "Mage hellénisé", Hystaspes, behind whom lies the historical figure of Zoroaster's royal patron and convert Vištaspa, was the putative author of a set of prophecies, the *Oracles of Hystaspes*. These are very much a special case, not least because they draw on real Zoroastrian sources and the argument for ultimate magian composition is a strong one. They have already been fully discussed in this volume (p. 376 ff.) and therefore will not be further considered in the present excursus. As prophecies they have a political context, a function, and a focus which radically distinguish them from the philosophical and encyclopedic wisdom of the other pseudepigrapha.

works are *not*. They are not vehicles for the doctrines of Zoroastrianism; they are not even vehicles for what the Greeks *imagined* the doctrines of Zoroastrianism to have been. That this is so may be simply confirmed by reference to the passages collected by Bidez and Cumont which attest what the West knew, or thought it knew, about the teachings of Zoroaster.[5] Not only are the "doctrines" of Zoroaster carried by a different collection of Greek texts from his supposed "works", but there is also remarkably little overlap of content. The major tenets of Zoroastrianism, such as its fundamental dualism and the opposition of the good Ahura Mazda and the evil Anra Mainyu, were known with greater or less clarity and were reported by the Greek authors. But they are absent, except as trace elements, from the pseudepigrapha, the very works of which Zoroaster and the magus Ostanes were the "authors". One must suppose, then, that it was not the intention of their actual authors to convey those doctrines.

Do the pseudepigrapha, then, convey a set of doctrines which, while not Zoroastrian (or even "Zoroastrian"), are at least coherent and systematic, so that one might perceive across the various works the outlines of a distinct and distinctive school of thought? Here judgement is necessarily tentative because of the miserably small fraction of the material which the preserved fragments represent and because of the arbitrary and unrepresentative nature of the selection. Excerptors choose what fits their own special purposes, not what typifies or is significant in the work plundered. In "Zoroaster" it was the astrology that interested them and in "Ostanes" the magic and especially the alchemy. There are indications that some at least of the works attributed to the two magi were philosophical and compendious, not merely narrow technical treatises. The title, the dramatic setting, and some of the excerpts suggest as much for Zoroaster's *On Nature*, and the same is probably true of Ostanes' *Oktateuch*, though that work is much more difficult to fix in scope, content and intention. Nevertheless, other pseudonymous works, perhaps the majority, were indeed just technical treatises, such as Zoroaster's *Asteroskopika* or *Apotelesmatika*, which, as its title indicates and its fragments confirm, was an astrological handbook, albeit a very varied one, for the making of predictions. Even the mass of astrology flowing to us from the *On Nature* may not actually distort the scope of its original content very much. Proclus, who seems to have known it adequately well, speaks

[5] BCM II 63–92, frs. D 1–14.

of it somewhat slightingly as "stuffed with astrological speculations".[6]

The assembled fragments show, moreover, no noticeable commonality of outlook or teaching between "Zoroaster" and "Ostanes"—or rather, as must be emphasized, between *and among* the several authors who wrote under the former name and the several who wrote under the latter. Partly, of course, this is the result of that convention of specialization under which astrology became peculiarly the sphere of Zoroaster and magic and alchemy of Ostanes. But even so, there is little in these two sets of works that makes them both similar to each other and dissimilar to non-"Zoroastrian" works of the same genres. Neither philosophically nor technically does there appear through them to have been an identifiable "Zoroastrian" school of thought.

The discovery of the Coptic Gnostic tractate *Zostrianos* seems to confirm this conclusion dramatically. Here for the first time we have a complete work by a "Zoroastrian" author. Yet not only is there nothing noticeably Zoroastrian about it, but also, as we shall see, in content, style, ethos and intention, its affinities are entirely with its congeners among the Gnostic tractates and not at all with other parts of the Zoroastrian pseudepigrapha. With the latter it shares name alone. Our pseudepigrapha thus prove to be a discrete corpus, whose only unity is formal, coming from the persons who were supposed to have written it. If there is any commonality to the Zoroastrian pseudepigrapha, it is one which they share as members of an altogether larger block of ancient writings. There developed in the Hellenistic age a "science" which claimed, in a catholic and rather undiscriminating way, the authority of every learned culture known to—or guessed at by—the Greeks of that period.[7] Here, side by side with a wisdom imputed to the Persian magi, we find a wisdom of the priests of Egypt, of the Brahmans of India, of the Jews, of the Chaldean astrologers, and so on.[8] One of the favoured and most effective vehicles of this "science" was the pseudonymous treatise. Clearly, it adds weight and immediacy if one's work does not merely report the lore and learning of these national cultures

[6] In Remp. II, p. 109, 7 Kroll = BCM II 159, fr. 0 13 line 14 f.

[7] A. J. Festugière's La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste (RHT) still offers the best insight into this Hellenistic wisdom, especially the first volume (L'Astrologie et Les Sciences Occultes). Although the work is devoted to one branch of this wisdom, that contained in the Greco-Egyptian texts of the Hermetic corpus, the coverage of the entire field and its literature is extensive and its relationships are brilliantly captured.

[8] See Festugière, RHT I 19–44; also Momigliano, Alien Wisdom, passim.

but conveys the actual words of their founding sages. Hence the "writings" of Zoroaster. Hence, too, the "writings" of Nechepso the Egyptian king and of Petosiris his priest.[9] Both sets are the products of Hellenistic astrology. Alchemy likewise. Ostanes the magus is but one of its authorities. Among his collaborators we find Democritus the Greek, Cleopatra the Egyptian, and Maria the Jew—a veritable alchemical UNESCO of the ancient world.[10] The Zoroastrian pseudepigrapha have to be set within the context of these "sciences" and their literatures, since it is this wider Hellenistic wisdom that gives them their characteristic forms and features.

A fundamental characteristic of this Hellenistic wisdom is that it was intensely *practical*: it aimed at control of the world, not at disinterested understanding. That indeed distinguishes it from the great rival tradition of Aristotle, in which *theoria*, the knowledge and contemplation of things for their mere beauty and order, is the goal of science.[11] Practical arts lie at the origins of Hellenistic wisdom, and it was the interaction of the Greeks with the cultures and skills of the lands which Alexander had won that brought them into being. Alchemy was born from the metallurgical trade secrets of Egypt, transmitted in the temples and royal workshops, which the Greeks transmuted first into a philosophy and secondly into something close to a religion.[12] It remained, though, in essence, a manipulation of nature, albeit for spiritual rather than material ends. Astrology, likewise, developed as a practical art, to foretell the future from the stars. Foreknowledge is power: thus, though less directly and not through material manipulation, it too aims at a measure of influence in the practical world. Like alchemy, it was formed in the crucible of Egypt, though its principal non-Greek elements were Babylonian ("Chaldean") rather than native Egyptian. Babylon furnished the long tradition of astral divination and the records and techniques of calculating and predicting the positions of the celestial bodies, Greece the much younger geometric conception of the heavens and a new and brilliant astronomical framework.[13]

[9] On Nechepso-Petosiris see Gundel, Astrologumena, 27–36.

[10] See below, n. 241.

[11] The contrast is well drawn by Festugière, RHT I 189–94.

[12] Festugière, RHT I 217–82, from our perspective the best introduction to the art. In general, see also: E. O. von Lippmann, Entstehung undAusbreitung der Alchemie, Berlin 1919; E. Riess, "Alchemie", PW I (1893), cols. 1338–55; F. S. Taylor, "A Survey of Greek Alchemy", JHS 50, 1930, 109–39.

[13] The fundamental study of ancient astrology is still A. Bouché-Leclercq, L'astrologie grecque. See his long note 1 to p. 51 on the thoroughly confused strands of the speculations of the ancients themselves on the origins of astrology, whether Egyptian or Chaldean—or even magian. As introduction, see again Festugière, RHT I 89–101; F. Cumont, Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans, New York 1912 (repr. 1960).

The theoretical underpinning of all this wisdom and the premise which validated its multifarious practical endeavours was the doctrine of universal sympathy.[14] The world, by this view, is a vast, almost organic unity whose parts interact, in patterns discoverable to the learned, either positively (sympathetically) or negatively (antipathetically). A particular mineral, for example, will be peculiarly related, sympathetically or antipathetically, to a particular animal or a particular plant. Mankind, of course, since this wisdom aims to be a practical and humane discipline, stands at the centre, and the crucial sympathies are those which govern men and women, the parts of their bodies, their activities, their dispositions, and above all, their minds and souls.

The most precise calculus of sympathies and antipathies was furnished by astrology. The stars are a part of the cosmos and accordingly exert their influence—the word itself is of astrological derivation!—on every quarter of the world below. The conventions of astronomy provided the celestial entities and constructs, of which the seven planets and twelve signs of the zodiac are the most familiar, whose positions and geometrical relationships ("aspects") could be precisely known and predicted. In the practice of astrology, these celestial sets were related to the categories of the terrestrial world and of human affairs: signs and planets to plants, stones, body parts, careers, temperaments, countries and races, times (our planetary week is but the most obvious and persistent example), and so on; and the wheel of the twelve "places" (the fixed circle against which both signs and planets appear to revolve each day) to the fortunes, activities and relationships of human life. In the same process, the positions of the planets on the zodiac, their shifting aspects, and the positions of both signs and planets on the circle of places were interpreted normatively for good or ill, as favourable or unfavourable, sympathetic or antipathetic. Genethlialogy, or the casting of horoscopes at birth (or conception) to determine an individual's future, is only one particular mode of understanding and manipulating predictively the elaborate correspondences to which astrology held the key. As we shall see in the context of "Zoroaster's" writings, there were numerous others.

[14] See Festugière, RHT I 89 ff. (esp. p. 90 n. 1), 196 ff. The key philosophical figure in the summation of this doctrine appears to have been Posidonius of Apamea (c. 135–50 B.C.), in its practical application Bolos of Mendes (c. 200 B.C.), Greeks of Syria and Egypt respectively. On the latter see below, p. 560.

The world whose structure of sympathies was the subject of Hellenistic wisdom was not a world only of men, stars, and animate and inanimate nature. It was a world also of spiritual powers of many different ranks and competencies, a bewildering, dangerous, but intensely alluring world of gods and demons.[15] Access to this world, at the manipulative level, was the province of magic and divination.[16] Through spells and other means, demons—or the

[15] "Demon" is not intended in a pejorative sense, but rather in the most common ancient one of *daimōn*, i.e., any spiritual being in the intermediate range between men and the high gods. Knowledge of demons, their natures and functions, may itself be seen as a sub-branch of Hellenistic wisdom. Handy introduction in G. Luck's source book Arcana Mundi, Baltimore and London 1985, 161–225 (the book may be usefully consulted for other branches too).

[16] Ancient magic is a vast topic, to which one can hope only to offer a few pointers here. Most of the extant data come from papyrus texts from Egypt of the late Hellenistic and Roman periods. They were edited by K. Preisendanz (Papyri Graecae Magicae, 2nd ed., revised A. Henrichs, 2 vols., Stuttgart 1973–74) and are accessible in a recent translation by H. D. Betz: The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Chicago and London 1986. Much folk magic is preserved in Pliny's (d. 79 A.C.) *Natural History*, that great encyclopedia of contemporary "science". Pliny has a disquisition on the nature and history of magic (Book XXX), to which he is intensely hostile, though by no means dismissive of its efficacy. The section is important for our purposes since he treats of the supposed magian origins of magic: see esp. R. L. Gordon, "Aelian's Peony: The Location of Magic in the Graeco-Roman Tradition", Comparative Criticism 9, 1987, 59–95, at p. 74 ff. There is as yet no general and definitive work on ancient Greek and Roman magic (though see T. Hopfner, "Mageia", PW XIV, 1 (1928) cols 201–393). As introduction, see the section in Luck's Arcana Mundi (preceding note), 1–131 (but with caution at p. 25 where he is altogether too credulous about Zoroaster and Ostanes as actual magical authors!); J. M. Hill, Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition, London 1974; A. F. Segal, "Hellenistic Magic," Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions Presented to Gilles Quispel . . ., ed. R. van den Broek and M. J. Vermaseren, Leiden 1981, 349–75; A. D. Nock, "Paul and the Magus", Essays on Religion and the Ancient World, ed. Z. Stewart, Oxford 1972, 1 308–30. For a vivid autobiographical account (whether genuine or not) of a practising magician, see the prefatory letter to Thessalus' treatise on medical astro-botany: Thessalos von Tralles, ed. H.-V. Friedrich, Meisenheim am Glan 1968 (see also A. J. Festugière, "L'expérience religieuse du médecin Thessalos", Rev. Bibl. 48, 1939, 45–72; J. Z. Smith, "The Temple and the Magician", Map is Not Territory, Leiden 1978, 172–89. Thessalos is of particular interest in that he receives his wisdom by divine revelation); and for an equally vivid defence against the charge of practising magic, see the *Apology* of Apuleius (cf. A. Abt, Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei, Giessen 1908); on the image of the magician, M. Smith, Jesus the Magician, San Francisco 1978.

Divination is as huge a topic as magic. In general, A. Bouché-Leclercq, Histoire de la divination dans l'Antiquité, 4 vols., Paris 1879–82. An excellent introduction is R. Lane Fox's Pagans and Christians (Harmondsworth 1986), whose chapters 4 and 5 on "Seeing the Gods" and "Language of the Gods" (pp. 102–261) present, in the context of the living paganism of the Greco-Roman world, the modes, both learned and popular, institutional (e.g., the great oracular shrines) and private, by which the divine world reveals itself or is made to reveal itself to the human, for the profit and edification of the latter. The learning that explicates the various modes of divination is very much a part of the larger Hellenistic wisdom.

dead—could be compelled to reveal secrets of past, present or future. This was the art of exploiting channels of cosmic sympathy in the bluntest fashion. But man, as an ensouled being, was also by right a part of that other world of spirits, and at death his destiny inevitably lay there. Thus, a more philosophical, more religious approach taught the adept how to rise into this spiritual world and to encounter its powers.[17] Though not as crudely acquisitive as magic, this level too is essentially self-centred and on its own terms quite practical.

This thumb-nail sketch of Hellenistic wisdom has emphasized its variety and scope in order to explain the wide range of the fragments of the Zoroastrian pseudepigrapha, what it is that links, for example, "Zoroaster" on prognoses from the position of the moon at the rising of Sirius (fr. O 40) or "Ostanes" on the proper stones and plants for headaches (frs. 22 f.) with the enlightenment of Zostrianos by spiritual powers of the highest order. These are not peaks of a submerged "Zoroastrian" wisdom, but rather manifestations of that general pattern of learning whose characteristics we have briefly reviewed. To appreciate their interconnection and underlying logic, they should be viewed alongside their non-

[17] In the borderland where magic marches with philosophy, one finds theurgy, the art of operating directly on supernatural powers or on their images. The major extant authority is Iamblichus *On the Mysteries* (ed. and tr. E. des Places, Paris 1966). For a description of the art see esp. E. R. Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational, Berkeley 1951, Appendix II "Theurgy", 283–311; S. Eitrem, "La Théurgie chez les Néoplatoniciens et dans les papyrus magiques", *Symbolae Osloenses* 22, 1942, 49–79.

Travel to the posthumous or spiritual world, whether in the form of a descent to the underworld or an ascent to the heavens, is the subject, or at least the narrative frame, of much ancient literature from the "Myth of Er" in Plato's *Republic* onwards. Cf. above, p. 430 n. 333. The goal of the voyage is usually enlightenment, but the route taken and powers encountered are crucial too. The function of literature in this branch is thus to provide a map and a who's who. It is to this branch that the *Zostrianos*, as so much other Gnostic and Hermetic literature, belongs. Likewise, in its frame, as we shall see, Ps.-Zoroaster *On Nature*. A classic example of the celestial ascent is the papyrus text known (misleadingly) as the "Mithras Liturgy": A. Dieterich, ed., Eine Mithrasliturgie, 3rd ed. 1923, repr. Darmstadt 1966; M. W. Meyer, ed. and tr., The "Mithras Liturgy", Missoula 1976. Also instructive are the myths in Cicero's *On the Republic* (the "Dream of Scipio") and in Plutarch's essays "On the Face in the Moon" (*De facie*), "On the Genius of Socrates" (*De genio Socratis*) and "On God's Belated Vengeance" (*De sera numinis vindicta*). On the celestial ascent see D. W. Bousset, "Die Himmelsreise der Seele", Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 4, 1901, 136–69, 229–73; C. Colpe, "Die Himmelsreise der Seele innerhalb und ausserhalb der Gnosis", The Origins of Gnosticism, ed. U. Bianchi, Leiden 1967, 429–45; I. P. Culianu, Psychanodia I: A Survey of the Evidence Concerning the Ascension of the Soul and its Relevance, Leiden 1983. In religion, the learned mapping of the celestial world and of the soul's routes therein was most advanced in Mithraism: see Beck, Planetary Gods

"Zoroastrian" congeners within the same grand tradition. Especially instructive, because a larger proportion has survived, is the body of Greco-Egyptian wisdom centred on the figure of Hermes Trismegistus, the *Corpus Hermeticum*.[18] There, a broad tract of the same continent is still visible above the waters.

Hellenistic learning of the type exemplified in the Zoroastrian pseudepigrapha is generally viewed unfavourably by modern scholars as a falling off from the high level of the philosophical culture of the classical age (5th-4th cents. B.C.). It is portrayed as a flight from reason, a surrender of independent enquiry to the claims of authority and revelation.[19] The charge is the more grievous in that the authorities it invoked were often alien to Greece. Moreover, they were fictitious: Greece was listening not to new and potentially revivifying voices from outside her own culture, but to her own etiolated echoes, tricked out in foreign guise. It was, in sum, an exercise in self-deception by a culture which no longer dared to rely on its own thought and only pretended to import the thought of others. Pseudepigraphy thus lies close to the heart of the literature of Hellenistic wisdom.

In quality, one must admit that this literature is far from good. Much of it, indeed, is sorry stuff, poorly written and intellectually meagre, as far distanced from the true scientific endeavours of the Hellenistic age (Hipparchus or Ptolemy in astronomy, for example, or Galen in medicine) as from the giants, or even the journeymen, of classical Greece. It is not, however, lack of reason that vitiates it. It is in fact quite rational, indeed logical, once its fundamental operating principles are allowed. Universal sympathy, on the one hand, warrants a network of cause and effect which transcends both scientific enquiry and commonsense observation. Anything in the world—and out of it—can be linked with anything else, subject only to the organizing capacity of the human mind and to its ingenuity in discovering analogies. On the other hand, a world in which so many supernatural agencies communicate so readily with mankind sanctions a flow of information on which everyday reality can impose no curbs. From these indulgent premises Hellenistic wisdom argued its way, rationally enough, to absurd conclusions.

In fact, the traits for which Hellenistic wisdom was castigated were present, although less dominant and harmful, in classical

[18] Ed. and tr. A. D. Nock and A. J. Festugière, 4 vols., Paris 1946–54. Festugière's RHT, as already mentioned, is fundamental. See also G. Fowden, The Egyptian Hermes, Cambridge 1986.

[19] See esp. Festugière, RHT I 1–44; Momigliano, Alien Wisdom, esp. pp. 147 f.

Greece. It is not the case that Greek civilization achieved both reason and science, in some full and modern sense, and then betrayed them. Scholarship now recognizes the persistence in classical Greece of strong currents of the magical and the irrational side by side with the emergence of forms of scientific method and rational argumentation.[20] The exotic figures of Hellenistic wisdom, the "Zoroasters" and company, follow home-grown precedents of an earlier age, sages who claimed—or whose disciples claimed on their behalf—the authority of revelation, whose lives, because of a deliberate cultivation of the shaman's style, verge on the legendary, and whose sayings are cloaked in enigma, metaphor and song. Pythagoras is the arch example, but there is much of the same in a Heraclitus or an Empedocles. Of particular relevance is Heraclides Ponticus.[21] Heraclides, whose life spanned most of the fourth century, belongs to the classical age; yet he stands intellectually no less than chronologically on the threshold of the Hellenistic. He was a distinguished pupil of Plato and himself a philosopher of some originality, both in astronomy and the theory of the constitution of the material soul. Yet he promoted in his own person and writings the older image of the philosopher as revelational sage and shaman. He purveyed "information" on the afterlife and the soul's celestial journeyings on the warrant of myths of his own construction, myths which no longer served, as in Plato, as exploratory accounts in areas beyond dialectic, but as vehicles for arcane but nevertheless literal "facts". He exploited as personae in his dialogues the earlier sages Empedocles and Pythagoras, the superhuman status with which he endows them adding authoritative weight to his own propositions. A third sage, a certain Empedotimos, he seems to have invented. Significantly, he reached beyond Greece to invoke alien wisdom, in the person of one Abaris, a Scythian, and of Zoroaster, for whom one of his works (the contents of which are unfortunately quite unknown) was named.[22] All in all,

[20] See Dodds, o.c. in n. 17; G. E. R. Lloyd, Magic, Reason and Experience, Cambridge 1979, esp. p. 4 f.

[21] See the excellent study of H. B. Gottschalk, Heraclides of Pontus. Heraclides' works are known only in tantalizing fragments, and Gottschalk's monograph supersedes earlier and rather tendentious literature on their reconstruction.

[22] Gottschalk, o.c., pp. 111–3. A tentative and, in Gottschalk's opinion (p. 111 n. 81), unconvincing attempt at reconstructing Heraclides' *Zoroaster* as a Pythagoreanizing dialogue on the corporeal and luminous nature of the soul and on its celestial descent was made by Bidez and Cumont, BCM I 14 f., 80–3. Another—or perhaps the same—work of Heraclides featured a magus who had circumnavigated Africa. On Heraclides as the possible original source for the fictive encounter of Pythagoras with Zoroaster see P. Kingsley, cited above, p. 368 n. 25.

Heraclides is a fascinating linking figure between the known philosophers of the classical age and the anonymous creators of the pseudepigraphic literature of Hellenistic wisdom.

Putting words into people's mouths was an old and respected literary convention among the Greeks, not confined to philosophical dialogue, though it was Plato who raised it to its highest level of art and effectiveness. We find it in history too, where it is more insidious, given history's pretensions to be a record and an account of facts. The most egregious instance is the debate which Herodotus stages between the Persian grandees in a sort of seminar on the optimum form of government.[23] Here at least the fiction is transparent. In the more sober Thucydides the invented speeches attributed to the participants in great events become a historiographic tool for analysing motives and causes: what is said is what it was *appropriate* for the agent to have said in the circumstances.[24] It is significant that the third (and least) of the extant historians of the classical age, Xenophon, progressed with one of his works, the *Cyropaedia* ("Education of Cyrus"), from fictitious speech to entirely fictitious biography: Xenophon's Cyrus is an idealized creation, a vehicle for moralizing and propaganda (the promotion of monarchy). Any connection with the historical Cyrus, founder of the Achaemenian empire, is tangential and quite beside the author's purpose.[25] "Cyrus" was Xenophon's invention as surely as "Pythagoras" was Heraclides'. The following age was to see the invention, works and all, of "Zoroaster" and "Ostanes".

Hellenistic pseudepigraphy was not then something radically new. What distinguishes it seems to be, first, an increase in scope and volume. Secondly, one observes a certain loss of subtlety, irony, and sense of function in its use. Thirdly, the authorities on whom the material imparted is foisted become progressively more elevated and superhuman. As the quality of the data falls, so the stature of the sanctioning authority rises: only a god or divinely

[23] III.80–3.

[24] Thucydides is explicit about this: I.22.

[25] This is not to deny that Xenophon incorporates some accurate information on Persian matters, of which he had first-hand experience as a mercenary in the rebellion of the younger Cyrus. Indeed, his characterization of the older Cyrus is probably a backward projection from the younger namesake. See HZ II 211–6. On the other side, the *Cyropaedia* is the acknowledged precursor of the whole tradition of the ancient novel, where frankly fictitious and romantic events are given a gloss of historical reality by linking them to historical events and personages or by anchoring them to supposedly real authorities, documents, pictures and the like. See, most recently, J. Tatum, Xenophon's Imperial Fiction: on the Education of Cyrus, Princeton 1989.

inspired sage could confer credibility on such matter. But the fourth and most distinctive feature is the expansion, on which we have already touched, to alien sources as both arbiters and authors of the new wisdom. It is time to explore this phenomenon further.

Alien sages and their pseudepigrapha

Without doubt, it was the vast opening of horizons consequent on Alexander's conquests that was primarily responsible for the adoption into Greek culture of the Eastern sages. The Greeks had always had a certain respect and admiration for the ancient civilizations of the Near East (coupled, paradoxically, with an intense and chauvinistic contempt for "barbarians" from all quarters, incapable equally of political freedom and intelligible speech). They were intrigued by the very antiquity of those cultures, especially the Egyptian, sensing (correctly) that here were traditions immeasurably older, and therefore perhaps richer and more authoritative, than their own. Plato reflects this feeling well in his dialogue *Timaeus* when he has the Egyptian clergy lecture the archetypal Athenian sage, Solon: "You Greeks are all children . . . you have no belief rooted in old tradition and no knowledge hoary with age".[26]

Respect for alien wise men and appeal to their authority was not then unprecedented. What changes in the Hellenistic age, as a result of contiguity and intermingling with these ancient cultures, is the volume of that appeal and the attitude that now informs it. First the primacy, and then the superiority, of alien over Greek wisdom is accepted; and the acceptance is all too often uncritical and reverential.[27] A. J. Festugière, who chronicled the rise of the "prophètes de l'Orient" so incisively, well contrasted the attitude of the fourth-century Platonic *Epinomis*, which insists that whatever learning Greece imported she improved, with that of Numenius of Apamea in the second century A.C., decrying Plato as a mere "Atticizing (i.e. Athenianized) Moses".[28] To treat philosophically

[26] 22b (tr. D. Lee); whether Plato himself shared this sentiment to any extent is altogether another matter.

[27] Festugière wryly—and justly—observes that the typical reaction of the recipient of the sage's revelation, "I was stunned", epitomizes the mentality of the age (RHT I 20).

[28] RHT I 19–44, with 6 f. on the *Epinomis*. It is interesting to note, however, that the superiority claimed for the Greeks in the *Epinomis* passage (987d–8a) rests not on reason but on the possession of a better fount of supernatural authority—Apollo's oracle of Delphi! The point escaped Festugière. Numenius on Plato: fr. 8 des Places.

of the nature of God, Numenius insisted, one had to look back behind the wisdom of a Plato, or even of a Pythagoras, to "everything that the Brahmans, the Jews, the Magi and the Egyptians have established".[29] The acme (or nadir?) of this trend is reached perhaps in the preface to the philosophical compendium of Diogenes Laertius (3rd cent. A.C.), where the opinion is reported that philosophy itself "began with the barbarians", that it "originated with the Magi among the Persians, or with the Chaldeans among the Babylonians or Assyrians, or with the Gymnosophists among the Indians, or with the so-called Druids and Semnotheoi among the Celts and Galatians"—anywhere, in sum, except in Greece.[30]

Regard for alien wisdom and willingness to learn from it were not in themselves harmful. Indeed, they might have been healthy and creative forces had they drawn on genuine exoteric traditions, accurately reported. But on the whole, and especially in the later phases, they did not. Initially, a good deal of information flowed into the new Hellenistic synthesis from the now readily accessible Eastern cultures. Astronomy profited hugely from the data and formulae of the Babylonian tradition.[31] Astrology and alchemy, as we have seen, were precisely the children of this fusion of East and West into a new wisdom. From a modern viewpoint it is perhaps unfortunate that so much of this synergy took place at the less reputable end of the spectrum of learning. Nevertheless, and for whatever ends, some true synergy there was.

Living alongside these ancient peoples did impose on the Greeks certain constraints of accuracy, albeit rather elastic ones, in reporting their traditions. A further check on free invention was the collaboration of natives of these cultures willing to work within the

[29] Fr. la des Places.

[30] Diog. Laert. prooem. 1 (= BCM II 7, fr. B la Zor.); in fairness, one must allow that Diogenes Laertius did not himself endorse these views on the origins of philosophy. Two fairly late and imaginative works are revealing for Greek attitudes on the superiority of alien sages and their (mostly fictitious) philosophical traditions. One is the biography—much fantasy spun on a tiny core of historical reality—of the first-century Pythagorean sage, Apollonius of Tyana, by Philostratus (early 3rd cent.). Philostratus has Apollonius visit the Brahmans of India in a never-never land of marvels and supernatural abilities. The Brahmans become thereafter Apollonius' touchstone of wisdom and enlightenment, superior alike to the Greeks and the Gymnosophists of Upper Egypt. The other work is the novel of Heliodorus (date disputed: 2nd–4th cents. A.C.), the *Aethiopica*. Here Egyptian wisdom, embodied in the sage Calasiris, easily surpasses Greek, whose naive representatives are the priests of Delphi, Hellenism's focal shrine.

[31] See O. Neugebauer, The Exact Sciences in Antiquity, 2nd ed., Providence 1957 (repr. New York 1969), ch. VI "Origin and Transmission of Hellenistic Science".

intellectual conventions and common language of Hellenism, Greeks in effect by adoption, but possessed of authentic knowledge of their own peoples' traditions and prepared to write about them. Such were Berossus and Manetho, authors respectively of a *Babyloniaca* and an *Aegyptiaca*: both were priests in their native religions, and both, significantly, wrote within the first generation of the Hellenistic age when the flush of novelty was still upon Greek settlement within their countries. The practice continued. In their very different ways, Philo at the turn of the millennium and Josephus in the first century A.C. were interpreters of, and thus purveyors of information about, Judaism and the Jews for the wide Greco-Roman audience.[32]

In this process of assimilating old cultures into new wisdoms, the various foreign traditions fared quite differently. Mere geography was the single most important determinant. The closer and more durable the coexistence with the Greek newcomers, the greater the likelihood that the native culture would contribute in some authentic way to the new synthesis. Egypt, where the Greeks settled soon and in large numbers and where, moreover, the great new city of Alexandria grew to be the power house of Hellenistic learning, lies at one extreme. Here we find true blended traditions, as in the Hermetic Corpus or magical papyri. At the other extreme are those countries where the Greeks never penetrated, or only as occasional travellers and traders or in short-lived military adventures. Here invention could be given free rein. Of the wisdom of the Indian Brahmans one could say what one wished, for there were none within the confines of Hellenism to give it the lie.[33] Likewise the wisdom that lurked somewhere above the Nile's cataracts among the Ethiopians or, at the other end of the world, among the Hyperboreans "at the back North Wind".

[32] One might also mention another Philo, Philo of Byblos (1st–2nd cents. A.C.), who transmitted the religion and myths of Phoenicia. Philo is an interesting test case. We know now, from the Ras Shamra tablets, that much of his material is authentic and very ancient. But it is all mediated through a pervasive Hellenism and in particular the rationalizing school of thought known as Euhemerism (great human benefactors as the originals of the gods). Furthermore, his putative source Sanchuniathon, too eagerly and gullibly accepted as a genuine author of the second millennium B.C., remains entirely elusive. See the admirable study of A. I. Baumgarten, The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos, Leiden 1981, esp. pp. 1–6, 261–8.

[33] Of course, not everything that the Greeks wrote about India and the Indians was pure fancy. Megasthenes (c. 300 B.C.), for example, composed his *Indica* on the basis of his service as Seleucus I's ambassador to Chandragupta in Patna. Though an unreliable reporter, blinkered by his Greek preconceptions, he was at least a first-hand observer.

Persian wisdom falls between these two extremes. It is true—and remarkable—that "not an inch of the territory conquered by Alexander had not been held before him by the Achaemenians".[34] Everywhere the Greeks settled there was, or had been, an Iranian presence. One might then expect that ample information would have been available to the makers of the new wisdom and that the data forthcoming would have acted as a check of sorts on the fantasies of invention and false attribution. That, however, was not the case—and for good reason. First, with the notable exception of Anatolia, the enduring Iranian presence in most areas of the Achaemenian empire that fell permanently to the Greeks was relatively small and uninfluential, once the thin governing and military overlay was stripped away at the empire's demise. Secondly, the Iranian heartlands, though conquered by Alexander, were held by his successors for no more than two centuries (and insecurely at that), and hellenization there was superficial and sporadic. In the former areas, then, there were few Iranians to instruct the Greeks, in the latter few Greeks for the Iranians to instruct. Neither could support the true intermingling of cultures to generate a Greco-Persian wisdom authentic in both its parts.

Two areas remain. In Mesopotamia, the eventual triumph of the Parthians once again established an Iranian ruling power in that land at a time when its principal city, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, was a flourishing centre of Hellenism, both in population and culture. Yet here too no "Persian" wisdom emerges, partly perhaps because the philhellenism of the Parthian rulers did not promote it, but mainly because the dominant native culture was not Iranian, but Babylonian. It was "Chaldean" wisdom that was deemed to have originated here, a wisdom with which, as we shall see, that of the magi is thoroughly confused and masked. Also, for the areas which were creating the mainstream of Hellenistic wisdom in the West, Mesopotamia was now distanced by political boundaries. Together with the Iranian highlands, it was again alien territory, ripe for imaginative exploitation rather than the exchange of real information.[35]

Only in the Anatolian hinterlands did the right conditions obtain for the transfer of an Iranian tradition to the new Greek wisdom.

[34] Above, p. 361.

[35] Some information about contemporary Iranians, and especially the ruling Parthians, did however flow from the Greeks of Mesopotamia. As Momigliano demonstrated (Alien Wisdom, 138–41), it emerged *after* the reconquest and was particularly in demand by the Romans, seeking to comprehend the political and military realities of their uncomfortably powerful new neighbour. It was not of interest to the makers of Hellenistic wisdom. Its major figure was Apollodorus of Artemita (early 1st cent. B.C.), who was used as a source by Strabo.

Here, as we have noted, the Iranian communities of the Magusaeans, stable and retentive of their religion, survived within the orbit of Greek (and later, Greco-Roman) political and cultural hegemony. Some transfer did indeed take place, but it was slight and uninfluential. Its only clearly demonstrable issue were perhaps the magian hymns, to be discussed later, which Dio of Prusa claimed to have learnt from these people and incorporated into his thirty-sixth *Oration*.[36] That the Magusaeans contributed further to Hellenistic wisdom as the ultimate source of the Zoroastrian pseudepigrapha was precisely the assumption, unprovable and improbable, which we declined to make at the outset.

One genuine fusion of Greek and Iranian religions did take place in Anatolia. This was a cult promoted—created indeed—in the small border country of Commagene by its king, Antiochus I, in the first century B.C. It is known to us from its splendid remains on the summit of Mt. Nimrud and elsewhere in the kingdom and from its inscribed charter document. It was an artificial religion, centred on the person of Antiochus and the royal line which he traces back to both Darius and Alexander. Though self-serving and pompous, Antiochus was also patently sincere, and a certain flair was shown by him—or probably rather by his priests—in the conflation of his cult from the two worlds of Persia and Greece. This cult has already been described in this volume.[37] The point in mentioning it here is to show that, religious fusion though it attempted to be, it was without issue in the world beyond. As a dynastic and national cult, it could not spread without radical transformation, and even at home it could not outlive its dynasty and its country's independence. Above all, it contributed nothing to the realm of thought, nothing to the circumambient "wisdom" beyond its borders. This was not because it was in itself sterile or too meagre intellectually—it strikes one as in some ways a powerful, numinous and imaginative construct—but solely, I believe, because of its remoteness. Commagene was, simply, off the beaten track. Hellenistic wisdom was created in the great centres of population and of learning, Alexandria above all. Few echoes, whether of Magusaean lore or of Commagenian cult, would be heard from the hinterlands of Anatolia.[38]

[36] Arguably, too, such elements within Greek prophetic literature as are attributable to the Persian Sibyl originally emanated from the shrines of the Anatolian Iranians: above, p. 373.

[37] p. 321 ff.

[38] I leave aside for later consideration (since its few written remains were classed as Zoroastrian pseudepigrapha by Bidez and Cumont) another postulated

Although the spatial contiguity of Greeks and Iranians in the Hellenistic age thus proves to be a complicated factor, it is clear that its patterns imposed no special constraints on the makers of the new wisdom by confronting them with an authentic and vigorous Iranian tradition that could not be ignored. Another factor is the lack of native spokesmen, such as Berossus or Manetho, who could mediate Iran to Greece, transmitting facts about the former in the voice and guise of the latter. The principal authority of the Hellenistic age on Iranian culture, certainly in the religious sphere, was a learned Alexandrian, Hermippus. It was he who wrote, around 200 B.C., a multi-volume treatise *On the Magi* and who first collected the works of "Zoroaster".[39] To the latter accomplishment we shall return, since it is one of the founts of our pseudepigrapha. The point here is that this expert on the magi, relatively early in the Hellenistic age, was already transmitting spurious and recent Greek compositions wholesale as products of the magian tradition. He wrote, in any case, far from practising Zoroastrians, in the scholarly seclusion of the Alexandrian Library. Conceivably, since Smyrna was his home town, he could at one time have met and observed Anatolian magi, but there is no evidence that he did in fact do so. Hermippus' work is entirely lost, but his magi were in all likelihood products of the study, excerpted from previous writers, not of encounters in the field.

But perhaps the most powerful factor that militated against the transmission of authentic data and at the same time fostered the growth of pseudepigrapha was the reluctance of the Greeks themselves to listen to the original voices of those alien cultures. They admired their "wisdom", but they preferred it transmuted into forms that were readily comprehensible to the Greek mind and that answered to Greek preconceptions of what a "philosophy", however foreign, should be. This can be seen most clearly in the case of the Jews. From the third century the Hebrew scriptures were progressively translated into Greek in the version that came to be known as the Septuagint, from the story that it was the product of seventy scholars commissioned for that purpose by Ptolemy II of Egypt. The purpose of the Septuagint was to render the scriptures once more comprehensible to the large and important Alexandrian Jewish community, whose working language was now Greek; but its effect could also have been to make an entire ethnography of the

Anatolian offspring of Iranian religion—Mithraism. The worship of Mithra in Anatolia prior to the formation of the Western mystery cult has in any case been discussed above, p. 475 ff.

[39] On Hermippus see BCM I 21 f., 86.

Jews, their history, religion and customs, accessible to the Greeks—if the Greeks had deigned to read it. They did not. Hellenistic learning shows no knowledge of it at all, or of any other version of the Hebrew scriptures. Instead, throughout the third and second centuries the Greeks were regaled with the predigested accounts and fantasies of a parade of hellenized Jews, deservedly obscure, telling them only what they would accept and only in the form in which they would accept it. The fictitious correspondence of the juvenile Solomon with kings Vaphres of Egypt and Suron of Tyre, composed by Eumolpus, a Jewish ambassador to Rome in the second century, will suffice as an example. Soon enough, those who cannot stomach an authentic literature are fed an artificial one.[40]

If the Greeks were unwilling to come to terms with other cultures' literature when translated, still less were they prepared to master their languages and to tackle their texts in the original. In part, this lazy attitude was bred of a sense of superiority, a bland assumption that these alien wisdoms attained their true potential and usefulness when recast in the forms and tongue of a more perfect civilization. But the opposite is also true. Left in its original tongue, sacred discourse preserved its power and numinous quality. Its very exoticism, the fact that it was not comprehended and thus not fixed, enhanced its value for the Greeks. This we see above all in Egypt. Priestly interpreters would intimate certain things—in Greek—but wholesale translations of texts and hieroglyphics were neither offered nor solicited. The symbols and divine names were too useful to the magicians and theurgists as they stood. Greek might be the language of rational explanation, but Egyptian, as the Hermetic Corpus at one point boasts, is the language of power, whose words in and of themselves are directly efficacious.[41]

It should come as no surprise, then, that genuine texts of Zoroastrianism remained unknown to the Hellenistic Greeks. Zoroastrianism at the time being a deliberately aliterate religion, the

[40] This sorry story of the blinkered reception which the early Hellenistic age gave to the traditions of the Jews and the distortions and misunderstandings which it caused is brilliantly told by Momigliano, Alien Wisdom, 82–96. It was of course the adoption of the Hebrew scriptures by the Christians as their Old Testament that finally brought the Septuagint to the attention of Greeks.

[41] *Corpus Hermeticum* XVI.2. The author, in the person of Asclepius, denigrates Greek as "insolent, insipid and meretricious . . . empty speech, good for showing off . . . noisy talk" (tr. Fowden). He pleads that his work be *not* translated lest "the dignity and strength [of the original Egyptian] and the cogent force of the words" be impaired. It is interesting and ironic that the plea was composed in Greek and never had an Egyptian original! See Festugière, RHT I 26; Fowden, o.c. in n. 18, p. 37.

Avesta was not even potentially accessible to them in written form.[42] A translation, difficult enough in the circumstances, would have demanded a willingness to collaborate on the Zoroastrian side which was obviously not forthcoming. As for the Greeks themselves learning Avestan or even Persian, and encountering authentic Zoroastrianism on its own ground, nothing could have been further from their aims and interests, which were to recreate and exploit alien wisdoms, not to learn from them as equals or to explore them objectively as they really were.

Such, then, were the factors that permitted the riotous growth of pseudepigrapha in the Hellenistic age. Seldom was their authenticity challenged. When it was, it tended to be in a sectarian context where doctrinal acceptability was at issue. Apocryphal gospels and the like were excluded from the Christian canons as unauthentic primarily because they were judged to have made wrong statements, not because they were proved to have claimed wrong authorship. With the bulk of the Zoroastrian pseudepigrapha, consisting as it does of practical astrological and magical lore, orthodoxy was never a question. No one, then, had a compelling interest in mounting a challenge.

There is one honourable exception, which in some ways proves the rule. The greatest of the Neoplatonist philosophers, Plotinus, set two of his disciples, Amelius and Porphyry, the task of refuting certain Gnostic texts, including "apocalypses" of Zoroaster and Zostrianos, which he felt that others in his circle (Christians, as it happens) were misusing. Amelius tackled "the book of Zostrianos", which, as we shall see, is probably identical with the Nag Hammadi tractate under that name. Of his method we know nothing; but of Porphyry's in refuting "Zoroaster" we do, since he himself reports the matter in his *Life of Plotinus*. He demonstrated, he says, that "Zoroaster's book was illegitimate and recent, fabricated by the founders of the sect (i.e., that to which Plotinus' Christian followers subscribed) to further the belief that the doctrines which they had chosen to maintain were actually those of the

[42] Later legend records that written copies of the Avesta existed *ab origine*, some of which were burnt by Alexander (above, p. 16 with n. 70). A variant (DkM 405.11 ff.) has one copy carried off and translated into Greek. The complex of stories cannot of course be accepted literally; the reality which it reflects is the *loss* of Avestan learning, not its transmission. Bidez and Cumont (II 137 f.) perceptively conjectured that the variant concerning translation may well have originated from a misconception of the genuineness of part of the *Greek* writings of "Zoroaster", i.e. of our pseudepigrapha.

Zoroaster of old".[43] The method, then, was exemplary in modern terms, a demonstration not that the book of Zoroaster was "wrong", but that it was spurious and anachronistic, that it was not Zoroaster's at all. The purpose, however, was the familiar one: to discredit the texts of wrong-thinking rivals. It is significant that this demonstration of pseudepigraphy concerns one particular corner of "Zoroaster", an apocalypse that is otherwise quite unknown.[44] No one bothered to free him from the copious and far better attested works on astrology and magic, for these carried no "doctrines" from which right-thinking persons had to be weaned.

Given the impetus to wholesale pseudepigraphy in the names of great sages of alien cultures, we must next ask why it was that magic in particular was fathered on the Iranian magi, astrology on Zoroaster, and alchemy on Ostanes. To answer that question, one must look at the image of the magi among the Hellenistic Greeks. For it is not what the magi *were* but what the Greeks *supposed* them to be that determined their exploitation as figureheads for those occult arts and their literatures.

Magi and magic—through Greek eyes

The words "magus" and "magic" are of course etymologically linked. The latter was derived from the former in the Greek language as early as the fifth century B.C., long before the first Zoroastrian pseudepigrapha were compiled. Literally, magic (*mageia, magike*) is what a magus (*magos*) does; it is his art or practice. But almost from the outset the noun for the action and the noun for the actor parted company. *Mageia* was used not for what actual magi actually did, but for something akin to magic in the modern sense: that is, the achieving of effects in the natural world by

[43] *Vita Plotini* 16 = BCM fr. O 105 (II 249 f.). Bidez and Cumont (I 156) inferred that it was Adelphius and Aquilinus, the leaders of the subgroup of Christians attached to Plotinus, who had themselves fabricated these pseudepigrapha. Though possible, this inference is not necessary. "Those around Adelphius and Aquilinus" were the contemporary sectarians; "those who founded the sect" and fabricated the pseudepigrapha may well have been of an earlier generation. Porphyry's proof that the "book of Zoroaster" was "new" implies only that he established that it was anachronistic, i.e., that it must be more recent than the real Zoroaster, not that it was the product of the immediate present. The point is perhaps academic, though it makes a difference whether Porphyry was accusing his fellow disciples of forgery or merely of being the dupes of previous forgers. (For these refinements I am greatly indebted to Dr. Howard Jackson.)

[44] In Clement *Strom.* I.15 the phrase "the apocryphal books of this man" might refer to Zoroaster rather than Pythagoras, but the passage (BCM II 250, fr. O 106) tells us nothing further about the works in question.

supernatural means, or the appearance of achieving them through trickery and illusion. The early uses of the word in Greek usually carry that second, deceitful sense, with the further disreputable implication that what is done is done for the practitioner's profit at the expense of the deceived. At the same time, the *nomen agentis* was also uncoupled from its original denotation. A *magos* who performs these tricks is not, and need not even falsely claim to be, a magus in the original sense of an Iranian priest; he is merely a "magician"—with overtones of the conjurer or quack. A classic passage for this use of the term occurs in the Hippocratic treatise on epilepsy, *On the Sacred Disease* (late 5th cent.): "My own view is that those who first attributed a sacred character to this malady were like the magicians (*magoi*), purifiers, charlatans and quacks of our own day, men who claim great piety and superior knowledge" (sect. 2, trans. Jones). The author goes on to describe the false treatments offered by such people, treatments designed to safeguard the practitioner who can claim credit if successful or blame the gods if not. They are the sort of persons who "profess to know how to bring down the moon, to eclipse the sun, to make storm and sunshine, rain and drought, the sea impassable and the earth barren" (4). If genuine, they are sinister and impious, since through them "the power of godhead is overcome and enslaved by the cunning of man". Moreover, "he who by purifications and magic (*mageuōn*) can take away such an affection (i.e., the "sacred disease") can also by similar means bring it on" (3). But probably their claims are false, and their contrivances are just another means by which men scramble to make a living (4).[45]

The original meanings of the words, however, were by no means lost. Educated Greeks were aware that the magi were the priests of what, from their perspective, was the Persian national religion, and that their proper business was not magic in the derived sense, but "the service of the gods", as the Platonic *Alcibiades* I defines it.[46] Both Dinon (late 4th cent.) and Aristotle affirmed that real magi "knew nothing of socerers' magic".[47] Others, however, as we shall

[45] *Magos* in the derived, pejorative sense, is also found in 5th-century Greek tragedy; cf. Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus* 387, where Oedipus calls the seer Teiresias a *magos* and derides him as a scheming and venal imposter. Two excellent short studies of the history and terminology of magic and its relationship to the real magi are the articles of A. D. Nock and R. L. Gordon cited above, n. 16. See also BCM I 143–50.

[46] 122a (= BCM II 21 f., fr. B 10a); further citations in BCM I 94 n. 1.

[47] Ap. Diogenes Laertius prooem. 8 (= BCM II 67, lines 22 f., fr. D 2; cf. lines 7 f. "they spend their time in the service of the gods and sacrifice and prayers . . ."). The adjective used to describe the sort of "magic" that the magi do not practise

see, believed to the contrary that magic, and in particular divination and the yet darker art of necromancy, belonged to the repertoire of the magi. The two senses of *mageia* and *magos* thus descend in uneasy juxtaposition. Generally, they are distinct, but when, whether for positive or negative reasons, it becomes desirable for the two to coalesce, etymology provides an easy warrant. Their name alone "proves" that magi practice magic and were its obvious founders. It is this above all that licensed in the pseudepigrapha the ascription of invented magical and divinatory lore to the magi.

Why, though, were the magi chosen by the Greeks for this role as the standard-bearers of magic? Undoubtedly, at the origin was a misunderstanding—perhaps a wilful misunderstanding—of the function of actual magi in religious ritual as the Ionian Greeks first observed it in their early contacts with the Persians. As A. D. Nock well described it, "we may explain the selection of *magos* as a typical name, and the formation of the noun *mageia* from it, as due to the impression made on unfriendly Ionian spectators by Persian priests, with their queer garments and tiaras and mouth masks—as we see them on the relief from Dascylium—performing uncomprehended rites, uttering unintelligible prayers, and indispensable at sacrifice".[48] For the ancients, the borderline between religion and magic was quite indistinct, and it was easy enough, conceptually and in popular perception, for priests to be metamorphosed into magicians. It was a question not so much of different activities as of a differing status and legitimacy of activity.[49] Magi were believed in any case to have achieved or aimed at the sort of miraculous modifications of the natural order which have always been peculiarly the sphere of magic: for example, the stilling, by sacrifice and incantation, of the storm that wrecked the Persian fleet off Magnesia as reported by Herodotus (VII.191), or the kindling of the altar flame without fire which the traveller Pausa-

comes from the original Greek word for magician, *goēs*. Unlike *magos*, *goēs* invariably carries pejorative, sinister or fraudulent connotations.

[48] Art. cit., p. 318; cf. p. 311: the misapprehension was understandable, for, as Nock shrewdly remarked, "it must always be remembered that the Greek was seldom a good observer of strange religions, prone as he was to hasty conclusions and identifications and to a contempt or to a veneration which were equally uncritical". The earliest use of the word *magos* in something approaching its derived sense occurs in an Ionian writer, Heraclitus (c. 500 B.C.); he includes *magoi* in a list of execrable types from the fringes of religion: "night-roamers, *magoi*, bacchants, maenads, initiates" (fr. B 14 DK).

[49] Nock, art. cit., pp. 313–18.

nias (V.27.5–6) witnessed, apparently as a routine event, in Lydia in the second century A.C.[50]

Undoubtedly, too, the experiences of the Persian Wars affected the transformation of magi into magicians in the Greek language and consciousness. War in antiquity, especially between different cultures, was viewed as a clash of gods, not merely of human combatants. The magi were the priests of an empire and culture which had threatened, so the Greeks then and later believed, to overwhelm Hellenism and its gods. Xerxes' army, its magi conspicuous, had penetrated to the heart of Greece, overturning her shrines and thus subverting her religion. But the invasion had been beaten back, and a century and a half later that alien and menacing culture was in its turn overwhelmed. Its gods and its magi proved powerless to save it. From the Greek perspective, then, the magi were the authorities of a religious system which was first alien, secondly dangerous, thirdly inimical to the established cultus of their cities, and fourthly inferior to that cultus because vanquished in the ultimate test of battle. But these characteristics, as R. L. Gordon has well demonstrated,[51] could be applied with equal cogency to that other system located on the margins of established religion—magic. Magic was of course a home-grown product in Greek as in other cultures, but its activities and practitioners, from the point of view of the respectable and educated who set that culture's tone, lay outside, and competed with, the sanctioned religious core. What, then, more natural and convenient than to transfer to it the name of the truly and literally alien system? By calling their native witchcraft the magian art and its adepts magi, the Greeks at a stroke marginalized and delegitimized it. Magic becomes by definition irredeemably foreign, and the psychological and social distance between it and the religion of the establishment is underscored by the ethnic and geographical distance of its implied origins. Its power, too, is precisely fixed: sinister and menacing, like the art of the actual magi, yet subordinate to the religion of the traditional cults, just as the cult and gods of the magi lost to the cults and gods of Greece.[52]

[50] Herodotus appends the typically dry comment that perhaps after 3 days the storm had blown itself out. Pausanias characterizes the miraculous kindling of the altar as "not innocent of the magician's art". Context makes it clear that although the practitioners are magi he means magic in the derived sense. From his chauvinistic perspective, the magi's chants are "barbarous and incomprehensible"—but nonetheless effective. On the Pausanias passage see above, p. 236.

[51] Art. cit., esp. pp. 78–80.

[52] It is thus entirely comprehensible that the word *magos* could denote, beside an Iranian priest on one side and a Greek magician on the other, a practitioner of any foreign and suspect religious cult. Nock (art. cit., p. 315) cites a revealing example from the *Acta disputationis S. Achatii* (5), applied to Christianity: the examining magistrate charges, "so you're magi, because you're bringing in some uew-fangled cult or other" (*ideo magi estis quia novum nescio quod genus religionis inducitis*); the charge is virtually a definition: *magus* = importer of new religion.

This is to view magic looking out at it, as it were, negatively from the established centre. The view from the outside is of course different, and it exploits the image of the magus in a different way. Like the negative view, it conflates magus and magician, but to enhance the latter figure rather than to diminish it. "Magus" becomes the magician's word for himself. Used without contempt or implications of venality and quackery, it was a godsend; for did it not already connote both religious authority (albeit that of another culture) and an exotic and powerful art? On another front, when men came to write the pseudepigrapha of alien wisdom, the magi and their leaders were obvious candidates for the authorship of texts which explored, in a systematic way and on a somewhat more philosophical plane, those same cosmic sympathies which the magician exploits at the practical level. These writings in turn legitimated magic by bringing it within the orbit of the new Hellenistic learning and so raising its intellectual respectability. More precisely, fixing magic as the "magian" art affected its status in two very positive ways (as a Greek would see them). First, magic—serious magic, that is—becomes a male preserve. Magi were men, and therefore "real" magicians, *qua* magi, must be men too. The magic of magicians is thus separated from, and elevated above, the folk witchcraft of women. Secondly, magic becomes literate, indeed literary. Not only did the magi "invent" magic (so it was believed), but they also wrote about it: were there not texts of "Zoroaster" and "Ostanes" extant, or at least thought to have existed somewhere in the background, to prove the point and to establish magic's pretensions as a liberal art?[53]

Both friends and foes of magic, the credulous and sceptic alike, thus had an interest in referring the origins of magic and its literature to the magi. One may see the result of this fictive process in the brief history of magic with which the elder Pliny (d. 79 A.C.) prefaces the thirtieth book of his *Natural History*. He himself is violently hostile to magic, calling it "the most fraudulent of arts"

[53] The contrast between literate male magic, as symbolized by "Zoroaster", and its illiterate female competitor, whose archetypal practitioner is the mythic sorceress Medea, is finely drawn by Gordon, art. cit., esp. p. 73 f. It is interesting (if inexplicable) that in learned magic alchemy alone throws up powerful female authorities in the persons of Maria and Cleopatra.

while admitting its formidable and pernicious hold (XXX.1.1). Somewhat idiosyncratically, he traces the power of magic to its conflation of three other arts which allure and dominate mankind: medicine, religion and astrology (1.2). There is, he says, "universal consensus that magic began in Persia with Zoroaster" (2.3), who, on the calculations of Eudoxus (4th cent. B.C.) and Aristotle, lived six thousand years before Plato (or five thousand before the Trojan War, according to Hermippus) (2.3–4).[54] Since no explicitly magical treatises attributed to him were extant and the "facts" from the intervening millennia are thin, Pliny is at something of a loss to explain the early transmission and dissemination of magic from that single source (2.4–7).[55] What is certain, he says, is that magic came to Greece with another magus, Ostanes, in the train of Xerxes (2.8): "he sowed what I may call the seeds of this monstrous craft, infecting the whole world by the way at every stage of their travels" (trans. Jones). As far as Pliny says he could discover, Ostanes was also the earliest extant writer on magic (*primus, quod exstet, ut equidem invenio, commentatus est de ea*, ibid.). From Ostanes the Greeks acquired not merely a lust (*aviditatem*) for the new art, but a downright "madness" (*rabiem*), and many of their greatest philosophers, such as Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus and Plato, travelled abroad to study it and promoted it on their return (2.8–10). Even for his own times Pliny still regards the eastern magi as the fount and authority on magic. In speaking of Nero's vain attempts to learn and practice the art—Pliny's point is that if there had been really anything to master Nero was uniquely placed to master it—he includes among the emperor's advantages the visit to his court of genuine magi in the train of king Tiridates of Armenia (6.16 f.), when Tiridates "initiated him into their magian feasts" (*magicis etiam cenis eum initiaverat* 6.17).[56]

When one enquires what sort of magic it was that the magi were supposed to have taught and practised, the range turns out to be quite restricted. For the most part it was divination of one type or another. Pliny is typical when he transmits Ostanes' definition: "As Ostanes said, there are several forms of it (i.e. of magic); he

[54] On Hermippus see above, p. 508.

[55] The curiously tentative and ambivalent quality of Pliny's sketch is well captured by Gordon, art. cit., pp. 74–7. Pliny feels it necessary to supplement his history with doppelgangers of both Zoroaster and Ostanes, the second Zoroaster being placed just before the first Ostanes, and the second Ostanes contemporary with—and a companion of—Alexander.

[56] In context, *magicis* means both magian and magical, for to Pliny here the two are one and the same.

professes to divine (*divina promittit*) from water, globes, air, stars, lamps, basins and axes, and by many other methods, and besides to converse with ghosts and those in the underworld" (XXX.5.14, trans. Jones).[57] An even more exotic list of the forms of magic, at least the last two of which are certainly modes of divination, is given by the novelist Iamblichus in the second century A.C. The title of his novel, *Babyloniaca*, advertises its setting in Mesopotamia, and he himself was either a Syrian or Babylonian, and claims to have learnt the magian art—at or close to its source, it is implied—and thereby to have forecast accurately the outcome of L. Verus' Parthian campaigns (163–5).[58] As reported in Photius' summary (the novel is otherwise preserved only in fragments), "Iamblichus goes through the forms of magic (*magikēs*): magic of grasshoppers, magic of lions, and magic of mice (it's from mice [*myōn*] that mysteries [*mysteria*] get their name—for mouse-magic is the prime form); and he mentions magic of hail and magic of snakes and necromancy and ventriloquism . . ."[59] This list clearly contains a good measure of free invention—the spurious and illogically deployed etymology of mysteries (= "mouseteries"!) from mouse-magic proves as much—yet, just as clearly, it reflects what Iamblichus' somewhat low-brow Greek readership *expected* to be told of the activities of Eastern magi. It fits the image, and perhaps also a misunderstood reality.[60]

[57] = BCM fr. 12 (II 286 f.); see n. 1 ad frag.

[58] Epit. 10, p. 32 Habrich (the variant that makes Iamblichus a Syrian is reported in a marginal gloss: p. 2 Habr.).

[59] Ibid.; for "magic of grasshoppers", etc., Iamblichus uses the *nomen agentis*, *magon* (i.e., literally, "magus/magician of grasshoppers", etc.).

[60] The modes from grasshopper- to snake-magic may represent Zoroastrian *apotropaic* magic misunderstood and clumsily reported by Iamblichus. BCM (I 148 n. 8) appositely cites Dk. VII.5.9 to the effect that Zoroaster had taught spells against such scourges of crops. However, both Iamblichus' Greek and his context seem more naturally to imply that he himself understood these creatures to be the media through which magic of a divinatory sort was practised. Immediately preceding the disquisition on the forms of magic in the Photian summary, we are told how the mother of a certain Tigris, recently deceased, "is convinced, by practising a magic rite (*ekmageusasa*), that her son has become a hero (i.e. demigod)". In other words, she *divines* (no pun intended) by magic the posthumous status of her son, and Iamblichus then proceeds to list what he misunderstands—or wilfully misrepresents—as the local forms of divinatory magic. In doing so, he slanders the magi by implying that they would use as mediums *khrafstras*, evil and destructive creatures of Anra Mainyu (cf. HZ I 90 f., 298 f.). That the magi loathed, and encouraged the extermination of, mice, which Iamblichus actually makes their prime magical objects in order to float his ridiculous etymology for "mysteries", was well known even in the West. Plutarch mentions it no less than 3 times (*De Iside* 46, *Quaest. conv.* IV.5.2., *De invidia* 3). Iamblichus' arbitrary conversion of what was probably real magian apotropaic magic into a garbled parody of modes of divination seems to me a good illustration

Both Pliny and Iamblichus conclude their lists with necromancy, divination by means of the spirits of the dead. This was indeed the speciality of the magi in both popular and learned perception. The stereotype was set early—in Aeschylus' play, the *Persians* (produced 472 B.C.), in which the dead king Darius is raised at his tomb to declare the divine dimensions of the ruin of the Persian fleet at Salamis, newly reported by a messenger.[61] Six centuries later, when the satirical essayist Lucian wishes to dispatch one of his characters to the underworld, he has him resort to the magi as the acknowledged experts and guides to the realm of the dead: "As I was puzzling over these matters, it occurred to me to go to Babylon and ask one of the magi, Zoroaster's disciples and successors. I had heard that they could open the gates of the underworld with certain spells and rites and conduct down and bring back up safely whomever they wished".[62] The supposed expertise of the magi, as one sees here, extends beyond mere divination to include all traffic between the living and the dead, between this world and the Other World. It is a motif that runs through the pseudepigrapha too. In the book *On Nature* "Zoroaster" reports what he himself had learnt in the underworld. Its opening words, as reported by Clement, were, "These things I wrote, I, Zoroaster son of Armenios, a Pamphylian by race, who died in war, whatever I learnt from the gods while I was in Hades".[63] The descent to the underworld gives the work both a gripping narrative frame and a compelling warrant

of that shameless Greek tendency to distort or invent Eastern data according to the dictates of authorial purpose—or mere fancy. (The ingenious attempt by R. Merkelbach, Mithras, 253–4, to trace Armenian versions of Avestan legends in the *Babyloniaca* is to be discussed in HZ IV.).

[61] See S. Eitrem, "The Necromancy in the Persians of Aeschylus", Symbolae Osloenses 6, 1928, 1–16.

[62] *Menippus* 6 = BCM fr. B 30. The magus is given a good Persian-sounding name—Mithrobarzanes. Again, one notes in the account the fanciful adoption of details which would have been unthinkable for a real Zoroastrian magus. Thus in the ritual prior to the descent, Mithrobarzanes spits 3 times in Menippus' face, unremarkable as a magical practice but outrageous conduct for a Zoroastrian endowed with his religion's scruples on pollution from bodily discharges.

[63] Clement *Strom.* V.14 = BCM fr. O 12 (II 158); Proclus *In Remp.* II p. 109 Kroll (= BCM fr. O 13, II 159) gives a slightly different wording. Zoroaster's novel parentage and nationality are revealing: the author has simply plagiarized the opening of the famous "myth of Er" from Plato's Republic (614b), substituting Zoroaster's name for Er's. As often happens, the genuine and the fake changed places, with some believing that it was Plato who had substituted Er for Zoroaster. Colotes, a disciple of Epicurus, so asserted (ap. Proclus, above)—which, incidentally, furnishes a probable *terminus ante quem* of the mid 3rd cent. B.C. for the original of the pseudepigraphic text whose fragments we possess, if, as Bidez and Cumont reasonably argue (I 111), it was on the basis of this work that Colotes made his claim.

for its revealed wisdom. The tractate *Zostrianos* follows essentially the same pattern, except that the journey to acquire the revelation is an ascent to the heavens.[64] Finally, the magus Ostanes is himself the object of conjuration, his shade invoked to reveal his alchemical truths, in the writings that pretend to transmit them.[65] He is also the supposed source of much of the lore concerning the use in divination of various orders of spirits and the souls of the untimely dead.[66]

Necromancy is at best a sinister pursuit, and not infrequently worse is suspected of those thought to practise it. From invoking human souls it is a short step to tampering with human bodies. Precisely that charge is levelled against Ostanes by Pliny: "Not a few among the Greeks have spoken of the taste characteristics and effects of individual organs and limbs, cataloguing them all, even down to nail parings. As if health could come about by turning a human into a beast, deserving his disease for its very cure . . .! It is held illegal and ill-omened to divine with human entrails—what then of actually eating them? Who was it who first made these discoveries, Ostanes? It is against you that the charge shall be laid, you subverter of human law and creator of inhuman horrors, you who founded this science, I believe, only to have your own memory preserved".[67] The function of this shrill invective is the familiar one of marginalizing the unacceptable and monstrous: "So be it! The rites of barbarians and outsiders found out these skills". Yet Pliny must admit that "Greece made them her own", and for the actual

[64] Cf. Arnobius *Adv. nat.* II.62 that the prayers of the magi were thought to ease the way "for those striving to fly up to heaven". The celestial voyage was not of course a monopoly of the magi, any more than was the descent to the underworld. Both became widely used *topoi* in the literature of Greco-Roman times, see above, n. 17; also p. 501, on Heraclides as a key figure in the development of this tradition (though, contra BCM, he probably did not send "Zoroaster" on the quest to the underworld—above, n. 22). The celestial voyage is also found in Jewish intertestamental literature, i.e. in 2 *Enoch*, which is possibly partly dependent on the Zoroastrian story of Arda Viraz, see above, p. 429 ff. But given the established position which the journey to the Other World attained in Hellenistic literature generally, it is unnecessary to suppose that the theme entered the Zoroastrian pseudepigrapha themselves from the oral *Arda Viraz* (whose written form dates from Islamic times).

[65] BCM I 202–4, II 317 f. (fr. A 6); see below, p. 562.

[66] BCM I 180–6, II 287 ff. (frs. 13–16); see below, p. 558. Further evidence on Persia as the supposed home of necromancy: Strabo XVI.39 (in a list of diviners by nationality, "among the Persians: the magi, the necromancers and those who practice lekanomancy and hydromancy"); Varro ap. Augustine *City of God* VII.35 (that the Roman king Numa, and after him Pythagoras, acquired from the Persians the art, called hydromancy or necromancy, of summoning the dead for prophecy by means of a vessel of blood).

[67] *NH* XXVIII.5 f. = BCM fr. 17 (II 296 f.).

works he cites only Democritus, the Greek philosopher who was supposedly Ostanes' pupil.[68] In fact, there is nothing substantial in the pseudepigrapha to link "magian" authors with this most gruesome corner of magic, and only this one outburst of Pliny suggests that their image was thus tarnished. While the magi were widely supposed to conjure with demons and ghosts, preying on corpses was rather the imagined preserve of native female witches such as we find, archetypally and in full melodramatic horror, in the phantasies of Lucan or Apuleius.[69] Indeed, only in a single passage from Plutarch's *De Iside* concerning apotropaic sacrifices to Areimanios are sinister rites of any sort imputed to the magi with any degree of plausibility.[70]

Generally, the Greek image of the magi, when not distorted by the equation of magus and magician which we have been examining, is a favourable one. Space precludes a full account of it, and we have concentrated instead on those aspects most relevant to the pseudepigrapha, especially the reputation of the magi as diviners and intermediaries with the Other World. However, to set these aspects in a fuller context, I set out below, *exempli gratia*, part of the description of the magi from the prologue (6–9) of Diogenes Laertius.[71] It is typical of what reasonably well informed Greeks would have "known" concerning the magi, and is thus a sort of group portrait of those who from their perspective were the authors of the pseudepigrapha. "The magi spend their time in the worship of the gods, in sacrifices and prayers, implying that none but themselves have the ear of the gods, whom they hold to be fire, earth and water. They condemn the use of images, and especially the error of attributing to the divinities difference of sex. They hold discourse of justice, and deem it impious to practice cremation. But they see no impiety in marriage with a mother or daughter . . . Further, they practice divination (*mantikēn*) and forecast the future, declaring that the gods appear to them in visible form. Moreover, they say that the air is full of shapes which stream forth like a

[68] See BCM, n. 1 ad frag.; on the relationship of "Democritus" to "Ostanes" see below, p. 554 ff.

[69] Apuleius' novel, the *Golden Ass*, is replete with such creatures, especially the first 3 books. Lucan's epic poem, the *Pharsalia* (VI.507 ff.), contains the most horrific exemplar. On the latter, and the type in general, see Gordon, art. cit. in n. 16, pp. 67–71; id., "Lucan's Erictho", Homo Viator (Studies for J. Bramble), edd. M. and M. Whitby and P. Hardie, Bristol 1987, 231–41.

[70] *De Iside* 46. For the particulars, and their interpretation, see above, pp. 457–8.

[71] = BCM fr. D 2, II 67–70; see notes ad frag., and I 73–80. Another illuminating example is Dio *Or.* XXXVI.40 f. = fr. O 8 (BCM II 143 f.), quoted below, n. 158.

vapour and enter the eyes of keensighted seers. They prohibit personal ornament and the wearing of gold. Their dress is white, they make their bed on the ground, and their food is vegetables, cheese, and coarse bread. . . . With the art of magic they are wholly unacquainted. . . . Aristotle . . . declares that the magi are more ancient than the Egyptians; and further that they believe in two principles, the good spirit and the evil spirit, the one called Zeus or Ōromasdēs, the other Hades or Areimanios . . . [Theopompus] says that according to the magi men will live in a future life and be immortal. . . ." (trans. Hicks). For the present purpose it is immaterial what is accurate information here and what is not. Genuine elements are readily recognizable and in fact preponderate: the fundamental Zoroastrian belief in the dualistic opposition of good and evil, of Ahura Mazda and Anra Mainyu; the reverence for the elements, especially fire; resurrection and *Frašo-kereti*; the (relatively) aniconic and non-anthropomorphic tradition; even the reference to next-of-kin marriage (*khvaetvadatha*).[72] For the rest, the picture is that of ascetics within a fabulously ancient tradition, presented in a suitable and comprehensible Greek philosophical guise.[73]

"Zoroaster"

Turning from the magi in general to the figure whom the Greeks accepted as unquestionably the greatest individual in the class, one notes of Zoroaster first that very little obvious magic is attributed to him.[74] His pseudepigrapha are virtually free of it, except in the diluted sense that much of the work deals with the arcana of nature and how to manipulate them.[75] The earliest ascription of specifi-

[72] Here as a magian, rather than exclusively royal, practice; cf. HZ II 184; see also BCM I 78–80. For other references to the practice in Greco-Roman times see the index to this volume, s.v. *khvaētvadatha*.

[73] Other sources for the Greek image of the magi, their teaching and their practices, are assembled in BCM under the doctrinal fragments of "Zoroaster" (section "D", II 63–92); see also Clemen, Nachrichten; Benveniste, Persian Religion. As noted at the outset, it is important to remember that by and large what is reported by these sources does not overlap with the content of the pseudepigrapha. In other words, it is information about the supposed background of the supposed authors of the pseudepigrapha, not about what they actually wrote. On the "wisdom" of the magi, as an aspect of their piety, see also BCM I 93 f. (with notes).

[74] BCM I 149.

[75] Bidez and Cumont (I 147, n. 4) cite an interesting remark of Iamblichus the Neoplatonist (ap. schol. in Plato *Soph.* 216a, VI p. 250 Hermann) to the effect that nature herself "has been called a *magos* by some because of the sympathies and antipathies in nature". On this definition, those like Ps.-Zoroaster who explore and use those sympathies would be magicians too.

cally magical teaching to a text of "Zoroaster" is actually medieval: Cecco d'Ascoli (14th cent.) claims to quote Zoroaster *ad litteram* on the *climata*, which are powerful spirits set at the world's cardinal points and which may be invoked for divination with offerings of human flesh and blood.[76] In default of any extant fragments, the allusions to books of magic by Zoroaster in the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* (2nd cent. A.C. or later) and in Zacharias Scholasticus' *Life of Severus of Antioch* (6th cent.) are rightly treated with scepticism by Bidez and Cumont.[77] Of interest, however, are the comments of Zosimus (4th cent.) on the different prescriptions of Zoroaster and Hermes Trismegistus for encountering fate (*eimarmene*). "Zoroaster claims to avert (*apostrephesthai*) fate . . . through knowledge of all things above, boasting of the magic of corporeal speech (*mageia ensōmou phraseōs*)", while Hermes, whose way Zosimus implicitly endorses, recommends instead an acceptance of fate's buffetings in this mortal world and a flight to the divine and immaterial.[78] Unfortunately, we do not know to what work or works Zosimus refers, but his comments certainly capture the active and practical bias of Zoroaster's pseudepigrapha.

Of more concern, however, are the factors which established Zoroaster's reputation as an astrologer,[79] since it is above all as an astrological writer that he emerges from the preserved fragments of the pseudepigrapha. Here again, we are dealing with a Western image of the prophet, not with an internal Zoroastrian tradition, and still less with a historical reality. One must remember, too, that the pseudepigrapha themselves will have reinforced the image. Not only will astrological writings have been fathered on Zoroaster

[76] Fr. O 104.

[77] I 149 f. Ps.-Clement = fr. O 98, Zacharias = fr. O 103.

[78] Fr. O 99; see also Festugière, RHT I 44. "Magic of corporeal speech" seems to refer to the manipulation of letter symbolism, such as the correspondence of vowels and planets; see BCM, notes ad frag.

[79] Zoroaster as astrologer: BCM I 36; frs. B 7 (*Suda* s.v. *astronomia*: "The Babylonians first discovered this art through Zoroaster; among them was Ostanes too. They established that human fates from birth correspond to the movements of the heavens. The Egyptians and Greeks received the art from the Babylonians"); B 21 (Ammianus Marcellinus XXIII.6.33: " . . . and on their [i.e. the Brahmans'] instruction mastered the principles of the motions of the universe and the stars"); B 33a (Pompeius Trogus ap. Justin *Hist. Philipp.* I.1.9: " . . . who is said to have first discovered the magical arts and the principles of the universe and to have diligently observed the motions of the stars"); B 51 (Malalas, etc.: " . . . the notorious Persian astronomer . . ."). See also below on Zoroaster as a Chaldean; also the tradition that Zoroaster foretold the appearance and significance of the "star of Bethlehem": above, p. 450. It was of course the story of the star and the visit of the magi to the nativity (Mt. 2:1–11) that firmly established the magi and their prophet Zoroaster in Christian tradition as astrologers. Medieval sources routinely describe Zoroaster as the founder of astrology, as of magic.

because Zoroaster was thought to have been an astrologer, but Zoroaster's status as an astrologer will have been confirmed by the writings attributed to him.[80]

One factor was a chance coincidence of name. As part of the arcane network of correspondences, the Greeks were ever on the lookout for the hidden significances and "real" meanings of words. Usually, their ingenuity in finding them was exceeded only by the absurdity and groundlessness of the proposed etymologies. The element *-astr-* in *Zōroastrēs*, which of course is no more than the standard Greek rendering of the prophet's name, evoked the common word for star, *astron* or *astēr*. Relatively early, then, *Zoroastres* is taken to signify "star-worshipper" (*astrothytēs*: lit. "star-sacrificer") and the person is believed to exemplify the activity implicit in his name.[81] A later and more elaborate etymology, by adding in the initial element *Zō-*, saw in Zoroaster the "*living* star" and a story emerged deriving an appropriate fate therefrom: Zoroaster died smitten by the living (*zō-*) flux (*-ro-*) of fire from the star (*-astr-*) which he himself had invoked or which, in a hostile version, so acted in revenge for the constraints under which the sorcerer-astrologer had placed it.[82] With such a name, it is scarcely surprising that astrological writing would gravitate to the person of Zoroaster.

A second and more serious factor was the tradition that makes of Zoroaster a "Chaldean".[83] Although for the most part the Greeks

[80] In view of the relative lateness of the sources that describe him as an astrologer (see preceding note—no source predates the earliest layers of the astrological pseudepigrapha), it is indeed probable that Zoroaster's reputation followed from his supposed writings quite as much as did his writings from his reputation. It is perhaps as a consequence of the astrological character of the book *On Nature*, to which he appears to allude, that Porphyry places Zoroaster among the Chaldeans in Babylon: *Vita Pythag.* 12 = BCM fr. B 27 (see n. 3 ad frag.; also I 109 f.).

[81] Dinon and Hermodorus (both 4th cent. B.C.) ap. Diog. Laert. prooem. 8 (=BCM fr. D 2, II 67 lines 24–6). Cf. also above, p. 368.

[82] For the etymology, Ps.-Clement *Homilies* IX.3, II 242C Migne (= BCM fr. B 45, II 50 col. b ad fin.); for the story, BCM fr. B 45 (Ps.-Clem. *Recognitions* and *Homilies*) and 51a–f (Malalas, etc.); Ps.-Clement is the more hostile source, while Malalas *et al.* have Zoroaster himself call down the celestial fire as the consummation of his life. The stories show a conflation of Zoroaster with Nimrod (see above, pp. 437–8): hence the star invoked is Orion, the catasterism of the giant hunter who is Nimrod's Western equivalent.

[83] BCM I 33–8. Bidez and Cumont demonstrate (i) that a Pythagorean tradition that the master had studied under Zoroaster was partly responsible for locating Zoroaster in Babylon as the site of the encounter of the two sages (cf. above, p. 368); and (ii) that it is from a Semitic form of the prophet's name, associated particularly with this "Chaldean" Zoroaster, that his alternate Greek name, Zaratas (vel sim.), descends. (Zaratas occasionally takes on a life of his own

readily distinguished the magi of Iran from the Chaldeans of Babylon, there was a tendency among the less well-informed to conflate these learned eastern priestly cultures, especially since the two met and mingled in Babylon following the conquest of Cyrus.[84] Since the Chaldeans were both in fact and reputation formidable astrologers, once Zoroaster is located in Babylon, he too becomes an astrologer.

It was argued by Bidez and Cumont that more than just the setting of Zoroaster's name on the astrological pseudepigrapha stemmed from the cultural interaction of magi and Chaldeans.[85] Their theory was that the Iranian religion, or at least a branch of it, acquired from the Chaldeans in Babylon an astrological coloration and sophistication to its cosmology. It was from this branch that the Magusaeans of Syria and Anatolia descended, and it was they, suitably hellenized, who produced the pseudepigrapha in which astrology is so prominent. The image of Zoroaster as astrologer thus echoes a partial truth: his heirs were astrologers, though he most certainly was not, and they acquired their learning in Babylon where he himself was said by some to have lived and taught as a Chaldean. Elegant and persuasive though this scenario is, it fails on the manifest absence of a peculiarly Chaldean quality to the astrology of the pseudepigrapha, which is by and large indistinguishable from the mass of Greek astrological writing.[86] As we shall see, the traces of Babylon—or Anatolia—are minor and somewhat hypothetical. The authors of Zoroaster's astrological pseudepigrapha, and for the most part their sources too, are best seen as

as a separate individual.) The principal sources that describe Zoroaster/Zaratas as a Chaldean or as the first instructor of the Chaldeans and the founder of their art are: frs. B 27 (Porphyry *Life of Pythagoras* 12: " . . . in Babylon he [Pythagoras] associated with the other Chaldeans and joined Zaratas, by whom he was purified . . . and instructed . . ."); O 85 (Lydus *On the Months* II.4: " . . . the Chaldeans in the circle of Zoroaster and Hystaspes and the Egyptians organized the days into the week from the number of the planets . . ."); B 30 (Lucian *Mennipus* 6: " . . . I decided to go to Babylon and to ask one of the magi, Zoroaster's disciples and successors . . ."); B 26a (Alexander Polyhistor ap. Clement *Strom.* I.15: " . . . Pythagoras was a pupil of Zaratos the Assyrian . . ."); B 21 (Ammianus Marcellinus XXIII.6.32: " . . . much of this learning [sc. magian religion] Zoroaster the Bactrian added from the secrets [*arcana*] of the Chaldeans"); B 7 (*Suda*—see above, n. 79—that the Babylonians learnt astrology from Zoroaster); B 25a (Diodorus of Eretria and Aristoxenus ap. Hippolytus *Ref.* VI.23.2, p. 149.29 Wendland: that Pythagoras went to "Zaratas the Chaldean"). On Aristoxenus' testimony see the article by P. Kingsley, cited above, p. 368 ff. with n. 22.

[84] BCM I 33–6.

[85] Ibid.

[86] W. and H. G. Gundel, Astrologumena, 60–6. The Gundels favour, if anything, an Egyptian provenance.

astrologers in the burgeoning Greek tradition who expropriated Zoroaster's name because Zoroaster, the "living star", was a "known" Chaldean and hence manifestly an astrologer. The authority of the puissant and exotic name was all that was required.

Before turning finally to the actual pseudepigraphic works, one should attempt a very brief sketch of the Greek image of Zoroaster in its totality, such as it would have been present, in whole or part, in the minds of the works' original readers.[87] At the heart of that image was the one element that was essentially true: that Zoroaster was the prophet and founder of the religion of the Iranian peoples. The rest was mostly fantasy. He was set in the vastly ancient past, 5000 years before the Trojan War or 6000 before either Xerxes or Plato,[88] a dating which does not seem to have been found incompatible with the tradition that he instructed Pythagoras in historic times![89] He is variously located: one tradition makes him a king in Bactria who waged unsuccessful war with the mythical Ninus and Semiramis of Babylon,[90] and we have noted that in another he becomes a Chaldean or teacher of the Chaldeans. His life is that of the typical Neopythagorean sage: a mission to teach and preach preceded by a period of silence and ascetic withdrawal.[91] As Pythagoras' reputed master, his wisdom was thought to have entered the mainstream of Greek philosophy according to the familiar pattern by which Greece learnt from the sages of older oriental cultures—sages who were in fact largely her own creations. As has been emphasized, Zoroaster was also deemed the founder of both magic and astrology, though somewhat eclipsed in the former by his successor Ostanes. He was equated also with Jewish and Biblical figures: Seth, Nimrod, Ezekiel, Balaam, Baruch,[92] but enters the Middle Ages predominantly as a sinister magician.[93]

The starting point for considering Zoroaster's Greek pseudepigrapha is the testimony of the elder Pliny on Hermippus, "who wrote most diligently about this art (sc. magic) in its entirety and

[87] Within the space of a paragraph it is impossible to disentangle the image's chronological development. The whole subject is in any case well and exhaustively treated in BCM (1 5–55).

[88] To the nearest millennium, these 3 dates are essentially the same. They are given by Diogenes Laertius prooem. 2, citing Hermodorus and Xanthus the Lydian (fr. B 1a, lines 13–18, with nn. 2–4), by Plutarch *On Isis* 46 (fr. B 1c), and by Pliny *NH* XXX.2.3, citing Eudoxus and Aristotle (fr. B 2, with n. 5)

[89] See n. 83, above, and BCM I 32–4; and cf. above, p. 440.

[90] BCM I 8–10; the tradition probably derives from Ctesias.

[91] Ib., pp. 25–8. An illuminating description of Zoroaster's retreat and mission in Dio *Or.* XXXVI.40 f. (= BCM fr. O 8) is quoted below, n. 158.

[92] Ib., pp. 42–50; see also above, p. 436 ff.

[93] Ib., p. 55.

commented on the two million lines composed by Zoroaster, listing the contents of his (i.e. Zoroaster's) volumes" (*qui de tota ea arte diligentissime scripsit, et viciens centum milia versuum a Zoroastre condita, indicibus quoque voluminum eius positis, explanavit*).[94] Hermippus was active in Alexandria in about 200 B.C., and we assume that the works of Zoroaster on which he commented were those collected in the great library there. Within the first century of the Hellenistic age, then, an enormous quantity of writing had been fabricated and circulated in Zoroaster's name. That it was the product, essentially, of the third century is suggested by the silence of earlier authorities of the classical age about the existence of any such corpus.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to assess the extent of overlap between Hermippus' collection and the material still extant under Zoroaster's name or the works whose titles are known. It should not, however, be assumed from Pliny's context that the collection was magical. Hermippus' own work, to which Pliny refers, was entitled *Peri magōn*, and will have covered the learning of the Eastern magi (as reconstructed in the West), not the arts of home-grown magicians. In broad terms, one may suppose the contents of "Zoroaster's" works, on which Hermippus commented, to have been similar—a medley of contemporary wisdom judged compatible, by standards then current, with that remote and alien source. Its astrology, if such it contained, will have been quite crude in comparison with that of the extant pseudepigrapha, since the art in the third century was still in its infancy. Bidez and Cumont are surely right in construing *versuum* as lines of text rather than "verses" in the sense of lines of poetry.[95] Although the collection may perhaps have contained some verse material, it is most unlikely to have consisted exclusively of a single didactic poem of the monstrous length implied—or even of several shorter pieces of that nature—since, apart from the poem *On the Virtues of Stones* (see below), no trace of an extensive verse corpus attributed to Zoroaster is attested. Whatever the content and form, the two million lines, on the estimate of Bidez and Cumont,[96] will have filled some 800 standard papyrus rolls—a formidable collection by any measure. But if the numbers were systematically rounded upwards, the grand total may be something of an exaggeration, and the collection may well have included duplicates or variants of some of the same works.

[94] *NH* XXX.2.4 = fr. B2. See also BCM I 85–8; and on Hermippus, above, p. 508.
[95] BCM I 86 f.
[96] Ib., p. 87.

There is also the disagreeable possibility that some, perhaps much, of the collection consisted of simple forgeries made for profit. We know from Galen (2nd cent. A.C.) and from a sixth-century commentator on Aristotle that competition for prestigious acquisitions among well-endowed royal libraries, particularly the Alexandrian one founded by Ptolemy II Philadelphus, created a lively market for the manuscripts of famous and ancient authors; furthermore, that the unscrupulous and the greedy satisfied that market by fabricating what was not otherwise and genuinely available.[97] This, says Galen, was the origin of much of the spurious literature still in circulation in his day. It cannot of course be proved, but it seems not unlikely that Zoroaster, bearing as fabled and antique a name as one might wish, and with the advantage moreover of never having written any real books against which to test the false, would have been an ideal author for the inventions of these entrepreneurs of the book trade. How many of those 800 or so rolls of Zoroaster in the Alexandrian collection, one wonders, were made to order, as it were, for a quick drachma? And might the same be true of parts of the pseudepigrapha known to us by title or in fragments? It is an uncomfortable possibility, which is generally overlooked. Critics for the most part assume that the motive behind pseudepigraphy in fields such as the "Zoroastrian" was, at its best, a genuine sense of working so closely in the master's tradition that the use of his name was substantially accurate, or, at worst, merely the expropriation of a famous name to give weight to one's own propositions, sincerely held. In either case the integrity of the actual author *vis-à-vis* his composition is not in question.[98] By and large, this assumption underlies the present excursus. But given the evidence on the activities and incentives of forgers, the possibility must also be kept in mind that some part of Zoroaster's pseudepigrapha could have been composed by those without the slightest conviction in its contents and solely for financial gain. Perhaps, though, in the end it makes little difference: however sordid and artificial its origin, the

[97] Galen *In Hipp. de nat. hominis* I.42; *Commentaria in Aristotelem graeca*, ed. A. Busse, XVIII, 1, Berlin, 1900, 128, ll. 5–9. See B. M. Metzger, "Literary Forgeries and Canonical Pseudepigrapha," JBL 91, 1972, 3–24, at 5 f.; the article is an excellent general study of pseudepigraphy and its motives. Galen was himself the victim of forgers, so much so that he felt compelled to protect himself by writing a bibliographic essay entitled *On His Own Books*!
[98] Momigliano, although he uses the harsh term "forgeries" and rightly questions the consequences for a civilization of "being fed" on such a diet, does not doubt the essential sincerity of the pseudepigraphers' motivation: they believed in what they wrote, although they culpably manipulated its provenance—and paid the price in their own self-deception (Alien Wisdom, 144–8).

work is the work, and it acquires its authenticity as it is accepted in, and passes down, the tradition.

Three works of "Zoroaster" in the tradition of Hellenistic learning are known to us by title,[99] two major, one minor. The major works are the treatise *On Nature* (*Peri physeōs*) and the *Asteroskopika* or *Apotelesmatika*, variant titles both indicating a work of technical astrology and meaning respectively "star observations" and "results (sc. of astrological predictions)".[100] *On Nature* ran to four "books" or volumes (i.e. papyrus rolls), the *Apotelesmatika* to five. The minor work was entitled *On the Virtues of Stones* (*Peri lithōn timiōn*) and was contained in a single volume. It was a lapidary, detailing the medical and magical properties of minerals. On the basis of Pliny's use of the phrase *Zoroastrem cecinisse* (". . . that Zoroaster *sang* . . ."), Bidez and Cumont concluded that it was composed in verse.[101]

Most of the fragments of "Zoroaster" are grouped by Bidez and Cumont under one or other of these three works. That is not because the fragments themselves all explicitly indicate their provenance—very few of them do—but rather as an organizing principle based on their subject matter. Many of them, in fact, may come from other works of "Zoroaster" whose titles have perished. And even for those which actually do belong to one or other of the named trio, one must not assume that they were all parts of a fixed text definitively composed by a single author at a certain date. These are works of learning that typically *accrete*; new material is added as the "science" advances.[102] This process is most tellingly revealed in the two versions of the opening of *On Nature*, to be discussed next.

Of the three named works, *On Nature* is the most interesting, both for its more varied content and its frame narrative. The latter we have already noted: how the work took over the *mise en scène* of Plato's "Myth of Er" from the *Republic*, substituting Zoroaster's

[99] The title and number of volumes in each work are given in the *Suda* s.v. *Zoroastres* (= BCM fr. O 5); in addition, Proclus *In Remp.* II p. 109.7 Kroll (= fr. O 13, l. 6 f.) attests the 4 volumes of *On Nature*.

[100] On whether *Asteroskopika* and *Apotelesmatika* are alternative titles for the same work or denote 2 separate but very similar works, the former of one (?) book and the latter of five, see BCM I 134; W. and H. G. Gundel, Astrologumena, 63.

[101] BCM I 128; Pliny *NH* XXXVII.49.133 = fr. O 55; *cano* (lit. "sing") is regularly used to mean "write in poetry about . . .".

[102] Galen (above, n. 97) protested against this sort of unscrupulous modification of his own medical writings. For an egregious, and very late, addition to "Zoroaster's" astrological works, see below, n. 145, on the second horoscope in fr. O 94.

name for that of the original hero, Er.[103] The material of *On Nature* is accordingly presented as truths revealed by the gods to Zoroaster who has assumed Er's parentage, nationality and fate, on a visit to the underworld after he had died—or apparently died—in battle: "These things I wrote, I, Zoroaster son of Armenios, a Pamphylian by race, who died in war, whatever I learnt from the gods while I was in Hades". This is the opening that Clement of Alexandria reports at the end of the second century A.C. Proclus, in the fifth, knows a significant addition: ". . . and whatever (sc. I learnt) from other enquiries".[104] It seems likely that in the interval *On Nature* had acquired what could no longer plausibly be assigned to divine revelation in the one infernal visit. One should not, however, cynically infer from this that the opening sentence was the total extent of the narrative frame, a few borrowed words prefixed in a careless bid for the authority of revelation. Proclus also furnishes the detail that in the middle of the work Zoroaster converses with "Cyrus the king" ("though which Cyrus isn't clear").[105] Some attempt, then, was made to carry the narrative through into the body of the work.

Colotes, an Epicurean philosopher of the mid third century B.C., charged that the plagiarism of the Myth of Er flowed in the other direction: that it was Plato who had substituted Er's name for Zoroaster's.[106] The natural inference from this is that Colotes knew, or knew of, the pseudepigraphic treatise *On Nature* and mistook the derivative ("Zoroaster's") for the original (Plato's)—wilfully, perhaps, in sectarian zeal. If that is so, then *On Nature*, or a version of it, was in existence by the middle of the third century B.C.[107] Otherwise, it is not until well into the Christian era that dated authors attest *On Nature*. Clement, as we have just seen, in c. 200 records the work's opening sentence; and Porphyry late in the third century, in writing on the life of Pythagoras, has that sage "listen to the discourse (sc. of Zaratos = Zoroaster) about nature (*ton peri physeōs logon*)",[108] a good indication that he both knew *On Nature* and—surprisingly for one of antiquity's few literary sceptics—accepted it as genuinely Zoroaster's. The only other indication of the work's date is in the relative crudeness of its astrology, which

[103] Above, p. 518 with n. 63.

[104] Fr. O 13, l. 10 f.

[105] Ib., l. 11 f.

[106] Ib., ll. 2–6.

[107] BCM I 111.

[108] *Life of Pythagoras* 12 = BCM fr. B 27.

sets it perhaps as early as the mid third century B.C.[109], in harmony with Colotes' testimony. Proclus, in relating it to Plato's *Republic* notes the highly relevant detail that *On Nature's* planetary order places the sun in middle position, which is the Hellenistic norm, while Plato has of course his own earlier scheme setting the sun in second place immediately above the moon.[110]

And what of the substance and contents of *On Nature*? About this we know only two facts with certainty, both communicated by Proclus: first that its "volumes were crammed with astrological speculations"; and secondly that "of those things spoken about, only Necessity (*Anankē*) was mentioned by (proper?) name, and she, he (i.e. "Zoroaster") says, is the air".[111] From the latter we can at least infer that *On Nature*, whatever more practical information it may also have purveyed, covered cosmology at a fairly rarefied level. The identification of the air with Necessity may also furnish the first of several conceivable links with real Zoroastrianism that we shall find scattered here and there in the pseudepigrapha, since in Zoroastrianism the wind god Vayu is also the *yazata* of the breath of life and thus, by his coming and departure, the determinant of human fate, i.e. of its Necessity, as a Greek might term it.[112]

On Proclus' warrant concerning *On Nature's* contents, Bidez and Cumont assigned to it some substantial astrological fragments excerpted from Proclus himself and from Cassianus Bassus, a sixth-century author taken up into the Byzantine agricultural compilation, the *Geoponica*. These two writers attribute the excerpts to "Zoroaster", but not explicitly to *On Nature*. Since more than one astrological work was compiled under Zoroaster's name, the ultimate provenance of these fragments must remain an open question. The following are the more important ones (the first two from Proclus, the others from the *Geoponica*): O 14, on the positions of sun and moon at conception and birth for seven-month children; O 15a, the same, for both seven- and nine-month children; O 39, a table, necessarily very approximate, of the times of moonrise and moonset for the thirty days of a lunation, useful on the assumption that some agricultural tasks are best done when the moon is above

[109] W. and H. G. Gundel, Astrologumena, Zeittafel, p. 378, place the "original material" (*Grundstock*) of Ps.-Zoroaster some time after 250 B.C.
[110] Fr. O 13, ll. 19–22.
[111] Ib., ll. 12–15.
[112] See n. 3 ad frag. (BCM II 160); HZ I 79 f., II 238 f. W. and H. G. Gundel, however, trace the idea and equation to Egypt and the sky goddess Nut: Astrologumena, 62 f., n. 4. One must remember, too, that Necessity figures in the original Myth of Er: the "spindle of Necessity", set on her knee, is the axis on which the universe turns (*Republic* 616 f.).

the horizon, others when it is below; O 40, prognoses for the year based on the sign of the zodiac occupied by the moon at the heliacal rising of Sirius on July 20th;[113] O 41, the same, based on the first thunder heard after the rising of Sirius; O 42, a *dōdekaëtēris* of Jupiter, i.e. prognoses from the sign of the zodiac occupied by Jupiter in each of the twelve years of its period of revolution; O 43, a prognosis for crops by planting a miniature garden shortly before the rising of Sirius and observing the relative growth of different species—those plants which Sirius blasts will of course not do as well.

Of this strange and technical farrago—one wonders, did "Zoroaster" really need to descend to the underworld to obtain it from the gods?—W. and H. G. Gundel remarked that it differs little from the general run of Hellenistic astrological material of its type.[114] Nevertheless, there are touches, as Bidez and Cumont contended,[115] which do perhaps point to a provenance in Babylon, Anatolia, Syria, or even Iran—not for the work itself, but for the antecedents of some of the information variously conveyed in its fragments. First, thunder omens (O 41) are particularly a feature of Babylonian celestial divination. Secondly, the miniature test garden (O 43) belongs originally to eastern Mediterranean religious ritual rather than to astrology: it is a type of "Adonis garden", planted in honour of that dying god or hero, and arguably Syrian in provenance.[116] Third and most important, Sirius, which figures prominently in three of the fragments (O 40, 41, 43), while equally important in Egyptian astronomy, where its rising marks the start of the "Sothis" year, was carefully observed in Babylon, Iran and, perhaps, Anatolia.[117] In Iran, Sirius was the star of Tištrya, the *yazata* who annually fights the drought-demon to recover the life-giving waters.[118] Bidez and Cumont justly cite from the *yašt* to Tištrya lines which prefigure, from an un-astrological age and culture, the predictive approach realized in a very different and

[113] The "heliacal rising" is a star's first visibility; it occurs each year on the date on which the star can first be seen to rise above the eastern horizon ahead of the sun in the pre-dawn twilight (on previous days it has been too close to the sun to be observed at all).
[114] Astrologumena, 63.
[115] BCM I 122–6.
[116] Ib., p. 126 and II 188 (n. to fr. O 43); see, in general, M. Detienne, The Gardens of Adonis, tr. J. Lloyd, Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1977.
[117] On the use of Sirius risings in Babylonian astronomy see O. Neugebauer, A history of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy, Berlin and New York 1975, I 363–5, 542 f.
[118] HZ I 74–8, II 204–6; BCM I 124 f.

technical format in the Sirius fragments of Ps.-Zoroaster:[119] "We worship Tištrya . . . rising with a good year for the land or a bad year. When will the Aryan lands have a good year?" Plutarch reports of "Persian" theology the belief that Hōromasdēs had "established one star beyond all as the guardian and "foreseer" (*proöptes*), Sirius".[120] Finally, Manilius in his astrological poem of the early first century A.C. speaks of those "who observe its . . . [heliacal] rising from the high summit of Taurus" and predict therefrom the weather, the harvests, and the issues of peace and war.[121] Taurus is the great mountain range of Cilicia. If Manilius is referring to actual astrological practices in that part of the world, the practitioners could well have been Magusaeans, analogous to those who there formulated the horoscope of the cult of Antiochus of Commagene a century earlier, and caused it to be displayed on the magnificent lion monument on the summit of Nimrud Dagh.[122] One must, though, be cautious: the allusion to Taurus may equally well be just Manilius' poetical compliment to his Cilician predecessor, Aratus.[123]

Bidez and Cumont also assign to *On Nature* (as frs. O 16–23) the plant names which are found attributed to Zoroaster at various points in the botanical works of Pseudo-Apuleius and of Dioscorides, the latter in the interpolated parts (i.e. Ps.-Dioscorides).[124] Pamphilos of Alexandria, who composed a botanical lexicon in the first century A.C., is the postulated intermediary. Also as possible fragments from *On Nature* Bidez and Cumont set out a selection of magical prescriptions on the nature, collection, preparation and use of certain plants ascribed by Pliny, not to any particular author, but to the magi collectively (frs. O 24–36).[125] The postulated intermediary of this group of fragments is an author of the early second century B.C., Bolos of Mendes (in Egypt), who ascribed his writings to Democritus, probably because he drew *inter alia* on material falsely attributed to that eminent fifth-century philosopher.[126] Clearly, we are here far from anything that can with

[119] BCM I 125, n. 7; Yt. 8.36.
[120] *De Iside* 47; cf. above, p. 458.
[121] *Astronomica* I.401–11.
[122] Above, p. 323–4.
[123] Note ad loc. in G. P. Goold, ed., Cambridge (Mass.) and London 1977, 37.
[124] BCM I 116.
[125] Ib., pp. 117–20; one assumes, with Bidez and Cumont, that Pliny means "magi" rather than "magicians".
[126] The classic work on Bolos is M. Wellmann, Die Physika des Bolos Demokritos und der Magier Anaxilaos aus Larissa, Abh. der Preussischen Akad. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., 1928, no. 7. Bolos is of equal or greater importance as the medium of transmission for "Ostanes": see below, p. 560 ff.

confidence be ascribed to "Zoroaster's" *On Nature*, but Bidez and Cumont were not irresponsible in their attributions, in that if *On Nature* did not contain these actual nomenclatures and recipes, it will have contained material of much the same sort. The sample, then, is true to the character of *On Nature*, if not to its precise contents. There is no reason to deny, moreover, that ultimately *some* of the material goes back to real magian sources and magian lore, given Zoroastrianism's traditional concern with helpful plants as parts of the good creation of Ahura Mazda and potential allies in the fight against the evil counter-order of Anra Mainyu and the daevas.[127] To give the flavour of the material, I translate one of the fragments from Pliny:[128] "The magi are obsessed with (lit. "crazy about"—*insaniunt circa*) this plant (sc. *verbenaca*). Smeared with it, they gain whatever they want in prayer, they drive out fevers, they cement friendships, and there isn't an illness they don't cure. It has to be gathered at the rising of the Dog (i.e. the constellation of which Sirius is the brightest star), when neither sun nor moon can see it (i.e. when both are below the horizon), with beans and honey first offered as an expiation to the earth; it must be marked round with iron, dug out with the left hand and lifted clear; it must be dried in the shade with its leaves, stalk and roots separate. They say that if a dining-room is sprinkled with water in which it has been steeped, the parties will be jollier. It is ground up as a charm against snakes . . .".

The lapidary of "Zoroaster" *On the Virtues of Stones* appears to have been for minerals what the botanical part of *On Nature* was for plants. The work itself is nowhere explicitly cited, but Bidez and Cumont again assume that anything attributed to Zoroaster concerning stones and their magical and medical uses had its origin there (frs. O 55–61, mostly from Pliny). Likewise, they print under the same heading Plinian, and certain other, material on stones attributed simply to the magi, on the supposition that Ps.-Zoroaster's *On the Virtues of Stones* was its ultimate source (frs. O 62–75).[129] As with the botany of *On Nature*, one need not doubt that elements of genuine magian lore lurk behind some of the informa-

[127] BCM I 114 f.
[128] Fr. O 34 = Pliny *NH* XXV.59.106 f.
[129] On the work's postulated transmission see BCM I 128–30. It is paralleled by another "magian" lapidary, perhaps derived from "Zoroaster's" or perhaps from a common source, that of "Damigeron", known in a late Latin translation: text in R. Halleux and J. Schamp, edd. and tr., Les lapidaires grecs, Paris 1985 (see also their introduction, pp. xxii–vii; they are more sceptical than Bidez and Cumont about the role of Bolos in the transmission).

tion, whether or not it was all channelled through the single titled work. The inference that that work was therefore a Magusaean composition is however entirely unjustified.

With the *Apotelesmatika* (or *Asteroskopika*) we return exclusively to astrology. Again, none of the fragments grouped by Bidez and Cumont under this heading explicitly carries the title in either form—merely the attribution to Zoroaster[130]—so there can be no guarantee that they all actually come from this work, although its compendious nature as a large technical handbook that was doubtless augmented over the centuries makes it likely that several of them do.[131] The contents and provenance of the major fragments are as follows: O 79, from "Palchus",[132] a very substantial excerpt on the receipt of letters: the position of the heavens at the moment of receipt indicates the content of a letter, its veracity, the likelihood of its fulfilment, and the character, motives, etc., of the sender and the courier; O 80, also from "Palchus", a long excerpt on setting out on voyages: predictions based on the position of the moon relative to the five planets proper (i.e., the sun not included); O 81, ibid., on the outbreak of war, predicted from the positions of Mars; O 83, from the late second-century astrologer Vettius Valens, a calculation of the maximum length of life allotted by the moon; O 88–95, excerpts from Abenragel,[133] an eleventh-century Arabic astrologer, of which the most important are O 88 f., on determining

[130] In one instance, O 80, even the assignment to Zoroaster is justified not by explicit attribution but by the close relationship to the preceding fragment within the context of the host author.

[131] One is left, moreover, with some residual concern about the lack of explicit criteria in BCM for the distribution of the astrological fragments between *On Nature* and the *Apotelesmatika*. And the sense in which passages which were probably fitted in many centuries later can be said to belong to the original work is surely a very tenuous one.

[132] Palchus used to be thought an astrologer of the early 6th century. In fact his name, which transliterates the Arabic al-Balkhī ("he from Balkh"), was first imposed on a Byzantine astrological compendium by Eleutherius Elias Zebelenus in the late 14th cent.: D. Pingree, "Classical and Byzantine Astrology in Sassanian Persia", Dumbarton Oaks Papers (forthcoming). Much of the material ascribed to Palchus is of course considerably earlier. The Zoroaster fragments also appear in Theophilus the Philosopher (8th cent.), and likely have an earlier lineage back through Sasanian astrology, perhaps ultimately to Hellenistic Greek (Pingree, ib.). It is possible that the ascription to Zoroaster entered at the Sasanian stage (see below).

[133] Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjal: on whom, D. Pingree, EI, 1971 ed., s.v. For the excerpts from Abenragel, Bidez and Cumont were dependent on V. Stegemann, who was in the process of publishing them separately: "Astrologische Zarathustra-Fragmente bei dem arabischen Astrologen Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī i. abī 'r-Riǧāl (II. Jhdt.)", Orientalia 6, 1937, 317–86. These excerpts have since been traced to an Arabic translation of a Sasanian astrological text, the *Kitāb al-mawālīd*, ascribed to Zaradušt: Pingree, o.c. On the implications, see below.

the circumstances in which the sun and other planets function in a horoscope as *haylāj* and *kadhkhudāh*,[134] and O 94, the horoscope of two individuals who died, or appeared to die, but then came back to life. This material, varied though it is, all exemplifies standard technical astrology, whether of the genethlialogical type (i.e., that concerned with the making and interpretation of individual natal horoscopes) or of the catarchic type (i.e., that concerned with favourable and unfavourable circumstances for activities and new initiatives). An extremely late source, Cecco d'Ascoli (died 1327), reports—indeed, claims to quote from Zoroaster *ad litteram*[135] —something less narrowly practical: O 96, a doctrine of four great ages of 12,000 years each, ruled successively by the quadrants of the eighth sphere, i.e. the sphere of the fixed stars, and marked by the emergence of semi-divine men who change the world order, abolishing the old laws and bringing in new.

In all this varied astrological material—the tip, one assumes, of a very much larger mass—there is nothing suggestive of a genesis earlier than the second century B.C. and much that is indicative of the developed astrology of the first century B.C. or later—in some instances very much later. The earliest host source (as so often) is Pliny in the first century A.C. In the same passage that carries an astrological datum of "Zoroaster", Pliny cites as another authority one Attius, apparently in a book named after an earlier author Praxidicus.[136] Praxidicus, as we know from Theophilus of Edessa, drew on "Zoroaster".[137] Thus, at least two generations of writers intervene between Pliny and the astrological work of Ps.-Zoroaster, or some portion of it.[138] This Ps.-Zoroaster, then, cannot be later than the first century B.C. Another indication of date, though a very broad one, and a detail of great interest in itself, is Ps.-

[134] These terms are Arabic transliterations of Pahlavi *hilāg* and *kadag xwadāy*, which in turn translate Greek *aphetēs* ("starter") and *oikodespotēs* ("lord of the house"). The *aphetēs* and *oikodespotēs* are planets which occupy points of significance in a horoscope and from which the length of life and the planets which will rule the life's subdivisions are calculated. On this tangled astrological topic see Bouché-Leclercq, o.c. in n. 13, pp. 404–22.

[135] Cf., from the same source, the magical excerpt O 104 (above, p. 522).

[136] Fr. O 82b = *NH* XVIII.55.200; cf. fr. O 82a, in which both Zoroaster and Attius "who wrote *Praxidica*" are listed in the preface to *NH* XVIII as authors consulted. We know nothing further of either Attius or Praxidicus.

[137] Fr. O 81: see BCM II 225.

[138] BCM I 135 f. It is possible that another writer of the 1st cent. A.C., the influential astrological poet Dorotheus of Sidon, also drew on Ps.-Zoroaster: see BCM II 220 ad fr. O 80; the derivative—if such it is—passage from Dorotheus (V.25.1–12) may now be found in D. Pingree's edition: Dorotheus Sidonius, Carmen Astrologicum, Leipzig 1976, pp. 398 (the original Greek verses quoted by Hephaestion of Thebes) and 282 f. (an English translation of the Arabic text).

Zoroaster's use of an alternative nomenclature for the five planets.[139] This was a descriptive system, which avoided the personal and divine names, perhaps as being insufficiently "scientific": Saturn = *Phainōn*, the "shining"; Jupiter = *Phaëthōn*, the "brilliant"; Mars = *Pyröeis*, the "fiery"; Venus = *Phōsphoros*, the "light-bringer" (*qua* morning-star); Mercury = *Stilbōn*, the "twinkling". This nomenclature was very much a feature of the Hellenistic age and was current from about the middle of the third century B.C. to the early second century A.C. It was superseded by the recrudescence of the old divine names which are those used in most of the extant astrological texts (Ptolemy, Vettius Valens, etc.). The descriptive names were employed (together with a variant system of divine names) on the Nimrud Dagh lion horoscope (62 B.C.).[140] Its use both at Nimrud Dagh and in a text of Ps.-Zoroaster could conceivably be manifestations of a common Magusaean astrology, although the nomenclature was so widespread that its occurrence in Ps.-Zoroaster does not by itself indicate an Anatolian provenance for the material in question.[141]

There are elements in the material which do suggest Zoroastrian, or, more broadly, Iranian, sources as being among the many tributaries to the pool of "Zoroaster's" astrology. For the most part, though, these elements appear to be quite late. If so, as *supplements* to the corpus, they do not help to establish its creation in Magusaean circles. Much ancient astrology, in its transmission, passed through Sasanian Iran and the Pahlavi language *en route* from the Greeks to the Arabs.[142] Among others, the astrological writings of Ps.-Zoroaster appear to have undergone some accretion at this stage. Indeed, we now know that in part at least they were *re-created*. There exists, in an Arabic translation in two manuscripts, a Sasanian astrological treatise, the *Kitāb al-mawālīd*, which is

[139] BCM I 136–9. On this nomenclature see F. Cumont, "Les noms des planètes et l'astrolâtrie chez les Grecs", L'Antiquité Classique 4, 1935, 5–43, at pp. 19–32.

[140] Above, p. 323. 3 planets are named: *Phaëthōn Dios* (i.e. of Zeus) = Jupiter, *Stilbōn Apollōnos* = Mercury, *Pyröeis Hērakleous* = Mars.

[141] Bidez and Cumont are not convincing when they assert that the use of this system "creates a very strong presumption that the five books of the *Apotelesmatika* were composed in the kingdom of the Seleucids" (I 139).

[142] D. Pingree, "Astrology", Enc. Brit., 15th ed., Macropaedia, vol. 2, 222; id., "Astronomy and Astrology in India and Iran", Isis 54, 1963, 229–46, at p. 240 ff.; id., art. cit. in n. 132 (above). The line of descent (Greece to Iran to the Arabs) can readily be observed in Dorotheus of Sidon: see Pingree's edition (above, n. 138). On Sasanian astrology in general, see id., "Astrology and Astronomy in Iran", EIr II 858–71, at pp. 862–8. Sasanian astrology also incorporates a stream from India (itself in part derived from the Greeks!). The eventual mixture is returned, via the Arabs, to Byzantium and, eventually, Western Europe.

ascribed to Zardušt, i.e. to Zoroaster himself.[143] It is from this treatise, ultimately, that the Abenragel fragments (O 88–95) were excerpted. In a fictitious autobiography within the treatise, "Zardušt" claims to have studied astrology and magie under one Iliyūs (= Aelius) in Harran, a city on the eastern marches of Syria and a famed centre of star-worship. More significantly, the treatise contains the horoscope of a person who apparently died and came back to life again in the same city;[144] the horoscope is datable, through the planetary positions given, to 9 April 232 A.C.[145] An original of the third century composed in Harran is therefore likely.[146] The work would have been written in Greek, and it drew on Greek astrology for its matter.[147] It was subsequently translated into Pahlavi, undergoing revisions in the sixth and seventh centuries and finally translation into Arabic in the eighth.[148]

Did anything *already* ascribed to Zoroaster enter this process, or was the ascription imposed when the work itself took shape, perhaps by the Sasanian translator? As yet this question cannot be conclusively answered. It is true, as David Pingree has demonstrated,[149] that much, perhaps most, of "Zoroaster's" astrology was consolidated in Sasanian times and transmitted by Sasanian astrologers—a discovery which, ironically, returns it to the orbit of the magi, though at a much later date and in a very different environment from Bidez and Cumont's Magusaeans. Undoubtedly, too, much that had not originally been attributed to Zoroaster would at that stage have been credited to him. Nevertheless, the possibility that the original of the *Kitāb al-mawālīd* drew on material already associated with "Zoroaster" cannot be entirely excluded. One element in particular echoes a motif from elsewhere

[143] Pingree, o.c. in n. 132. I am deeply grateful to Professor Pingree for sending me a pre-publication typescript of this article and for comments on the genesis and transmission of the astrology attributed to Zoroaster.

[144] This is the first of the horoscopes in the Abenragel excerpt O 94 (BCM II 238).

[145] Pingree, o.c., n. 48. The second horoscope in the Abenragel excerpt (O 94, II 239) is an addition, perhaps by Abenragel himself or an immediate successor, since I find that the only date that fits its given planetary positions falls towards the end of his life or shortly beyond—25 September 1058! There could be few clearer examples of the way in which this sort of "scientific" material accretes for many centuries in the shadow of an authoritative pseudonym.

[146] Pingree, o.c.

[147] Ibid. Identifiable sources are Dorotheus, Vettius Valens and Hermes Trismegistus.

[148] Ibid.

[149] Ibid. Pingree postulates the same route for the transmission of the material which ends up, ascribed to Zoroaster, in "Palchus" (see above, n. 132), and tentatively also for that in the *Geoponica* (above, p. 530 f).

in Zoroaster's pseudepigrapha. The strange circumstance of the revenant's horoscope recalls the *mise en scène* of another of "Zoroaster's" works, the book *On Nature*, in which the prophet likewise appears to die but returns to life again. The revived "Zoroaster" was himself the purported author and narrator of *On Nature*; it is suggested that the revived subject of the horoscope in the *Kitāb al-mawālīd* was likewise, in the original, also its purported author.[150] If so, then the parallel is striking, and one is tempted to conclude that the Zardušt of the *Kitāb al-mawālīd* is not entirely a creation of the Sasanian redactors but was drawn in the original from the yet earlier "Zoroaster" of *On Nature*. Whether any of that "Zoroaster's" astrology rode in concurrently, one cannot tell, but it is not outside the bounds of possibility.

The excerpt of "Zoroaster" from the fourteenth-century author Cecco d'Ascoli (O 96), if it in fact has a pedigree of any antiquity, probably passed through, or originated in, Sasanian astrology in the same way as the Abenragel excerpts. A distinguishing feature of Sasanian astrology was its preoccupation with universal history and world ages.[151] Thus, it is much more probable that the doctrine of the four great epochs and their lawgivers which is the subject of the Cecco d'Ascoli excerpt entered Ps.-Zoroaster at that later stage than in Hellenistic times through the Magusaeans. The doctrine has, certainly, a Zurvanite flavour, but that is as characteristic of the later period, at least in its astrology, as of the earlier.[152]

[150] Pingree (o.c.), who suggests also that this original author may have been the "Aelius" who became (as "Iliyūs") the teacher of Zardušt in the Sasanian and Arabic recensions. I should prefer to see "Zoroaster" as the "author" (and the revenant) *ab initio*, just as he was in *On Nature*.

[151] Pingree, "Astrology" (cited in n. 142, above), 222; id., "Astronomy and Astrology in India and Iran" (cited ib.), 242 ff,; id., "Astrology and Astronomy in Iran" (cited ib.), 864 f., 867 f. An innovation of Sasanian astrology, perhaps the only real one, was the theory that "history is the unfolding of the influences of . . . Saturn-Jupiter conjunctions", the great cycle of which is the period of 960 years in which the conjunctions pass through all 4 triplicities of the signs of the zodiac (Pingree, "Astronomy . . .", 245; cf. id., "Historical Horoscopes", JAOS 82, 1962, 487–502, esp. p. 487 f.). This is the subject of the "Persian book attributed to 'Zardušt the philosopher'" which Bidez and Cumont report as their fr. O 97. On the grounds of the lateness of its Arabic vehicle, they reject it as spurious; and, indeed, in the sense that it does not seem to descend from a Hellenistic astrological "Zoroaster", it probably is. Arguably, though, it is a product of Sasanian astrology and as such analogous to much else in Zoroaster's astrological pseudepigrapha.

[152] On the Zoroastrian world ages and their Zurvanite basis, see HZ II 234–7. In our excerpt the classic total of 12,000 years—a millennium for each sign of the zodiac—has been quadrupled: instead of 4 epochs of 3,000 years each, the individual quadrants rule for 12,000 years apiece. The quadrants, like the 4 *climata* in the other Cecco d'Ascoli excerpt (O 104: above, p. 522), are somewhat reminis-

There remains one datum in the corpus that is indisputably Zoroastrian. Lydus (6th century A.C.), in a section on the planets and the week which he attributes in a general way to "the Chaldeans around Zoroaster and Hystaspes and the Egyptians", says of Zoroaster, specifically and alone, that he placed the sun "before" the planets while the Greeks made it one of them.[153] This is rightly interpreted as an allusion to the old Iranian and Zoroastrian cosmological view that sees an ascending order from earth to the stars (fixed stars and planets undifferentiated), the moon, the sun, and finally heaven.[154] In this sense, the sun is "before" the stars as being higher than them, closer to the ultimate heaven. If this doctrine was expounded in the *Apotelesmatika* or some other astrological work of Ps.-Zoroaster, it will have sat in very uneasy juxtaposition with the standard Greek astronomical conception, there presupposed, which treats the sun as one of the planets and places it among them, usually in the middle position in order of distance from the earth.[155] It accords equally ill with the cosmology of *On Nature* in which we know for certain that the sun was placed in the middle of the planets.[156] This detail nicely confirms—if confirmation were needed—that there is no single, consistent "Zoroaster" behind the pseudepigrapha.

Hymns of the magi in Dio Chrysostom

Very different from the practical "science" which constitutes the bulk of Zoroaster's pseudepigrapha are the hymns of "Zoroaster and the children of the magi" which, at the end of the first century

cent of the 4 great stellar commanders of the 4 quarters of the heavens in the 2nd chapter of the *Bundahišn*: see Henning, art. cit. below in n. 155, p. 231; Pingree, "Astrology and Astronomy in Iran", 865 f. The contention of Bidez and Cumont (II 241 f.) that the passage dimly reflects some teaching on the precession of the equinoxes seems to me unfounded.

[153] *De mensibus* II.4, 6 = BCM fr. O 85.

[154] MH II 229 f. (n. 2 to fr. O 85). This is the route of celestial ascent taken in the *Book of Arda Viraz*: above, p. 430. The Iranian order appears to have been known to the Greeks at a very early date; it underlies the cosmology of Anaximander in the 6th cent. B.C.: see HZ II 156.

[155] So, for example, in fr. O 83. Treating the sun and moon as planets, essentially on a par with the other five, is of course fundamental to the techniques of astrology. A similarly uncomfortable coexistence of the 2 systems may be seen in the *Bundahišn* (chs. II and V), where a younger "scientific" tradition, inherited from Greek (and Indian) astrology, jostles with the old orthodox cosmology: see W. B. Henning, "An Astronomical Chapter of the Bundahishn", JRAS, 1942, 229–48 (esp. pp. 230, 233, 239); D. N. Mackenzie, "Zoroastrian Astrology in the *Bundahišn*", BSOAS 27, 1964, 511–29.

[156] Above, p. 530.

A.C. or the beginning of the second, the wandering orator and philosopher, Dio of Prusa (Dio Chrysostom, the "golden-mouthed"), claims to be paraphrasing in his thirty-sixth *Oration*.[157] Though doctrinal in content—they are in fact cosmological allegories—Dio sets them firmly in a *liturgical* context. Thus, if at all genuine, they would be "Zoroastrian" in a far more integral and profound sense than any of the other pseudepigrapha could possibly be.

Dio describes these hymns, or rather the first of them, as a "remarkable myth" which "is sung by the magi in secret rites" (para. 39). In the myth, the supreme god, Zeus, of whose sovereignty over the universal community of gods and men Dio has just been speaking, is celebrated as the "first and perfect driver" of the chariot of the world (ibid.). What follows is an extended allegorical account of the horses of his cosmic team. Dio repeats the magian provenance of the myth and the hymn, contrasting Greek silence on the topic (39 f.): "but Zoroaster, and the children of the magi, having learned it from him, sing it" (40).[158] The hymn is further linked to cult practice by relating it to the team of Nisaean horses maintained in Zeus' honour by the magi, "among other things which they do in accordance with sacred utterances" (41).[159]

The myth tells how under the driver's skill and strength the universe courses in a single motion "ceaselessly over ceaseless

[157] *Or.* XXXVI (called the "Borysthenian" or "Olbian" from its dramatic setting in Olbia on the Black Sea at the mouth of the Borysthenes river) para. 39 to end = BCM fr. O 8 (and see I 91–7). The date of the speech is "ca. 98 or later" (C. P. Jones, The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom, Cambridge, Mass., 1978, 135).

[158] Dio then gives a brief excursus (40 f.) on Zoroaster and the magi. I reproduce it here because it encapsulates succinctly, elegantly, and in the most positive light the Western image of the magi and their prophet. "For the Persians say that Zoroaster, because of a passion for wisdom and justice, deserted his fellows and dwelt by himself on a certain mountain; and they say that thereupon the mountain caught fire, a mighty flame descending from the sky above, and that it burned unceasingly. So then the king and the most distinguished of his Persians drew near for the purpose of praying to the god; and Zoroaster came forth from the fire unscathed, and, showing himself gracious toward them, bade them to be of good cheer and to offer certain sacrifices in recognition of the god's having come to that place. And thereafter, so they say, Zoroaster has associated, not with them all, but only with such as are best endowed with regard to truth, and are best able to understand the god, men whom the Persians have named Magi, that is to say, people who know how to cultivate the divine power, not like the Greeks, who in their ignorance use the term to denote wizards" (trans. H. Lamar Crosby). See also above, p. 520 f. (on the magi) and p. 525 (on Zoroaster); on the retreat of Zoroaster, BCM I 25, II 143 n. 3.

[159] On the genuineness of this practice, see below.

cycles of time" (42). The laps of sun and moon, of which alone the Greeks sing, are mere parts of this integral common motion (39 f., 42) . Of the team of the cosmic chariot, the horse which is the strongest, most beautiful and swiftest (since it runs the outside track, highest in the heavens) is sacred to Zeus himself; it is fiery, with the brilliance of flame; it is the heavens themselves and all the bodies therein, stars, planets, sun and moon (43 f.). As "dearest to Zeus", it receives from the magi "the first sacrifices and honours" (45). The second horse, inferior and slower than the first, is sacred to Hera; it is the element of air (ibid.). The third, lower still, is Poseidon's, the element of water (46). Pegasus is its avatar. Lowest of all is the horse of Hestia, goddess of the hearth: this is the earth itself, immovable, yet harnessed to the team (ibid.). For the most part, the team runs in harmony; but "after a long interval of time and many cycles", a fiery breath from the celestial horse of Zeus ignites the others, especially the lowest, the earth, burning it, mane and all (47 f.). Likewise, at vast intervals, sweat from Poseidon's horse deluges its yoke-mate, the horse of earth, in a great flood (49). These disasters of universal conflagration and cataclysm are recalled by the Greeks, less accurately as isolated events, in the myths of Phaethon and Deuealion. Violent though they are, the catastrophes, as the magian myth reveals, yet exemplify the order and divine governance of the universe: they are the consequences of checks which the charioteer administers to his team (50). But in a still more dreadful denouement, it happens that at the end of an immense (to us) cycle of time, the prowess of the first horse so utterly overwhelms all the others that they are subsumed into it, melting together as if they were images of wax (51–3). This single entity, which the universe has now become, is no longer the team alone; it includes the charioteer—indeed, it *is* the charioteer: "simply the soul of the charioteer, or rather the soul's intellect and ruling principle" (54).

From its single state the universe recreates itself. Longing for its old "governance" (lit. "handling of the reins") in the harmonious ordering of differentiated constituents (sun, moon, stars, living beings, plants), it softens its brilliance into a gentle and creative "fiery air" (55 f.). Here a new metaphor comes into play, that of the "sacred marriage" (*hieros gamos*) of two high gods which generates and makes fertile the world. The great universal god, Zeus, unites with Hera—Fire with Air—to create all things (56 f.). And with the new metaphor and myth a second hymn is intimated. For Dio again speaks of "the children of the wise" who "sing a hymn in secret rites" but the subject of the hymn is this time not the cosmic

chariot of Zeus but his "blessed marriage" with Hera (56).[160] Myth and hymn close with a eulogy of the vigour and beauty of the renewed creation and of the joy of its creator therein (58–60).

The question of course is how much of all this is Dio's invention and how much the real liturgical hymns of real magi. That Dio *could* have drawn directly on a genuine and living Zoroastrian tradition is well within the bounds of possibility. He was a native of Anatolia (of Prusa in Bithynia) and travelled widely there, and in his day the Magusaean communities of Anatolia still flourished. So he could have been instructed by their magi. It is unlikely that he would actually have heard hymns performed. He nowhere claims autopsy—and would surely have done so, had he heard these ones in person—and the rites of which they were part, he twice mentions, were secret. Apparently, though, nothing prevented the divulgence of the hymns outside their ritual context, or at least the divulgence of a summary and an explication.

On the other side, nothing absolutely precludes the view that Dio invented the hymns, explications and all, in his study.[161] They embody, after all, the concluding myth of a philosophical essay, and it had long been the convention to authenticate this element and render it more interesting and elevated by ascribing it to a particular source, preferably an exotic one. In the genre, it was not required that the source be real. The allegorical subject of the first hymn, the team of horses, is itself suspicious. It recalls the great myth of Plato's *Phaedrus* (246–57) in which the human soul soars aloft as a chariot drawn by winged steeds to join the perfect teams of the gods in their courses across the heavens. Disaster strikes here too, as the human soul, unable to control its horses, crashes to earth—and to mortal incarnation. The doctrine signified is quite different from Dio's, the cycle of the individual soul as against the cycle of the cosmos, but the signifier, the metaphor of the team of horses coursing the heavens, is the same. Dio might well have chosen his myth on Plato's precedent (and in his honour)—and then have cast around for a suitable attribution to alien sages. Nor do those elements which are genuinely Zoroastrian or which correspond to something in Iranian religion establish the genuineness of the hymns. Again, the motif of the horses is a case in point. Dio is correct when he alludes to the chariot of Zeus in Persian cult. Such a team was part of the religious apparatus of Xerxes in his invasion of Greece and of Darius at the battle of Issus.[162] But these facts would have been known by Dio through Greek literature. It is thus just as likely that Dio imported the detail from that source to validate the "magian" provenance of his myth as that he learnt it from real magi. Dio speaks of the maintenance of the team of Zeus as something which the magi still did;[163] but it would be rash indeed to conclude from this, given the context and its logic, that the Iranian diaspora of his own day actually perpetuated an element of cult which is otherwise attested only for royal Achaemenian practice at great state and military occasions centuries earlier.

Primarily, though, it is the thoroughly Stoic nature of the doctrine allegorized that brings the hymns under suspicion. The cyclical theory of cosmic history, conflagration (*ekpyrōsis*) and cataclysm, the emphasis on the elements and their allegorization as gods of the Greek pantheon,[164] the primacy of fire and its elevation as the supreme deity which is both immanent in and coterminous with the universe and at the same time its ruling and rational principle and its creative force—all this is commonplace Stoicism.[165] It does not in itself disprove the prior existence of cosmological hymns of the Magusaeans, but it does suggest that the particular allegorical cast in which we find them is Dio's, not theirs. Bidez and Cumont maintained that the Magusaeans had assimilated Stoic doctrine so thoroughly that the interpretations as well as the myths were theirs,[166] but in default of evidence for Stoicized magi apart from this very passage, the claim, though admittedly within the realm of possibility, is unconvincing.

A feature of the first myth that makes it quite plausible that Dio has imposed a Stoic interpretation on a Magusaean hymn with different (though not utterly dissimilar) intent is the ill fit of the allegory. He himself draws attention more than once to the "strangeness" of the myth and the "inconsistency" of its images. It is "intractable", he says, and lacks the "persuasiveness" and

[160] I follow Bidez and Cumont in discerning a second hymn: BCM I 92–4. The "children of the wise" who sing this second hymn are of course the same as the "children of the magi" who sing the first.

[161] This is essentially the view of Momigliano, Alien Wisdom, 146: "We can almost visualize the birth of one of these forgeries [i.e. one of the Zoroastrian pseudepigrapha] in the *Borysthenicus* by Dio . . . His Magian hymn may imitate some Persian or rather pseudo-Persian text . . ., but, as we have it, it is Dio's own

[162] Herodotus VII.40, Quintus Curtius III.8 ff.; HZ II 165 f., 286 f.

[163] *Trephousi* = "they maintain", in the present tense (para. 41).

[164] Note that the etymological pun, Hera = air (*Hēra* = *aēr*), only works in Greek. Such etymologizing was itself particularly a feature of Stoicism.

[165] See the commentary to the passage in BCM II 142–53.

[166] BCM I 97. Note also the very considerable degree of hellenization in the Iranian diaspora demonstrated earlier in this volume.

"charm" of a Greek myth (42 f.). Especially clumsy and illogical is the way in which the motionless earth, the horse of Hestia, is yet a member of a moving team (46); likewise, the merging of the horses as if they were wax, yet wax shaped not by an external agency but by an inherent dynamic (51 f.); finally, the identity of the team itself which shifts from the combined elements to the soul of the universe, with the focus finally on the charioteer rather than the horses (54). All these awkwardnesses receive explicit comment from Dio. Two explanations present themselves. Either Dio is cleverly furnishing authenticating—yet spurious—colour, by constructing a "barbarian" hymn that cannot realize its own allegorical aim and is made to strain under its own inconsistencies; or else he has imported only the allegorical overlay, and the inconsistencies arise naturally because the Greek philosophical meanings are incompatible with the underlying magian hymn. The latter view is perhaps preferable, if only because the former argues a conscious striving for realism on Dio's part which is rather implausible. It is not that Dio was not clever enough to create both the hymn and its interpretation in realistic dissonance to each other; merely, that such a novelistic technique would be an anachronism hard to parallel.

It is not unreasonable, then, to suppose that Dio has heavily adapted and Stoicized a pair of original hymns, handed down by the Magusaeans and sung within a liturgical context. These hymns will have had a didactic function, expounding cosmology and cosmogony through two metaphors, that of a charioteer and his team of horses and that of the sacred marriage. A further metaphor—and an underlying reality—appropriately enough, will have been fire. Both will have been hymns of worship as well as teaching: praising the lordship and benign creativity of Zeus/Ahura Mazda. All this of course, in default of supporting evidence for the existence of such hymns among the Magusaeans, is hypothesis, but nothing precludes our entertaining it.

Allowing that the hymns did exist as a Magusaean reality, there are motifs in them that resonate with Magusaean doctrine—or with what one may suppose Magusaean doctrine to have been with its blended heritage from Iran and Babylon.[167] First, the great re-

[167] One should be acutely aware of the risk of constructing here a bridge resting on two insubstantial piers. On the one side, the magian hymns may be illusions, fantasies of Dio's making; on the other, the doctrines of the Magusaeans are themselves largely reconstructions, composed partly of what one imagines *a priori* that Anatolians drawing on Iran and Babylon in a hellenized context would have produced, and partly of what is found in Dio's magian hymns! The fullest attempt at reconstructing Magusaean doctrine was made by Cumont himself, and it

creation at the close of the second hymn evokes the Zoroastrian *Frašo-kereti*.[168] The vigorous perfection portrayed is surely more than just the start of a Stoic cycle which merely replicates its predecessor. Secondly, the sacred marriage of Zeus and Hera echoes the same institution recorded on the Aramaic inscription from Arabissus (Arebsun) in Cappadocia.[169] In the latter the personification of the "Mazda-worshipping Religion" is celebrated as both wife and sister of Bel/Ahura Mazda: she so identifies herself, and he greets her as such. Zeus and Hera, too, are brother and sister as well as husband and wife (although Dio does not explicitly refer to the former aspect), which would make their relationship in Iranian terms a *khvaetvadatha*-union. Kinship marriage of this sort was primarily an Iranian human institution, not a divine one;[170] but the Arabissos inscription and Dio's magian hymn would be two instances which attest it on the divine plane, and it is surely significant that they are both of Anatolian provenance. Thirdly, the doctrine of alternating fire and flood, conflagration and cataclysm, while Stoic, is also, it seems, Chaldean. Berossus taught a theory of universal conflagrations and floods, coincident with conjunctions of all the planets in Cancer and Capricorn respectively.[171] It could as well have entered the magian hymn from the Magusaeans' Chaldean heritage as from Dio's Stoicizing.

focused necessarily on eschatology, since that is where the bulk of the evidence, or would-be evidence, lies: "La fin du monde selon les mages occidentaux", RHR 103, 1931, 29–96 (pp. 33–44 on the hymns). It is a brilliantly articulated and ingenious reconstruction, but it is best viewed with more than customary scepticism. It builds yet another dubious bridge, linking the doctrines of the Magusaeans to the doctrines of the Roman Mithraic mysteries as essentially one and the same set of teachings, which thus warrants drawing on the latter to flesh out the former (see below).

[168] BCM II 153 n. 1 (to fr. O 8 ad fin.); Cumont, art. cit., pp. 43 f.

[169] See HZ II 274 f.; BCM I 95 n. 2.

[170] Certain family relationships among the gods, intended originally as metaphors, were used later by Zoroastrian scholastics as justification for human *khvaetvadatha*-union. These divine relationships were never meant in a sexual or reproductive sense (as the Greek divine relationships clearly were). Thus, Ārmaiti, *yazata* of devotion and of the earth, is called by Zoroaster the daughter of Ahura Mazda (Y.45.4). But she is also called the mother of Aši, goddess of good fortune, whose father is Ahura Mazda (Yt.17.16). Nevertheless, to use such relationships to attribute to Zoroastrianism anything like the concept of the fructifying union of the Sky Father with Earth Mother on the Greek model would be profoundly false to the spirit of the religion. See Boyce, "Ārmaiti", EIr II (1986) 413, 415.

[171] Ap. Seneca *Nat. Quaest.* III.29.1 (cf. p. 387, above); Cumont, art. cit., p. 35 (cf. p. 39, on the flood alone). Fire, of course, plays its part in Zoroastrian eschatology, but it is as the medium by which the righteous and the unrighteous are tested—it melts the river of metal—rather than one of cosmic destruction: HZ I 242 f. Cf. also above, pp. 364, 366.

Indeed, the whole apparatus of great temporal cycles, manifest in the hymn, accords well with what we know of the Magusaeans' concern with Time and their Zurvanite bias.[172]

One detail, beyond all others, convinced Cumont of the genuineness of the magian hymns.[173] According to Dio, the magi explained that the great conflagration, allegorized in their own hymn as the prime horse's burning of its team mates, was recorded by the Greeks in the myth of Phaethon (para. 48). Phaethon, the story goes, borrowed the chariot of his father Helios, the sun god, was unable to control it, and so ran amok, to his own death and much ruin in the world. A decade before *Les Mages hellénisés*, a relief representing Phaethon receiving the solar team was discovered in a shrine of the cult of Mithras at Dieburg in Germany.[174] For Cumont this was confirmation of a central hypothesis that the Mithras cult was itself the product of the same Anatolian Magusaeans whose liturgical and cosmological hymns were reported by Dio.[175] For the Magusaean myth (or, more precisely, what the magi told Dio was its Greek equivalent) and the Mithraic cult relief recorded one and the same incident. This was too remarkable an equation for mere coincidence. There must, then, have been a means of transmission that carried both the myth and its underlying eschatology on the far journey from hellenized Anatolia to Roman Germany. That medium had to be the Mithras cult, since there was no other conceivable candidate. Dio's hymn, then, was the key to the meaning of the relief from Dieburg, for they were documents of essentially the same religion. And by the same argument in reverse, the Mithraic relief validated the magian hymn; for what was indubitably genuine in the one sacred context, that of the mithraeum, had to be genuine in the other, related context, that of Dio's Magusaean informants.[176]

It is the last point only that concerns us here; for our subject is the status of Dio's hymns as manifestations of pseudo-Zoroastrian

[172] BCM I 64 f., 67 ff., II 144 n. 4. Again, one must guard against circularity: it is precisely Dio's hymns that tell us what the Magusaeans believed about temporal cycles.

[173] For reasons which will be apparent from n. 167 (above), it was particularly Cumont, of the two authors of BCM, who was concerned with the magian hymns and their putative Magusaean—and Mithraic—background.

[174] Described and illustrated in M. J. Vermaseren, CIMRM II no. 1247.

[175] Art. cit. in n. 167, p. 36; id., "Le nouveau bas-relief de Dieburg", JdS 1927, 122–6; BCM I 92.

[176] These arguments on the implications of the Dieburg relief are summarized, with a brief critique, in my "Mithraism since Franz Cumont", ANRW II 17.4, 2002–115, at p. 2036 f.

literature—or perhaps in this case alone, of real, if marginal, Zoroastrian literature and liturgy—not the large and formidable question of the genesis of Mithraism and the role of the Magusaeans therein. That question has in any case been addressed earlier in this volume.[177] Yet the two issues are inextricably mixed. If the Magusaeans were, as Cumont contended, proto-Mithraists (or the Mithraists evolved Magusaeans—it amounts to the same), then Dio's incendiary horse and the Dieburg Phaethon probably would intimate the same eschatology, and the relief would indeed validate the hymn as genuinely Magusaean at its core, however overlaid with Dio's rhetoric and the Stoa's philosophy. If the premise is not granted, however, then a coincidence in the name and person of Phaethon is all that links the hymn and the relief, two documents which in all other respects are widely remote from each other.[178] Apart from their separate provenance (Roman Germany against hellenized Anatolia—or the imagination of a Greek orator), they do not even tell the same story: for Phaethon's disaster with the solar chariot is scarcely identical with the incendiarism of the horse of Zeus, and we have only Dio's word that the magi made the equation. This could as well be Dio himself casting around for the nearest Greek equivalent for a "barbarian" myth which he had heard—or invented. And even if it was the magi who made the connection, the implication is that the Phaethon story, as the *Greek* equivalent, was not their own doctrinal vehicle for eschatology at all. There is indeed nothing self-evidently eschatological about the Dieburg Phaethon which might reinforce the putative link with the magian hymn.[179] On the other side, still less is there anything self-evidently Mithraic, or that resonates with Mithraism as we know it, in the magian hymn—except that one side reference to Phaethon.[180] Relief and hymn are thus poles apart, unless they can be spanned as distant manifestations of the same religion. My sense is that they cannot, not least because the only concrete evidence for a common doctrine of Magusaeans and Mithraists is precisely this one shared detail of Phaethon as a symbol of eschatological conflagration. The detail has to establish the common doctrine of which it

[177] Above, p. 475 ff.

[178] For a full and, in my view, effective critique, see R. L. Gordon, "Franz Cumont and the Doctrines of Mithraism" in MSt. I, 215–48, at pp. 237–41.

[179] The relief is, though, suggestive of an allegory of the elements, and of fire in particular: Beck, loc. cit.; Gordon, art. cit., p. 241.

[180] Gordon, art. cit., p. 237 f. Mithras himself is impossible to discern anywhere in the hymus or myths which they relate, although Cumont (art. cit.) has to impose him there since, *ex hypothesi*, this Magusaean eschatology is also Mithraic eschatology.

is supposedly a manifestation, and that is to impose on it a weight which it is too slight to bear. One concludes, then, that the Mithraic relief cannot confirm the genuineness of the magian hymn—which of course in no way impugns the possibility of the latter's genuineness on other grounds already discussed.

Mithraic texts as pseudepigrapha ?

Mithraism is the context of the final block of Zoroaster's pseudepigrapha to be examined here. Bidez and Cumont listed as from the "sacred books" of "Zoroaster" half a dozen texts of a few words each which, at the time, were the sum of Mithraism's written remains (dedicatory inscriptions excluded).[181] Such, for example, is the line of Greek verse hailing the worshipper of Mithras as "initiate of the bull-theft, intimate of the glorious father", which Firmicus Maternus ascribes to the cult's *propheta*.[182] The sayings, as Bidez and Cumont described them, are certainly liturgical, in the sense that they belong in the context of acts of worship. Not so certain is that they come from "liturgical books",[183] in the sense of extended writings; some could as well be free-standing *symbola* or slogans of the faith. If one were making the collection today it would be much expanded, principally by the inclusion of the painted texts from the Sa Prisca Mithraeum discovered just before *Les Mages hellénisés* was published.[184]

Fascinating though these texts are, it is doubtful whether they should be classed as Zoroastrian pseudepigrapha, except in one rather trivial sense. Mithraism, in its own estimation and in the eyes of Greeks and Romans outside the cult, was the "Persian" religion. Zoroaster, as the great prophet of Persia, inevitably became the prophet and founder of Mithraism too. That he was indeed accepted as such, we have the reliable evidence of Porphyry.[185] Founders are often believed to have composed the sacred books of their religions, whether or not they actually did so, and it is in this sense that any Mithraic text (indeed, any piece of

[181] Listed collectively as fr. O 9; and see BCM I 98.

[182] Fr. O 9a = Firm. Mat. *De err.* 5.2. The "bull-theft" refers to one of Mithras' own exploits.

[183] The heading under which they are listed in BCM (II 153): "Livres liturgiques des mystères de Mithra".

[184] Most accessible in M. J. Vermaseren, Mithras, the Secret God, 172–80; briefly described (with references to more recent readings) in Beck, art. cit. in n. 176, p. 2029.

[185] *De antro* 6: Zoroaster as the instituter of the Mithraic "cave", the cult's place of worship.

Mithraic teaching or practice) can plausibly be referred to Zoroaster. This blanket attribution has a certain formal validity, but it is attested explicitly only for the *symbolon* quoted above, where the line is said to have been "handed down to us by Mithra's prophet (*propheta*)".

But of course Bidez and Cumont intended pseudo-Zoroastrian authorship in a far more significant sense. Mithraism, on Cumont's view, as we have just seen, was an essentially Magusaean religion. Its sacred texts, then, or at least most of them, will have been composed by Magusaeans, just as the Magusaeans composed the eschatological myth whose Mithraic issue was the Dieburg relief.[186] We return, then, to the same alternatives that confronted us over Dio's magian hymns. If Mithraism, its teachings and liturgy, did indeed descend directly from the Magusaeans, then its texts (or some of them) might reasonably be supposed to have been composed by Magusaeans—and thus to be Zoroastrian in a real though remote sense. If not, not. The texts themselves furnish no key. They are not so markedly "Western" or "Eastern" as to be manifestly and exclusively the products of Mithraists on the one side or of magi on the other.[187] Rather, on the general unlikelihood that

[186] BCM I 98. The classic exposition of Cumont's theory of the origins of Mithraism in Hellenistic Anatolia is the first chapter of his Mysteries of Mithra, at pp. 11–32; in that age and place, he proposes (p. 15), "Mithraism received approximately its definitive form".

[187] One might argue an eastern origin for the *symbolon* preserved as a graffito in the Dura-Europos mithraeum: "the fiery breath which for magi too is the baptism of holy persons" (= fr. O 9e). Its mere appearance at Dura on the Euphrates is not the issue, since the Dura mithraeum, despite certain orientalisms in iconography (and perhaps one or two echoes of real Zoroastrianism: see Bivar in MSt. I 93, and above, p. xxx, on the boar accompanying Mithras in the hunting scene as an avatar of Verethraghna), is very much the product of the developed Mithraism of the West (see Beck, art. cit., pp. 2010, 2014–17). Rather, it is the presence of the term *magoi* (attested elsewhere in the Dura graffiti as a category of Mithraist), and the reference to the "fiery breath" recalling the eschatological blast of fire from the horse of Zeus in Dio's magian hymn (para. 47: the word *asthma*, "breath", is used there too).

Reference to the Dura mithraeum leads one to mention two of the frescos there, flanking the cult niche and depicting a pair of throned figures in oriental dress, each holding a scroll and staff. Cumont boldly suggested that they were portraits of Zoroaster and Ostanes as founders of the cult ("The Dura Mithraeum", tr. E. D. Francis, in MSt.I 151–214, at pp. 182–4). If so, the scrolls would represent the cult's sacred texts, its Law, of which the sages were the putative authors or revealers. But the frescos could as well represent the founders of this particular mithraeum, or two of its dignitaries and "fathers" at some stage, an alternative supported by the facts that their dress is precisely Palmyrene and that it was by Palmyrene auxiliary troops stationed at Dura that the mithraeum was founded (see n. 174 to Cumont's article, quoting Rostovtzeff; also H. J. W. Drijvers, "Mithra at Hatra?" in Ét. mithriaques, 151–56, n. 150). The scrolls in that case

Mithraism took the major part of its doctrines and worship directly from the Magusaeans,[188] one may conclude that it is most improbable that its texts came from that source either. Mithraism's texts, and the lost works of which they are the tiny remnants, are best seen as precisely that: texts evolved in the cult's own context, in some instances no doubt ascribed to Zoroaster, and drawing sometimes on Eastern—or would-be Eastern—sources, but composed nevertheless by Mithraists, not by Magusaeans.

The tractate Zostrianos

It is as "teachings of Zoroaster" that the tractate *Zostrianos* from the Nag Hammadi Coptic Gnostic Library is described in the colophon to its text.[189] The actual author, or the author whom the tractate wishes us to accept as such, is the eponymous Zostrianos, cited with Zoroaster in the colophon, who is the narrator and protagonist of the spiritual voyage described in the text and the recipient of the wisdom there revealed.[190] "Zostrianos" may of course be a pseudonym, representing a figure potent to contemporaries, though obscure to us, whose authority, together with his name, some lesser Gnostic sectarian has assumed. Obscure, but not entirely unknown: in one of the most remarkable and fortunate coincidences in the recovery of ancient literature, the Zostrianos of this newly discovered tractate appears to be precisely the Zostrianos whose "apocalypse", Porphyry tells us, Plotinus' pupil Amelius refuted in "up to forty volumes", while he, Porphyry, tackled the

would still represent the cult's sacred texts, and from that the *magisterium* of these elders, their authority to teach. The weak point in Cumont's attractive hypothesis is that Ostanes, unlike Zoroaster, is nowhere attested as a prophet or lawgiver of Mithraism.

[188] This is not the point at which to argue the issue, which in any case has been explored earlier in this volume (above, p. 470 ff.). The Cumontian theory of Mithraism as the immediate successor and, as it were, Roman manifestation of the religion of the Magusaeans has been, in my view, conclusively refuted by R. L. Gordon, art. cit. in n. 178. For a review of the general question, see Beck, art. cit. in n. 176, pp. 2063–71.

[189] The *Zostrianos* is the first tractate of the 8th codex (VIII, 1). It is accessible in translation (by J. H. Sieber) in NHL, 402–30; colophon on p. 430; "Zostrianos / Oracles of truth of / Zostrianos / God of Truth / Teachings of Zoroaster". The cryptography of the colophon was deciphered by J. Doresse, "'Les apocalypses de Zoroastre, de Zostrien, de Nicothée, . . .'", Coptic Studies in Honour of W. E. Crum, Washington 1950, 255–63. I am deeply indebted in this section to Dr. Howard Jackson for his advice and learning in matters Coptic and Gnostic.

[190] The title *Zostrianos* is modern, the codex being defective at the start of the work.

parallel apocalypse of Zoroaster.[191] We have thus recovered an entire work which is indubitably a Zoroastrian pseudepigraphon and one, moreover, whose setting and circulation, not to mention date, were already known.[192] The tractate *Zostrianos* fits, as it were, snugly into a ready niche.

Although the *Zostrianos* has the distinction of being the longest of the Nag Hammadi tractates, its codex is badly damaged and much of the text is too lacunose to be comprehensible. Nevertheless, its outlines, and a mass of detail too, are clear:[193] "After an account of the initial troubling questions raised by Zostrianos, the tractate proceeds to describe the visit of the angel of the knowledge of the eternal All, a guide for the heavenly journey which ensues. In his ascent through the various levels of the aeons, Zostrianos is baptized in the names of the heavenly powers, and is instructed in the names and relationships of the numerous inhabitants of the heavenly world. The chief divine being is the Triple Powerful Invisible Spirit; the divine emanations include the Virgin Barbelo, the three great aeons (the Hidden One, the First-Appearing One, and the Self-begotten One), and many others. After his glorious heavenly experiences, Zostrianos returns to the world of perception, writes his knowledge on three tablets, and preaches the liberating salvation of light and knowledge, 'the salvation of masculinity'".

In form, the tractate is a quest for illumination, typical of its day: the initial doubts, the guided celestial ascent, the encounter with cosmic and spiritual powers, the revelation, the return to earth to

[191] Porphyry, *Life of Plotinus* 16 (= BCM fr. O 105, II 249 f.). The unmasking of these pseudepigrapha by Amelius and Porphyry is discussed above, p. 510. In accepting the identity of the Coptic *Zostrianos* with the "book of Zostrianos" that was Amelius' target (Amelius would of course have been working with a Greek version), I follow H. C. Puech, "Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques découverts en Haute-Égypte", Coptic Studies . . . Crum (above), 91–156, at p. 107 f., and J. H. Sieber, "An Introduction to the Tractate Zostrianos from Nag Hammadi", Novum Testamentum 15, 1973, 233–40. Scholarship is not always willing to believe its good fortune: the match of the 2 works has been doubted by Doresse, art. cit., and L. Abramowski, "Nag Hammadi 8,1 'Zostrianus', das Anonymum Brucianum, Plotin Enn. 2,9 (33)", Platonismus und Christentum: Festschrift . . . Doerrie, edd. H. Blume and F. Mann, Münster 1983, 1–10.

[192] Date: Since Amelius' and Porphyry's critiques of the Gnostic apocalypses were undertaken at Plotinus' behest, the clear implication of the Porphyry passage is that the *Zostrianos* was in circulation during the lifetime of Plotinus (died 270 A.C.). Aspects of Gnosticism criticized by Plotinus himself (*Enneads* II.9.6) occur in very similar detail in the recovered *Zostrianos*, making it probable that Plotinus had read it and had it in mind (Sieber, art. cit., p. 238).

[193] I quote Sieber's admirable summary, NHL (1st ed., 1977), 368.

preach with new and unchallengeable authority.[194] Its concerns are the familiar Gnostic ones: the salvation of the elect and the rites, experiences and illuminations which seal that salvation; the flight from generation—and the female—in this mortal world; the fantastic celestial hierarchies, familiarity with whose hidden orderings, histories, meanings and effects is the essence of the adept's *gnosis*.

By contrast, what we do *not* find in the *Zostrianos* is anything distinctively Zoroastrian.[195] Nor do we find anything distinctively *pseudo*-Zoroastrian, anything that might link this tractate to other putative works of Zoroaster issuing from the Greco-Roman world of the Levant.[196] This important, though negative, fact has already been emphasized, for it is what, from our point of view, is the most remarkable feature of the *Zostrianos*.[197] The tractate vividly confirms that there is no such thing—or ever was—as a distinctive corpus of pseudo-Zoroastrian literature and learning with its own canons

[194] On the literary forms for the quest and receipt of illumination, see Festugière, RHT I 309 ff.; on the celestial journey, above, n. 17. As parallels to the quest of Zostrianos one might cite, from the realm of Greco-Egyptian magic, the so-called "Mithras Liturgy" (above, ib.) and the autobiographical letter of Thessalus (above, n. 16; see esp. J. Z. Smith, o.c.). The anonymous adept of the former meets his gods in the heavens; Thessalus has a vision of Asclepius in a sacred room on earth. Particularly germane is Thessalus' progress from doubt to certainty, from tentative pupil to assured master.

[195] The more general question of a Zoroastrian background to, or influence on, Gnosticism was discussed above, p. 460 ff.

[196] Though see above, p. 518 f., on the motif of the journey to the Other World and of magi as purveyors of other-worldly illumination. Zostrianos ascends to heaven, "Zoroaster" in *On Nature* descends to the underworld. If this motif were confined to pseudo-Zoroastrian literature, it would be of real significance. But of course it is not, and its presence in the *Zostrianos* is obviously better accounted for as a Gnostic topos than as a pseudo-Zoroastrian one. It is interesting, however, that the only other mention of Zostrianos (as a person) in ancient literature occurs in a context that also refers, in a very garbled way, to Ps.-Zoroaster's *On Nature*. Arnobius (*Adv. nat.* I.52 = BCM fr. B 4) adduces in a list of sages "Armenius the grandson of Zostrianos and Pamphylus the associate of Cyrus" (!). Armenius and Pamphylus are ghosts spun off from the "Zoroaster" of *On Nature*, where, it will be recalled (above, p. 529), the prophet was paraded in the stolen guise of Plato's "Er, son of Armenius, a Pamphylian by race".

On another tack, something might perhaps be made of the fact that the *Zostrianos* is one of the tractates emanating from the Gnostic sect known as the Sethians from their spiritual descent from Adam's son Seth. Arguably, the Sethians were influenced by Zoroastrian doctrine (although this is not palpably so in the *Zostrianos*), and it was under Seth's name that the story of the magi and the "star of Bethlehem", which most certainly does have Zoroastrian connections, was transmitted to its principal source, the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*: see BCM I 45–7, II 119 (= fr. S 12); also, above, p. 448 ff. The Sethian scriptures, including the original of the *Zostrianos*, *may* have been composed in Syria (Apamea?), where it is more plausible that actual Zoroastrian influence could have been exerted than in Egypt. (For a sceptical view of G. Widengren's hypothesis that the Sethians were an offshoot of an original Judaeo-Iranian gnosis, see above, p. 462 n. 494.)

[197] Above, p. 495.

and characteristics. Each work is discrete, with only the tenuous and formal bridge that each author in his separate sphere of "wisdom", whether astrologer, or Magusaean priest, or Gnostic visionary, chose to draw on the powerful name of Zoroaster or another of the magi for legitimating authority.[198] Such a name was "Zostrianos". It is perhaps a contraction of "Zo(roa)strianos", signifying a member of Zoroaster's clan (*-ianus* being merely a Latin gentile suffix), or, by extension, his disciple or religious heir (cf. *Christianoi*). But, whether or not, it carried the authentic seal of Persian wisdom. And to ensure that there was no mistaking the source, the colophon to the text named Zoroaster too.[199]

"Ostanes"

In the tradition of magian learning, as the Greeks perceived (and themselves constructed) it, our final subject, Ostanes, is almost as important as Zoroaster. We have seen how in Pliny's influential account it is Ostanes rather than Zoroaster who is the true founder and disseminator of the art of magic and the inventor of its most gruesome forms.[200] As Zoroaster was to astrology, so Ostanes was to alchemy, a supposed early authority and teacher, alongside the founders in other traditions of oriental wisdom, notably the Egyptian. There are, though, important differences. Zoroaster's biography in the western sources was rich and varied and remote in time and place; Ostanes' is simple and set within a single historic

[198] See above, n. 196: the garbled Arnobius passage could perhaps imply that at some stage someone did actually group together the very dissimilar *On Nature* and *Zostrianos* on the supposed criterion of Persian or magian authorship. The *Zostrianos* tries once to convey the pretence that its author comes from a separate ethnic tradition (3.15 f.): "According to the custom of my race I kept bringing them (sc. my doubts) up to the god of my fathers". In a somewhat ambiguous context, Zostrianos' father appears to be called Iolaus (4.10). The name is Greek (Heracles' companion being its most famous bearer), not Iranian. (Dr. Jackson informs me that as far as he can tell is occurs nowhere else in Gnosticism.)

[199] That the double ascription was a means of orienting the reader to the less familiar Zostrianos by naming the more familiar Zoroaster (in effect, "what you have just read is in Zoroaster's *tradition*") was essentially Sieber's argument (art. cit.). The Nag Hammadi collection alludes once elsewhere to another work of "Zoroaster": the *Apocryphon of John* (II, 1.19.10) mentions a "book of Zoroaster" to which the reader is referred for a list of the angels who presided over the creation of certain "passions" of the "natural and material" human body. This sort of exhaustive listing of powers is thoroughly Gnostic. But perhaps one can also catch in the surrounding passage a faint and distorted echo of the two creations, spiritual and material (*mēnōg* and *gētīg*: see HZ I 229 ff.), of classic Zoroastrianism: "And all the angels and demons worked until they had constructed the natural body. And their product was completely inactive and motionless for a long time" (19.10–14, tr. F. Wisse, NHL 115 f.).

[200] Above, pp. 516, 529.

context. He was one of the magi who accompanied Xerxes on the expedition of 479 B.C. and who were believed to have lingered on and interacted with Greek intellectuals of the western littoral of Asia Minor, then Persian territory. In particular, he was the supposed teacher of the great atomist philosopher, Democritus of Abdera (c. 460–370).[201] The function of this slim biography is transparent: it is to fix the transmission of Persian wisdom to Greek science at a specific, historic and highly dramatic juncture in the long story of the political and cultural encounters of the two nations. The biography, in other words, authenticates the transmitted wisdom, or, to view the matter in a more accurate if harsher light, licenses its production by Greeks of a later age.

To appreciate the biography's function is not necessarily to dismiss its factual basis. That there were learned magi in Xerxes' train is scarcely open to doubt, or that they would have exchanged views with learned Greeks in the satrapies of Asia Minor. Though proudly distinct culturally, the two nations were not closed to each other intellectually. There had been contacts before and there would be more later.[202] It is not impossible, then, that one of these magi was called (in Greek) Ostanes,[203] or that his colleagues, with or without him, had dealings with the family of Democritus, or even that the young Democritus himself was instructed by them or by their successors still resident in Asia Minor. What is not credible, however, is the alleged fruit of that collaboration, the supposed works of Democritus on arcane wisdom (magical, alchemical and the like) which transmit the supposed teaching of his master Ostanes. Because the real Ostanes and the real Democritus were figures of relatively recent and myth-free history (in comparison, for example, with Zoroaster and Pythagoras), and because the latter was an actual and prolific Greek author, it does not follow that the arcana that passed under their joint names must, in however attenuated a sense, have stemmed from their collaboration.[204] Rather, as we shall see, those arcana are the inventions of

[201] That Ostanes accompanied Xerxes, Pliny *NH* XXX.8 = BCM fr. 1; that Democritus was taught by magi (and Chaldeans), Diogenes Laertius IX.34 (cf. Philostratus *Lives of the Sophists* I.10 for the same story concerning Protagoras). See BMC I 167–9; HZ II 171 f., 195 f.

[202] For the earlier contacts and interactions, see esp. M. L. West, Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient, Oxford 1971; HZ II, ch. IX.

[203] On the name see Justi, Namenbuch, 52 s. "Austanes".

[204] Bidez and Cumont make no claim for the transmission from the real Democritus or Ostanes of anything more than "some notes collected by the sage of Abdera on the various beliefs of the Orient" (I 171). I am sceptical of even that much.

the Hellenistic age—and later. Indeed, for all the historicity of the original figures, the "Ostanes" and the "Democritus" with whom we must deal here are equally the inventions of that age. In this they differ not a whit from our "Zoroaster".

Where "Zoroaster" and "Ostanes" do, however, differ is that the latter is even more elusive as a pseudonymous author—or congeries of authors. That is because "Ostanes" is in large measure a second-order invention, created within the primary figment "Democritus" as the alien sage who imparts and validates the Greek's wisdom. Often, then, we have to do not with the actual works of a pseudo-Ostanes but with the imagined oral and written teaching of a character in the narrative of Ps.-Democritus. In these circumstances "Ostanes" and his "works" prove equally fictitious, whereas with "Zoroaster" one is generally confronted with real texts, albeit of a spurious author. Moreover, "Ostanes" possesses a higher proportion of matter which is arguably discrete, in the sense that it is probably not excerpted from larger pseudepigraphic works (such as Ps.-Zoroaster's *On Nature*), but consists rather of a mass of smaller items such as spells or forged letters to which the sage's name has been randomly attached.[205] A *corpus* of the pseudepigrapha of Ostanes is thus even more difficult to discern than a corpus of Ps.-Zoroaster. Indeed, to try to do so is a somewhat pointless undertaking. It is more profitable to review the excerpts as matter in which Ostanes figures as the validating authority rather than the author.

In fact, only a single title of a work by "Ostanes" is known, and that is mentioned in one fragment only. Philo of Byblos, after describing the qualities of the supreme god according to Zoroaster, reports that "Ostanes too says the same about Him in the (book) entitled *Oktateuch*".[206] The title *Oktateuch* can signify one of two things: either the work was divided into eight volumes (cf. Pentateuch), or else it somehow concerned the Ogdoad, i.e. the eight celestial spheres (the seven of the planets and the one of the fixed stars, the ultimate heaven).[207] If the latter, then it was a work of cosmology at a high and general level, a characteristic which can in any case be inferred from the inclusion of the nature of the supreme deity in its contents. In Philo's fragment, "Zoroaster" reports one

[205] Spells and recipes, e.g. frs. 27, A 14; letters, e.g. frs. 28, A 15, A 16. Of the same sort, no doubt, were the magical "books" with attributions to "Zoroaster the magus" and "Ostanes the magus" burnt publicly in Beirut, according to Zacharias Scholasticus (fr. 26 = Zor. fr. O 103, and see above, p. 522).

[206] Ap. Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* I.10.52 = BCM fr. 7 (Ost.) = fr. O 11 (Zor.).

[207] On the alternatives see BCM I 173 f. (esp. n. 3 on the Ogdoad).

very strange feature of this god: that he has a hawk's head.[208] Otherwise, the qualities are on the whole standard and predictable: "first, indestructible, unseen, unbegotten, without parts", and so on.[209] Whether all this was in the *Oktateuch*, quality for quality, or whether "Ostanes" merely followed a similar theological outline, it is impossible to tell. The final quality listed appears to allude to the type of work which "Zoroaster", and by inference "Ostanes" too, wrote. God is the "self-taught *physikos* (i.e. natural philosopher), perfect and wise, the unique inventor of sacred physics (*hierou physikou*)". The term *physikos*, used here equally of natural philosophy and the natural philosopher, indicates precisely what it was that "Zoroaster" and "Ostanes" did: an investigation of Nature (*physis*) from macrocosm to microcosm, tinged, since this is "*sacred* physics" and God himself is the ultimate "physicist", with the arcane and the revelatory.[210] God, by definition of his nature, is the guarantor of the work of these two sages.

The mass of learning for which Ostanes is cited as an authority may be divided, according to subject matter, into three blocks: (1) cosmology and theology, including the lore of demons, angels and the souls of the dead: in sum, the study of the spiritual powers of the universe from highest to lowest—and how they may be manipulated; (2) the lore of the natural world (animals, plants, minerals) and its magical uses, based on the principles of universal sympathies and antipathies; (3) the theory and practice of the special art of alchemy, both as philosophical quest and as mastery over nature.[211] One notes, as with "Zoroaster", the *practical* bias of all this "wisdom". Because all things in this universe are linked, all things may be exploited—by the adept who has the philosophical key to their linkages. Finally, in surveying all this material to which the name of Ostanes has been applied as validating authority, we

[208] An Egyptian motif? See BCM II 157 n. 1.

[209] Three of the qualities are less trite, and two have possible links with Zoroastrianism. (1) The epithet "*charioteer* of everything fair" recalls the main metaphor of Dio's magian hymns (above). (2) In "father of Lawfulness and Justice" BCM (II 158 n. 4) hears echoes of the "Bounteous Immortals", divinities created by Ahura Mazda who embody *inter alia* various abstract virtues (HZ I 196 ff.). (On the third less usual quality, God as *physikos*, see below.)

[210] It would be pleasing if this excerpt from "Zoroaster" could be attributed to his *On Nature* (*Peri physeōs*). Unfortunately, this is precluded, at least as the immediate source, since Philo assigns it to an otherwise unknown *Sacred Collection of Things Persian* (*Hiera synagōgē tōn Persikōn*)—see BCM I 101. It might of course have entered this *Sacred Collection* in turn from *On Nature*. For a conspectus of the Hellenistic *physikoi*, writers in this genre, see Wellmann, o.c. in n. 126, p. 3 f.

[211] The organizing principle of the 3 blocks is essentially that of BCM, slightly modified.

shall note (again, as with Zoroaster) particularly those isolated elements for which an ultimate provenance may be claimed with any plausibility from the orbit of actual Zoroastrianism.

(1) Of the more important theological fragments we have noted that from the *Oktateuch* (ap. Philo of Byblos) concerning a supreme god. The most substantial, however, comes from Cosmas of Jerusalem (8th cent.) and conveys an elaborate hierarchy of the universe's divine powers.[212] From the "unseen god, highest of all", stem the seven planetary deities. These are arranged according to their zodiacal "houses", and each is allotted two "house-mates" (*synoikoi*), one for each of his two houses (e.g., Zeus, the planet Jupiter, receives Hera and Poseidon). Below these in turn are 36 other gods, a mixture of the personal (e.g. Cybele) and the abstract (e.g. Health), whose number reveals them to be decans, i.e., the powers of each third of each sign of the zodiac. Finally, from these descend another sixty who set the spheres of the universe and of the seven planets in motion. The gods are those of Greco-Roman paganism at its most inclusive, and the system is ordered within an astronomical/astrological frame.[213] In flavour, if not in detail, it is similar to other theological systems of late paganism, notably that of the fourth-century Neoplatonic apologist Sallustius in his work *On the Gods and the Universe*. It is altogether remote from Zoroastrianism, except perhaps for an echo of the *fravašis* behind the somewhat strange divine category of "ruling spirits of men".[214] If there are links with authentic Zoroastrianism, they lie not in the content of the excerpt but in the introductory list of sages through whom the teaching is supposed to have passed from Zoroaster to Ostanes, its ultimate expounder.[215] It is possible that the source of the excerpt was actually Ps.-Ostanes' *Oktateuch* and that it follows on from the treatment there of the supreme god.

Of the remaining theological material, mention may be made of five of the more interesting excerpts: (a) Fr. 8a, from Lactantius Placidus, a late antique scholiast on the Latin poet Statius, that "Ostanes reports that among the Persians the sun is called by the proper name 'Mithra'".[216] It is possible that in this context "Persians" means not the Iranian peoples but the initiates of the Roman

[212] *Ad carmina S. Gregorii*, Migne PG XXXVIII col. 461 = BCM fr. 8b (and see I 175–8).

[213] In this it is somewhat reminiscent of the system of the Chaldeans described by Diodorus (II 30 f.)

[214] BCM II 274 n. 9; on the *fravašis*, HZ I 117 ff.

[215] BCM II 273 n. 2.

[216] *Ad Theb.* I.718; on Mithra as the sun, see above, p. 479 ff.

cult of Mithras to whom that label was certainly applied both by themselves and by others. (b) Fr. 10, from Nicomachus of Gerasa (c. 100 A.C.),[217] that "the most distinguished of the Chaldeans and Ostanes and Zoroaster call the celestial spheres 'cattle' (*agelai/ageleia*)". Although this nomenclature is backed by much Greek etymologizing (which may or may not have been in Nicomachus' source),[218] the metaphor is quite foreign to Greek astral lore. But in Zoroastrianism one of the planets, the moon, does have a bovine name and bovine associations,[219] and one is reminded of the cattle motif in Mithraism, a religion both "Persian" and heavily astrological.[220] (c) Fr. 11, one of the so-called "theological" oracles of Apollo, quoted by Porphyry,[221] in which Ostanes, "far the greatest of the magi, king of the seven-tongued (sc. lyre, as symbol of the harmony of the spheres)", is commended as the discoverer of the proper invocations of the seven great planetary gods.[222] Ostanes' invocations are "voiceless", which Bidez and Cumont take as an allusion to the supposed quiet murmuring of the magi at prayer and in liturgy, as perceived by the Greek ear.[223] It will be noted that the last four excerpts discussed (8b, 8a, 10, 11) all concern in one way or another the seven planets. Clearly, this is a theme running through Ps.-Ostanes and perhaps suggests a common provenance from the *Oktateuch* as the book of the Seven and the One. (d) Fr. 13: Tertullian (c. 210 A.C.) cites Ostanes among other sages for the doctrine that the spirits of those who die untimely (the *ahori*) or by some singularly violent death (the *biaeothanati*) linger close to our world and are thus accessible to sorcerers for magic and divination.[224] (e) Fr. 14: from another Christian apologist, Minucius Felix (early 3rd cent.), that Ostanes, "the first of the magi in eloquence and industry", discussed the angels attendant on God's throne as "ministers and messengers" and the "vagabond terrestrial demons, inimical to humanity".[225] The magi, by whom Minucius may mean simply "magicians", "not only know about demons but also perform miraculous tricks through them".[226] With these last two excerpts one descends from the theology of the higher gods to the demonology of spirits and thence to the latter's application in sorcery and divination, on the classification of which Ostanes is cited by Pliny as the leading authority.[227]

(2) There are a number of scattered citations of Ostanes as an authority on the lore of animals, plants and minerals, and on its magical applications. One might give as an example the lapidary of Damigeron-Evax on the stone galacite, praised in particular by Ostanes, "the master of all the magi":[228] it is efficacious in restoring milk—note the Greek etymology—to women and to ewes, and the ways of administering it are described; Ostanes called it *lethargus* "because it engenders forgetfulness (*lethe*) of all ills"; it is especially useful for those called to account by an incensed superior because it will make him forget his grievance; by the same token it will appease the gods. Bidez and Cumont rightly saw this material as products, ultimately, of the enquiries and learning of the Hellenistic *physikoi*, those philosophers of Nature who traced her arcane linkages throughout the cosmos from highest to lowest, in particular across the three great orders of the animal, the vegetable and the mineral, analyzing those linkages in terms of the polarized opposites of "sympathy" and "antipathy", i.e. attraction and repulsion.[229] If we may trust Philo's testimony (above), God himself, according to both "Zoroaster" and "Ostanes", was just such a "natural philosopher" and the founder of their science. As Festugière well characterized it,[230] the science was always intensely

[217] Ap. [Iamblichus] *Theologumena Arithm.* 42.

[218] See BCM II 283 n. 2 (ad frag.).

[219] *Gao.čithra*, "having the seed of the bull", because it was in the moon that the seed of the primal bull, slain by Anra Mainyu, was purified (HZ I 139; for ramifications in Mithraism, see Beck, "Cosmogony and Cosmology in Mithraism", forthcoming in EIr.).

[220] The western Mithras is both bull-killer (as in the standard cult icon) and a notorious cattle-thief ("cattle-stealing god" being one of his cult titles); the code word for the benches in mithraea where the initiates reclined is "cattle stalls" (*praesepia*: inscription in the Aldobrandini Mithraeum in Ostia—Vermaseren, CIMRM II no. 233). See also above, p. 302 n. 221.

[221] Ap. Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* V.14.

[222] The emendation of *kai Rhean* ("and Rhea") to *k'Arēa* ("and Ares", i.e. Mars), which completes the set and removes the interloper, is to be accepted: see BCM, n. 2 ad frag. (II 285).

[223] Ib., n. 3. For actual Zoroastrian practice, which is quite different, see above, p. 452 n. 447.

[224] *De anima* 57; the topic, to which at most "Ostanes" was one of many contributors, is explored at some length in BCM (I 180–6). On the magi as reputed experts on the world of spirits and of the dead, see above, p. 518.

[225] *Octavius* 26.11; on other relevant authors see BCM I 178–80.

[226] Ib., 10.

[227] *NH* XXX.5.15 = BCM fr. 12, discussed above, p. 516 f.

[228] *De lapidibus* 34 = BCM fr. 24a. The lapidary is extant as a late Latin translation of a Greek original: see now the edition of Halleux and Schamp (above, n. 129). The other citations of this sort are: frs. 18–20, from Pliny; 21a-p, plant nomenclature in Ps.-Dioscorides and Ps.-Apuleius (see above, p. 532, on "Zoroaster" in these two sources); 22, from Archigenes (early 2nd cent. A.C.) ap. Alexander of Tralles; 23, from Aelius Promotus (early 2nd cent. A.C.).

[229] BCM I 189–98; and see above, p. 497. On the *physikoi* see Wellmann, l.c. in n. 210; Festugière RHT I 194 ff. In the Ostanes excerpt cited above (fr. 24a), the operative sympathy, for example, is that between galacite (mineral) and sheep (animal); the amulet of galacite to restore milk in a woman unwilling to take the mineral in an infusion is made from a pregnant sheep's wool.

[230] RHT I 194; and see above, p. 496.

practical and exploitive—Nature's sympathies and antipathies were there to be *used*—and that is why its manifestations in the fragments of Ostanes (as of Zoroaster) seem more magical than scientific even in a debased sense.

Rightly too, Bidez and Cumont, following Max Wellmann, saw as the key figure shaping this tradition, and as the effective transmitter of most of the lore of "Ostanes", one Bolos of Mendes in Egypt, who wrote in the ambience of the great research centre of Alexandria in about 200 B.C.[231] Bolos is doubly relevant in that he was not only at the fount of this whole tradition but was also the true author behind the persona of "Democritus", and thus, at one remove, probably also behind "Ostanes" too. For "Ostanes" and "Democritus" are inextricably linked in the tradition as "master" and "pupil". The two works which, it is supposed, transmit most of "Ostanes" (and "Zoroaster" too) in this field were composed by Bolos writing under the name of Democritus and in his person: the *Cheirokmeta* (literally "things wrought by hand", i.e. a book of artificial recipes and remedies) and the *Physika Dynamera* ("Physical Potencies") or *Concerning Sympathies and Antipathies*.[232] More difficult to discern are the works which lie *behind* Bolos. Was he drawing on books of a pseudo-Democritus or a pseudo-Ostanes,[233] or was he

[231] BCM I 170 f., 189–93 (cf. pp. 112, 117–20, on Bolos and "Zoroaster"); Wellmann, o.c.; Festugière RHT I 197–200.

[232] Tatian (*Orat. ad Graecos* 17 = BCM fr. 16) speaks of the Democritus of *Concerning Sympathies and Antipathies* (i.e. Bolos) "boasting about the magus Ostanes". Actually, this is the sole *direct* citation of "Ostanes" within the fragments of Bolos (and there are none at all for "Zoroaster"). That "Ostanes" (and "Zoroaster") did in fact pass through Bolos has to be inferred in a round-about way: see the passages of BCM I cited in the preceding note; also Wellmann, 14 n. 9, 15 n. 1. The inferences, I believe, hold. Sceptics may however prefer to view Bolos as archetypical of the tradition which shaped and transmitted "Ostanes" rather than, in all cases, the actual medium of transmission.

Pliny's testimony is relevant here, for he juxtaposes Democritus and Ostanes in a manner that suggests he is drawing on a source which related the two, and Bolos is the obvious candidate. At *NH* XXVIII.5–7 (= BCM fr. 17; and see above, p. 519) he castigates Ostanes as the inventor of the abominable practice of anthropophagy for magical ends, and then immediately speaks of the "extant commentaries of Democritus" on the subject. This is precisely the same grisly extension of the magic of sympathies which Tatian (above) mentions in the works of that "Democritus" who promoted "Ostanes" and who was in reality Bolos of Mendes.

[233] Pliny (*NH* XXX.2.8—see above, p. 516) speaks of Ostanes as the author of the earliest commentary on magic still extant, but his language does not imply that he had handled or consulted it. The whole passage, indeed, which moves from the work of Ostanes to that of his pupil Democritus (a Democritus, incidentally, who Pliny insists against the sceptics is the real Democritus the philosopher), can be read on the supposition that Pliny (or his source of information) has taken at face value a fiction, namely the "book" of "Ostanes", within the larger construct of Bolos' "Democritus".

substantially the inventor of these authorities, as he was certainly the person who gave them their definitive shape?[234] Bidez and Cumont maintained that actual pseudonymous works exist in Bolos' background, and in one instance, which happens to be especially germane to the present study, they believed that they could isolate a salient characteristic. Noting that, while the plant names in Ps.-Dioscorides and Ps.-Apuleius ascribed to Zoroaster are generally Greek, those ascribed to Ostanes appear to be "barbarian" (possibly Persian and Aramaic), and combining these data with Pliny's observation that "Democritus" (i.e. Bolos) had listed the *magica vocabula* of plants in the *Cheirokmeta*, they postulated an "Ostanes" who had originally composed in Aramaic (the written language of the Magusaeans), transmitting *inter alia* Iranian botanical lore.[235] The prospect is an intriguing one, but the evidence seems rather slight for a complete Aramaic text of a pseudo-Ostanes which has otherwise left no trace. It need not be doubted, however, that in a more diffuse way Iranian plant lore, including nomenclature, reached the net of Bolos' researches.[236] Who attached the name of Ostanes to it and when is anyone's guess: mine would be Bolos himself.

(3) The ubiquitous "Democritus" likewise dominates, as the vehicle of transmission, the third and final activity of the magus "Ostanes"—alchemy.[237] The relationship is the same, pupil to teacher; and one has the same suspicion, arising from the lack of specific extant or cited works of "Ostanes" (except for obviously very late ones), that the Persian sage is again a *construct* within the larger invention of "Democritus", designed to validate the latter's teaching and to give his persona depth and plausibility. At any rate, whether or not he has any independent existence, "Ostanes" belongs to the alchemical school of "Democritus", the earliest and

[234] The form of part at least of Bolos' work is perhaps revealed in the allusion to Ostanes in BCM fr. 23. The host author, Aelius Promotus (early 2nd cent. A.C.), says: "I observed (such-and-such a process) with my teacher Ostanes". BCM (II 303, note ad frag.) argues plausibly that the passage was lifted unchanged from Bolos where the original first-person observer and narrator would have been "Democritus".

[235] BCM I 190 f.; no etymological analysis is offered, however (n. 5). On Ps.-Zoroaster's nomenclatures, see above, p. 532 f.

[236] The excerpts, however, other than the nomenclatures, seem to offer no particularly Iranian or Zoroastrian details, except perhaps for fr. 18 (see BCM, notes ad frag., II 297 f.).

[237] On alchemy, see above, n. 12. On Ostanes as alchemist, BCM I 198–212; J. Lindsay, Origins of Alchemy in Graeco-Roman Egypt, London 1970, 131–58 (somewhat credulous, but with the merit of presenting almost all the excerpts in translation).

simplest of the identifiable traditions.[238] It is as a character in Ps.-Democritus' work *Physica et mystica* and as the revealer of a key philosophical formula that "Ostanes" is of some significance in the history of alchemy.

The *Physica et mystica*, part of which is extant in a late and disordered version, treats of the standard alchemical divisions of gold, silver, stones and purple. The original is perhaps of the late first or second century A.C., although, given its dramatis personae and the nature of "Ostanes'" revelation, behind that original may lurk in turn a work of our old friend Bolos.[239] In an elaborate *mise en scène*,[240] Democritus narrates (in the first person) how he studied alchemy in Memphis under Ostanes, who had been sent there by the then king of Persia to instruct the Egyptian priesthood in the art.[241] Ostanes dies suddenly before the lessons are complete, and Democritus tries with scant success to wrest them from his uncooperative ghost.[242] He is told only that "the books are in the temple". Some time after a fruitless search, at a banquet in the temple a column splits open of its own accord, and Ostanes' son (of

[238] See Taylor, art. cit. in n. 12, p. 114 f.: "These (i.e alchemists of the Democritean school) carry out their alchemical work by superficial colouring of metals and by the preparation of alloys by fusion"; the more complex processes of distillation and sublimation were eschewed.

[239] On the *Physica et mystica* and its antecedents, see BCM I 198 ff.; Festugière RHT I 224–33. Festugière traces the work back to Bolos' *Baphika* ("Art of Dyeing"), Taylor (see preceding note) to his *Cheirokmeta*. The experiment performed by "Ostanes" and observed by (?) "Democritus" in the excerpt which Aelius Promotus probably lifted from Bolos (fr. 23—see above, n. 234) is essentially an alchemical one.

[240] Fr. A 6. The account of the *Physica et mystica* is supplemented by other sources, notably Syncellus (fr. A 3) and Synesius (A 4a).

[241] This interesting detail is from Syncellus (fr. A 3). The setting under the Persian empire provides an element of historical verisimilitude (as in certain of the ancient historical novels). Ostanes is here called a Mede, and his star pupils are Democritus the Greek, Maria the Jew, and Pammenes the Egyptian. The three are clearly the symbolic leaders of "national" traditions within alchemy, with Ostanes representing a Persian stream, in this instance the most authoritative one. The different pseudonational traditions became something of a *topos* in the later alchemical literature: cf. frs. A 16 (Syriac letters of "Pebechios" and "Osron") and A 19 (the Arabic "Book of the Thirty Chapters" ascribed to Ostanes). That there was ever a genuinely Persian school of alchemy—or for that matter any other national school—would however be an unwarranted inference. In the same excerpt from Syncellus, we learn of an incipient quarrel between the three pupils over the question of secrecy and the encipherment of formulae. Ostanes, who is generally depicted as favouring secrecy (cf. frs. A 1, A 5a, A 16), sides with Democritus and Maria against Pammenes.

[242] Note again the motif of conjuring the dead. Ironically, the magus is here the unappreciative object of his own magian art.

the same name) draws forth and divulges his father's "books".[243] These consist, to everyone's amazement, solely of the triple formula: "a nature takes pleasure in a nature, a nature vanquishes a nature, a nature rules a nature" (ἡ φύσις τῇ φύσει τέρπεται καὶ ἡ φύσις τὴν φύσιν νικᾷ καὶ ἡ φύσις τὴν φύσιν κρατεῖ).[244] It is the old principle of universal sympathies set as a leading premise on the younger art of alchemy.[245] It is the central contrihution of "Ostanes" to the art.

In most of the other excerpts, as in those which centre on the discovery of the triple formula, "Ostanes" is not in a primary sense the author at all. Instead, he functions as a character within the work (as in A 11, the "Dialogue of the Philosophers and Cleopatra", or A 16, the letters of "Pebechius" and "Osron")[246] or as an obviously fictitious, second-order "author" fronting for the real composer (as in A 15, the letter of "Ostanes" to "Petasios", or A 19, the Arabic "Book of the Thirty Chapters" which purports to be Ostanes' vision).[247] Much is from very late antiquity—or beyond. In sum, it is impossible to detect any significant work or works of a pseudo-Ostanes (or of pseudo-Ostanae) that are exploited by later authorities in a standard way; rather, Ostanes is a persona who is

[243] This is the classic story pattern of the discovery of lost documents of great antiquity and/or authority, whose obvious function is to validate in an awe-inspiring fashion what is before the reader's eyes. The types are well explored by Festugière as a subset of accounts of the revelation of arcana: RHT I 309 ff., esp. p. 319 ff.; see also BCM I 205 f. Cf. fr. A 19 (the Arabic "Book of Thirty Chapters") in which Ostanes himself in a vision, after passing through 7 gates, discovers alchemical arcana on three of 7 tablets (the other four being indecipherable with age)—a striking combination of 3 modes of revelation: by vision, by quest or journey, and by recovery of a document.

[244] Festugière (RHT I 231) rightly insists that the Greek definite articles are in this context properly translated by *indefinite*: "a (particular) nature takes pleasure in another (particular) nature . . .", not "nature takes pleasure in Nature . . . ."

[245] Cf. fr. A 9: Zosimus (4th cent.) quotes "Ostanes" on the "affinities" (*syngeneia*) between different minerals.

[246] In the latter, Pebechius, an Egyptian who has discovered a text of Ostanes, writes to Osron, a magus, for assistance in deciphering the Persian.

[247] The more important excerpts (in addition to those concerning the triple formula, above) are: A 9, from Zosimus, on "affinities" between minerals; A 10, possibly from the *Physica et mystica*, on tinctures; A 11, from a "Dialogue of the Philosophers and Cleopatra": Ostanes, among others, questions Cleopatra the alchemist, here portrayed as his senior; A 14, from an anonymous manuscript on the making of gold, miscellaneous procedures ascribed to Ostanes: see following note; A 15, a letter of "Ostanes" to "Petasios", on the making and effects of "divine water", a potent substance which can "raise the dead and kill the living, make the dark light and the light dark"; A 16, letters of "Osron" and "Pebechios": see preceding note; A 19, from the Arabic "Book of the Thirty Chapters", "Ostanes'" discovery of arcane tablets in a vision: see above, n. 243.

invented and re-invented down the ages as the occasion serves. By the same token, there is no coherent alchemical doctrine that can be ascribed to him. It remains only to state that there are few if any elements in the excerpts which relate in any way to Zoroastrianism.[248] In the nature of the case, these, if they exist at all, are fortuitous and unsystematic, since there is no underlying Ps.-Ostanes expressing a genuinely Persian stream within the alchemical tradition. "Ostanes", in his vision in the Arabic "Book of the Thirty Chapters" discovers tablets in various languages promoting the various national wisdoms, Egyptian, Persian and Hindu. Predictably, in the "Persian" tablet there is nothing distinctively Persian and certainly nothing Zoroastrian.[249] By now we would scarcely expect otherwise.

Conclusion

This survey of the writings attributed to Zoroaster and other magi in Greco-Roman antiquity has throughout sounded a rather negative note, starkly exemplified in the preceding paragraph. The links with historical Zoroastrianism are few and tenuous—the magian hymns of Dio Chrysostom furnishing possibly a solitary exception[250]—and even a coherent pseudo-Zoroastrian school within the Greek intellectual tradition of the Hellenistic and Roman ages is lacking. Instead, we find the opportunistic and piecemeal use of the names and persons of the great magi to confer an exotic authority on the diverse arcana of Hellenistic wisdom. The "hellenized magi" of Bidez and Cumont, real enough in their own sphere among the Magusaeans of Anatolia, vanish like ghosts of their own conjuring when one attempts to tie them to the corpus of the pseudepigrapha. For the corpus itself, *qua* corpus, crumbles at a touch.

Nevertheless, even negative conclusions can be fruitful. In the

[248] In fr. A 14a "Ostanes" cites as an earlier Persian authority one "Sophar" (= Shapur?) who "set on a column a bronze eagle, descending into a pure spring to wash each day and be thus renewed"; but the underlying solar and temporal symbolism resonates, if at all, with Mithraism rather than Zoroastrianism: see BCM II 332 f., n. 4 ad frag. Fr. A 14f mentions a "cave of Ostanes" furnished with vessels and water; BCM (ib., n. 10) hears an echo of the archetypal Mithraic cave established, according to Porphyry (*De antro* 6), by Zoroaster. The echoes of Zoroastrian dualism which BCM hears in fr. 13 (II 329, n. 1 ad frag.) strike me as very faint indeed.

[249] Fr. A 19, at BCM II 349 f.

[250] Excluded from the survey, for reasons given at the outset (above, n. 4), was Hystaspes, whose *Oracles* certainly contain an authentic Zoroastrian stratum: see above, p. 376 ff.

first place, it may have been of some use to Zoroastrian studies, and perhaps even in a small way to the Zoroastrian faith, to have pruned away a mass of material which has been widely supposed, under the influence of Bidez and Cumont, to be of far greater relevance than it really is. Secondly, and more positively, surveying the pseudepigrapha has enabled us to view at the same time the image of Zoroaster and the magi and of their activities which developed within Greek culture during the long centuries of its varied interactions with the culture of Zoroastrian Iran. Given the historical importance of that cultural traffic between Greece and Iran, between Hellenism and Zoroastrianism, what the Greeks made of Zoroaster and the magi is surely germane to a history of the faith.

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